H W Prescott
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P W Harsh

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P. CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS

EDITED WITH

PROLEGOMENA, CRITICAL APPARATUS, EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEXES

BY

ALFRED GUDEMAN
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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TO

JOHANNES VAHLEN

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN

THIS EDITION IS RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED BY ONE OF

HIS FORMER

PUPILS

PREFACE.

The present edition of the Dialogus de Oratoribus was begun as far back as 1888. Since that time I have spared no effort to read and carefully examine, sine ira et studio, everything that has been written upon this earliest production of Rome's greatest historian. But while the abundant tralatician material, accumulated since the days of Lipsius, has not been neglected, I have mainly relied upon my own extensive collectanea, and for the style of the treatise upon the admirable Lexicon Taciteum, which had not yet been sufficiently far advanced to be of real service to previous editors of the Dialogue.

In the *Prolegomena* I have endeavored to give an exhaustive, but at the same time succinct and lucid, treatment of all the interesting and difficult problems which the Dialogus presents, and I venture to hope that my solutions of them may convince even those critics who have hitherto espoused other views or drawn different conclusions from those advanced in the succeeding pages.

The *Adnotatio Critica* aims at completeness, no emendation of any intrinsic value, published since Michaelis' fundamental recensio, being omitted; the readings of subsequent editions are, for the convenience of the student, also added. My text-critical attitude and the arguments for the readings received into the text are fully set forth in the chapter on the MSS. and in the Critical Notes.

In writing the *Exegetical Commentary* I have constantly kept in mind the golden precept of Seneca: "Quo ducit materia

sequendum est non quo invitat," and believe that no really irrelevant matter has been allowed to intrude. In spite of this, the commentary may possibly appear to some as out of proportion to the brevity of the treatise itself. Its bulk might, indeed, have been considerably reduced, but I deemed it more expedient to cite most illustrative passages in full, being convinced that but few readers will command the leisure to look up the quotations for themselves, even if they had the sources within immediate reach.

Of more recent editors, I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness particularly to *G. Andresen* and *C. John.* The former has also kindly communicated to me the valuable gleanings of his recollation of the Vaticani. As I have been compelled to dissent from Andresen's opinions more frequently than from those of any other scholar, it may not be out of place to state that the detailed attention everywhere accorded to his views is intended as a sincere tribute to the high rank which he deservedly occupies among Tacitean scholars of to-day. John's contributions have also been a great help to me, and I am the more glad to make this acknowledgment, because his learned, acute and instructive notes have hitherto not received the recognition which they merit.

In conclusion, I can but inadequately acknowledge the depth of my gratitude and obligations to my friend, Prof. *Chas. E. Bennett*, of Cornell University, who has not only kindly favored me with many valuable suggestions, but has also with the greatest care read every line of proof in its various stages.

The complete *Index Nominum et Rerum* is the work of Dr. *Wm. Muss-Arnolt*, of Chicago University, while the equally exhaustive *Index Locorum* was compiled by Mr. *Homer J.*

Edmiston, of Cornell University. To both these scholars I here extend, both in behalf of myself and of my readers, my warm thanks for the arduous labor which they have devoted to the interests of this book.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 20, 1893.

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I.—THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP.

1. History of The Controversy.

Before entering upon a detailed discussion concerning the disputed authorship of the Dialogus, a brief historical outline of the various phases through which the controversy, now more than 300 years old, has passed, will be appropriate.[1]

Beatus Rhenanus.

The first to cast any doubt upon the authenticity of our treatise was *Beatus Rhenanus* (Bilde von Rheinau 1485–1547), in a short note[2] to his edition of the works of Tacitus published in Basle in 1519.

Iustus Lipsius.

Naturally no attention was paid to objections based upon incredibly slender grounds, and scholars continued to regard the Dialogus as Tacitean, until the appearance of *Lipsius'* famous edition, published for the first time in 1574. After pointing out some palpable differences between the style of the Dialogus and the other works of the historian, Lipsius concluded as follows: 'Superest ut de scriptore huius libri verbo admoneam; quem Tacitum *non esse* tam certum apud me est quam si Apollo respondisset. Inclino ut Quintiliano tribuam.' True to this conviction, he issued the Dialogus under Quintilian's name (Fabii Quintiliani ut videtur dialogus an sui saeculi oratores antiquis et quare concedant, Cornelio Tacito falso inscriptus). In later editions, Lipsius began to lose faith in the infallibility of the oracle, 'falso' was replaced by

[1] Cp. Eckstein, Proleg. pp. 41 ff. Weinkauff pp. XI–XLV.

[2] 'Hunc dialogum vix crediderim esse Taciti, quamquam auctor, quisquis fuit eius eruditissimi saeculi, testatur se disertissimorum hominum sermonem repetere, quem iuvenis admodum audiverit "iisdem nunc numeris iisdemque rationibus," ut potius loqui illos ipsos lector debeat imaginari quam eum qui conscripsit. Sane fit hic 'anni sexti' mentio 'Vespasiani principatus,' quo tempore iuvenis fuit admodum Tacitus. Fit et mentio "Mutiani, senatorumque eloquentium Eprii Marcelli ac Crispi Vibii quorum quoque meminit Tacitus in libris Annalium. Nec Justus Fabius . . . ex Plinii epistolis ignotus est. Sed haud me latet etiam apud veteres tam apte conscripta quaedam esse ut antiquiora videri queant quam sunt.'

'vulgo' in the title, and he was strongly disposed to abandon Quintilian altogether, because of chronological difficulties.[3]

Doubt is contagious. In the present instance the great reputation which the 'sospitator Taciti' deservedly enjoyed, unfortunately blinded subsequent scholars to the palpable weakness of his arguments. Lipsius himself would unquestionably have abandoned them, if he had been able to account for the manifest stylistic difference between the Dialogus and the historical works of Tacitus, and it is this argument which has since his day remained the one great obstacle in the way of a unanimous verdict in favor of the writer to whom all our MSS. attribute the Dialogue. Under the circumstances, however, Tacitean authorship seemed out of the question. Quintilian, in spite of Lipsius' later, albeit somewhat half-hearted retraction, had the most supporters,[4] doubtless because

[3] As Lipsius' final utterance on this subject, in his edition of 1585, virtually embodies, though in some cases only in solution, most of the objections subsequently urged against the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue, it will not be out of place, to cite the passage in full: 'Scriptor tamen ipse incertus. Nam Tacitum fuisse, qui credam? *Stylus valde abnuit*, idque non fallax in hoc genere argumentum: stylus in Tacito, constrictus ubique, teres, acutus et severus magis quam lepidus: hic omnia contra. (So also Andresen, Einl. p. 9: Der Stil des D. hat mit dem historischen Stil des Tacitus *nichts* gemein.) At mutari is in aetate aut argumento potest, inquiunt. Non nego: sed numquam ita ut abeat prorsus a sese. Quidquid Cicero scripsit senex, iuvenis philologum, philosophum, in iis tamen liniamenta quaedam apparent eiusdem viri et vultus . . . *aetatem etiam vide, si non pugnat.* Hic scriptor sermonem hunc habitum inducit sexto Flaviani imperii anno: eique interfuisse se *admodum iuvenem.* Quomodo vero tunc admodum iuvenis Tacitus, si honores etiam cepit sub Vespasiano . . . Sed *exemplaria omnia Tacito librum hunc asserunt.* Quae illa? vix bina aut terna credo ea esse in omni Europa, quae tam facile et pronum est hic mentiri quam in aliis libris saepe. Sed etiam *Pomponius Sabinus.* Is igitur Sabinus mediae aetatis grammaticus in carmen de obitu Maecenatis: Cornelius Tacitus appellat scripta Maecenatis calamistros. nec negare certe possumus quin is locus hodieque in hoc libello exstet. quid dicam! serio et ingenue, nihil me credere huic ignobili Sabino, qui ex veteri verbo somniavit fortasse quod voluit (!!) . . . Incommodi quid erit sive Tacito tribuamus sive M. Fabio Quintiliano *ut mihi olim visum est.* nam et *stylus ipse plane geminus* et ille se *de causis corruptae eloquentiae* scripsisse plus uno loco fatetur: quem titulum valde appositum scio huic argumento . . . *aetas* tamen *Quintiliani* paullo *grandior* fuisse videtur quam ut hic sermo habitus sit illo iuvene. Itaque ambigo et cum multa dixerim, claudo tamen omnia et signo hoc responso, *mihi non liquere.*

[4] We even find "Quinctil." added to the title of our treatise in the cod. Vindobonensis 351, but by a different hand and in different ink. The name

critics felt themselves on safer ground, if they attributed the work to a well-known author rather than to some intangible unknown individual. Among the better known scholars who espoused this view, may be mentioned Gruter, Gronovius, Graevius, Dousa, Freinsheim, Fabricius, Pichena and above all *C. A. Heumann*, in his edition of the Dialogue published exactly two hundred years after Rhenanus. Their arguments were chiefly based upon the stylistic similarity between the Dialogue and the Institutio Oratoria. The insuperable chronological difficulties in the way of this hypothesis, though hinted at by Lipsius and strongly emphasised by Dodwell, were either studiously ignored or curtly dismissed as irrelevant. It remained for *Spalding*, in a long note to Quint. VI prooem. 3 (vol. II [1803] pp. 424 ff.), to deal the final deathblow to the view held so obstinately and so long, although R. Novák has quite recently again made a laborious attempt to resuscitate the Quintilian theory, 'non melius,' to use Aper's words, 'quam [alii] sed felicius quia illum fecisse pauciores sciunt.' ***Heumann.*** ***Spalding.***

Lipsius' *non liquere*, however, opened wide the door for other conjectures regarding the real author, for the orthodox view had still but few supporters, the idea that the stylistic problem was capable of a solution being as yet entertained by no one. In 1778, *I. I. H. Nast* published a German translation of the Dialogue, in which, for the first time, the younger *Pliny* enters the list of competitors for the authorship of the treatise. The arguments of Nast were based on the same grounds which had prompted so many previous scholars to declare in favor of Quintilian, — alleged remarkable parallelisms in thought and diction, the biographical data of Pliny being violently twisted into conformity with the evidence, historical and literary, furnished by the Dialogus. Nast's hypothesis was subsequently championed by Wittich, Kramarczik and especially elaborated by *Fr. Hess*. To say that this view has been finally disposed of by Eckstein, Gutmann and Vogel is perhaps hazardous, for Pliny may still find some belated supporter as did Quintilian! It may, however, be remarked, that if we are forced to assign any argumentative validity whatever to the numerous stylistic parallelisms adduced in favor of Pliny and of Quintilian, only one of two inferences will be possible: Either Pliny *and* ***Nast.*** ***Hess.***

may have been inserted, on the authority of Lipsius, by Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584), to whom this MS. is known to have belonged.

Quintilian wrote the Dialogus or neither of them did! The gamut of possibilities had, however, not yet been run, and accordingly we find that there were not wanting some 'scholars' who pushed the claims of Suetonius and even of Messalla and Maternus.[5] That no one should have espoused the cause of Aper or Secundus may, under the circumstances, well excite our astonishment.

But the claims of Quintilian and Pliny to the authorship of our treatise, having been exposed as worthless, the sceptics, forced to concede their ignorance of the real author, were now content to attribute the work to some anonymous cultured contemporary.[6] Thus the question, after traversing many by-paths, had returned to the point, where Lipsius' 'non liquere' had placed it, and so even *Eckstein.* *Eckstein* (1835), to whom we owe a masterly discussion of the entire controversy, after successfully refuting most of the arguments against Tacitean authorship, closes by saying 'summam superesse difficultatem in dicendi genere a Taciti usu plane abhorrente positam, quare totam rem, dum meliora proferuntur, in medio relinquendam esse censuimus.' The most persistent and obstinate *Gutmann.* advocate of the 'anonymous' theory was *H. Gutmann* (1830). He again emphasised the stylistic objections, but went beyond his predecessors by contending that the style showed evident signs of a decadence in taste and that the matter, barring perhaps the chapter on the education of children, was unworthy of Tacitus. "Der Herrliche verliert nichts bei diesem Spiel, er gewinnt vielmehr" (p. 148). Gutmann, following a hint thrown out by Lipsius, also objected to the phrase 'iuvenis admodum' as incompatible with the ascertainable data of the life of Tacitus.

The supporters of the Tacitean authorship, always few in numbers, had hitherto been forced to assume a defensive and apologetic attitude. The genuineness of the Dialogus was more or less an article of faith with them rather than a subject capable of demonstration one way or another. However successfully the claims of Quintilian and Pliny had been repulsed, there still remained the palpable difference in style which the opponents never wearied in pointing out as the one great argument, decisive against Tacitean authorship. The problem thus presented could not be ignored with impunity nor explained on the ground that the author was still

[5] See Eckstein pp. 43–46.

[6] e. g. F. A. Wolf, Eichstädt, Nipperdey, Andresen, Ribbeck (Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung III p. 89).

very young and that the language of the treatise was not his own but that of the interlocutors.[7] A more scientific and rational solution of the difficulties was imperatively called for, and this was precisely what the critics up to the time of Woelfflin, barring a few vague guesses, were incapable of furnishing.

It is necessary to bear this state of affairs well in mind, if we wish to understand the sensation which *A. G. Lange's* alleged discovery of nothing less than a contemporary allusion to the Dialogus in a letter of none other than the younger Pliny, Tacitus' intimate friend,[8] created. The letter in question (IX 10) is addressed to Tacitus and reads as follows: Cupio *praeceptis tuis* parere, sed aprorum tanta penuria est, ut Minervae et Dianae, quas *ais* pariter colendas, convenire non possit. Itaque Minervae tantum serviendum est, delicate tamen ut in secessu et aestate. In via plane nonnulla leviora statimque delenda ea garrulitate, qua sermones in vehiculo seruntur, extendi. His quaedam addidi in villa, cum aliud non liberet. Itaque poemata quiescunt, quae *tu* inter NEMORA ET LUCOS commodissime perfici *putas*. Oratiunculam unam et alteram retractavi, quamquam id genus operis inamabile, inamoenum magisque laboribus ruris quam voluptatibus simile. Vale. The words 'tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas,' Lange insisted, contain an unmistakable reference to c. 9 29 ff., where Aper says: adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum . . . atque ut ipsi dicunt, *in nemora et lucos*, id est in solitudinem secedendum est and so again in c. 12 1 f. *nemora vero et luci* et secretum ipsum quod Aper increpabat etc. This argument, taken in connection with the testimony of the MSS. and a number of internal reasons which Lange partly reiterated, partly adduced for the first time, appeared so convincing that the long-standing controversy was generally regarded as having been permanently decided in favor of the great historian. For whatever weight an unprejudiced critic might be

Lange.

[7] So Woltmann and Lange among others.

[8] The first announcement of this find was made by Spalding in a note to his paper on Seneca's Consolatio ad Polybium, published as early as 1803. But the hope there expressed that the fortunate scholar would give publicity to his discovery was not realised till 1814, when Lange's short treatise appeared in Beck's Acta Sem. et Soc. Philol. Lips. I 77–88. But, presumably owing to the very limited circulation of this publication, the author's article attracted no attention whatever, until Dronke reprinted it in his edition of the Dialogus in 1828 pp. XVI ff.

supposed to attach to the troublesome and apparently irrefutable objections derived from the style of the treatise, they now happily all paled into utter insignificance by the side of the unimpeachable testimony of a contemporary of Tacitus! Quod volunt, credunt. Among the many scholars who confidently and often in very strong terms[9] expressed themselves in favor of the genuineness of the treatise, may be mentioned Boeckh, Niebuhr, Hofman-Peerlkamp, Dronke, Seebode, Ruperti, Bach, Ritter, Orelli, Doederlein, Schopen, Nipperdey, Massmann, Walch, Teuffel.

The consternation in the ranks of the opposition, caused by so unexpected an assault upon what appeared to be a fairly impregnable position, is well reflected in the absurd attempts made two years later by Gutmann (1830) and subsequently by Fr. Hess, who, though guided by different motives, both endeavored to neutralise Lange's argument by contending that the letter in question was not by Pliny, but by Tacitus, it having by some strange accident found its way into Pliny's correspondence! It might seem incredible, were it not for the reasons given above, that Lange's inference should have blinded the eyes of scholars to its utterly fallacious character for a quarter of a century, for it was not till 1855 that Haase disposed of it by convincing arguments.[10] Two years after

[9] Teuffel, Introd. to his transl. p. 20 f., well voices the sentiment of contemporary scholars: Die Zweifel an dem Taciteischen Ursprung unserer Schrift . . . sind vollends zu nahezu *mutwilligen* geworden, seitdem A. G. Lange darauf hingewiesen hat, dass wir für die Urheberschaft des Tacitus ein Zeugniss haben, wie für wenig andere aus dem Alterthum etc.

[10] The grounds upon which Pliny's alleged testimony must be peremptorily rejected may be briefly summarised: (1) The context of the letter can leave no doubt that 'quae TU inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici PUTAS' and the words immediately preceding 'quas TU AIS pariter colendas etc.' refer to *one* and the *same source*, but the latter statement has nothing whatever to correspond to it in the Dialogus. (2) The parallelism in question is a literary commonplace as old as Hesiod's Theogony, and the identical collocation 'nemora et lucos' is found not only in other Tacitean passages but also elsewhere. See my note to c. 9 31. (3) *Tu putas* cannot possibly contain a reference to the Dialogus, unless we absurdly suppose that Pliny totally overlooked the fact that Tacitus *expressly* disclaims the thought in question as his own, it being introduced as an opinion common to poets (*ut ipsi dicunt*). (4) It is incredible *in any case* that Pliny would have quoted a sentiment from a treatise of Tacitus written *fifteen years* or more previous, for the adherents of Lange, with the exception of Nipperdey, all agree in assigning an early date to our treatise. (5) The very vagueness of the reference in a correspondence intended for publication and by a writer so habitually πολύλογος as Pliny were also very

Haase's valuable commentatio de Taciti vita, ingenio, scriptis, *Franz Weinkauff* published his first dissertation, De Taciti Dialogo, with an index comparativus, which was followed by an index Latinitatis in 1859. With the appearance of these weighty contributions, we enter upon a new phase of the controversy, characterised by a more or less general acquiescence in the genuineness of the Dialogus. Laying due stress upon the many remarkable points of agreement in the general mode of thought and feeling, the criticisms on men and measures between our treatise and the historical writings of Tacitus, some of which Lange and Eckstein had previously collected, Weinkauff for the first time instituted an exhaustive stylistic and rhetorical[11] comparison which showed that the stylistic resemblances, even down to minutiae, were more numerous and striking than even the most ardent advocates of Tacitean authorship could have expected. Nevertheless, there were not wanting critics, like Bernhardy, who still insisted that these coincidences were after all not sufficient to counterbalance the equally striking *differences*, and these Weinkauff, like all his predecessors, had failed to account for satisfactorily. That was reserved for *Eduard Woelfflin* who, in a series of articles in the Philologus, beginning in 1868, proved conclusively by a large number of apt illustrations that this stylistic difference is the result of a genetic development which we are still able to trace through the works of the historian, 'dass in dem Stile des Tacitus,' to use his own words, 'nicht nur das Individuelle von dem der Zeit Angehörigen zu scheiden ist, sondern dass das erstere Element in den früheren Schriften noch weniger zur Geltung kommt, sich im weiteren Verlauf des Schreibens stärkt, und dass schliesslich Tacitus in den Annalen, wir wollen nicht sagen am besten schreibt, aber eben erst der wahre Tacitus ist.'[12]

Weinkauff.

E. Woelfflin.

Five years before Woelfflin's epoch-making investigations, *Steiner's* famous 'Programm' appeared, in which the paramount validity of the MS. testimony is for the first time properly em-

Steiner.

remarkable. The quotations under notice were simply called forth by two lost letters of Tacitus, to which Pliny's epistles I 6 and IX 10 are the extant replies. Cp. Haase, Praef. p. XV f. note 61 Steiner pp. 11–13 Jansen pp. 45–48. Schwabe's unqualified support of Lange's inference even in his last revision of Teuffel's Röm. Lit.[5] § 331, 1, can, in my opinion, be explained only on the ground of 'Pietät' or negligence.

[11] In this, he had a predecessor in Pabst (1841).

[12] Philol. XXV p. 96.

phasised and convincingly demonstrated. But the most valuable part of his treatise is the proof that chronological considerations render a later date for the composition of the Dialogus than the reign of Titus, altogether untenable. "*Tacitus hat den Dialog nicht* UNTER *oder* NACH, *sondern* VOR *Domitian geschrieben, oder er hat ihn* GAR NICHT *geschrieben*" (p. 20).

The antagonists of the genuineness of the Dialogue having, thanks to the labors of Weinkauff and Woelfflin, been completely dislodged from their chief stronghold, shifted their operations and now placed their main reliance upon chronological arguments which, it was contended, proved a later date than that of Titus and hence, according to the alternative formulated by Steiner himself, non-Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue. The foremost *Andresen.* spokesman of this party is *Georg Andresen.*

Most of these chronological objections were skilfully refuted by *Jansen.* *Jansen* (1878), in one of the ablest contributions to the controversy ever made. Psychological and rhetorical reasons are here also adduced to explain the stylistic change so conspicuous in the admittedly genuine works of Tacitus.

Finally the entire question was again taken up by *Weinkauff* in his 'Untersuchungen zum Dialogus des Tacitus' (1881), but this later work, though indispensable owing to the material accumulated, does not mark any advance. It is marred by a deplorable diffuseness and prolixity of treatment which obscures rather than illustrates the issues involved and by an excessive zeal which but too often tempts the author to find coincidences, where none exist.

2. The Questions at Issue.

The testimony of the MSS. We are now prepared to examine the points at issue in this controversy more in detail.

Our MSS., a dozen in number, unanimously ascribe the Dialogus to Cornelius Tacitus,[13] as do the oldest editions which were directly printed from MSS. e. g. the editio princeps (Spirensis) and edition of Puteolanus (1475).[14] This consistent tradition naturally was a

[13] With the exception of the codex Vaticanus 2964 which contains only a fragment (c. 26 f). Cf. Massmann, Tac. Germ. p. 17. On the insertion of Quinct. in Sambucus' MS., see note 4.

[14] About the same time Julius Pomponius Laetus Sabinus Sanseverinus (1425–1498), the intimate friend of Pius II, the teacher of some well-known

serious obstacle to those who denied the genuineness of the Dialogus, and accordingly we are not surprised to find that Lipsius was bent upon impugning the validity of the evidence itself, his contention being that the name might have been added to the treatise, handed down to us ἀδέσποτον, by accident or design. When it became known that a far greater number of MSS. of the Dialogus existed than Lipsius had supposed, it was claimed that his inference still held good, inasmuch as these MSS. were not so many independent witnesses but were all ultimately derived from a *single* copy, not older than the middle of the XIII. century.[15] Taking this very questionable fact in connection with the observation (!) that the Dialogus invariably occupies the last place in a codex miscellaneus containing also the Suetonius fragment and Tacitus' Germania, Hess and Haase confidently argued that the presumably anonymous treatise owed the name of Tacitus to the Germania immediately preceding it.[16] Unfortunately, the order of the three treatises in our MSS. irrefutably disproves this very premise[17] and with it the inference based upon it, for the Germania *precedes* the

scholars such as Sabellicus and Peutinger and editor of Terence, Sallust, Varro, Livy, Pliny the Younger, and Quintilian, quoted a passage from the Dialogus of Tacitus (c. 26 3). This seemed such strong testimony in favor of the historian that Lipsius, as we have seen, wishing to get rid of this awkward evidence at all hazards, stultified himself by accusing Sabinus, whom he styles *ignobilis* grammaticus, of forging the citation! Gutmann reiterated the same absurd charge and Fr. Hess p. 16 actually censured the learned Italian for attributing the phrase 'calamistros Maecenatis' to Tacitus, whereas it is in reality used by Messalla! The citation of course proves nothing except the well-known fact that no suspicion was entertained regarding the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus before the time of Rhenanus. Sabinus may easily have obtained his information from some of the printed editions published during his life-time or even from some MS. He is known to have copied the Agricola with his own hand. Cp. Eckstein pp. 63–65 Massmann p. 156.

[15] Massmann pp. 182 ff.

[16] Hess p. 14 Haase p. XV: accedit quod dialogus in nullo alio librorum genere servatus esse videtur, nisi in quo is Germaniae Taciti subiunctus esset, ut facile potuerit, id quod saepissime factum est, auctoris nomen recte in antecedente libro positum ad alium librum transferri qui in eodem volumine illum exciperet.

[17] A — Germ. Suet. *Dial.*
B — *Dial.* Germ. Suet.
C — Ann. Hist. *Dial.* Germ. Suet.
D — Suet. *Dial.* Germ.
Δ — Suet. Ps. Pliny de vir. ill. Agr. *Dial.* Germ.
E — Suet. *Dial.* Miscellanea.
V 711 — Germ. *Dial.* Suet.
V 351 — Ann. Hist. Germ. *Dial.*
H — Suet. *Dial.*
P — Suet. *Dial.*
M — Suet. *Dial.* Germ.

Dial. in *only two* codices and of these one contains only Tacitean writings! If any such transference had taken place, it was far more likely that the name of Suetonius would have become attached to our treatise, the more so as the Suetonian fragment also dealt with purely literary topics. Nay more, on Haase's theory, we should be compelled to conclude that, inasmuch as the Germania, preserved in but a single MS., almost invariably *follows* the Dialogus, the name of Tacitus was thence transferred from the treatise which preceded! Again, it must be observed, that many a work handed down to us under a definite name, would have to pass as ἀδέσποτον, if critics can with impunity discredit an otherwise unimpeachable tradition, simply because it is based upon a single MS. and happens to conflict with a pet hypothesis. In the present instance, such reasoning would endanger the authenticity of the Germania and the fragment of Suetonius no less than that of the Dialogus. The archetypon, moreover, can be traced at least as far back as the *ninth* century, all direct knowledge of Tacitus, never extensive at any time, having been wholly lost for the six centuries preceding the rediscovery of his works.[18] But the nearer we approach the historian's own time, the more precarious becomes the supposition of Lipsius and Haase, the more intrinsically trustworthy the testimony of the archetypon.

Such being the case, we must insist with Steiner and Jansen, that the evidence in favor of Tacitean authorship furnished by the MSS., is an argument of adamantine strength which can only be demolished by contrary proofs, overwhelming in their number and of convincing validity. It therefore follows that every examination of other objections that have been brought forward since the time of Lipsius must start out with the *presumption* that the Dialogus de oratoribus is as genuine a work of Tacitus as the Germania, the MS. history of both being identical.

The dramatic date of the Dialogus.

The opponents of the genuineness of the Dialogue justify their rejection of the explicit testimony of the MSS., so far as they do not find it more convenient to ignore its existence altogether, by contending that *stylistic* reasons on the one hand and *chronological*

[18] The Germania was not altogether unknown in the early Middle Ages, but the title is never given and Cassiodorius Senator, the last to cite Tacitus' name for a passage taken from it (c. 45), does so only at second hand. 'hoc *quodam* ('quondam' suggested by Brotier is an impossible reading) Cornelio scribente *legitur*.' Cp. Massmann p. 137 Ritter, Prooem. p. XXXV Haase, Praef. p. LVII.

difficulties on the other exclude the possibility of Tacitean authorship. It will be expedient to take up the latter objection first, but to answer it successfully, it will be necessary above all to ascertain, if possible, the dramatic date of the Dialogue and the date of publication.[19]

P.[20] Cornelius Tacitus was probably born not earlier than 54 and not later than 56 A. D.[21]

Now in c. 17 10 ff., Aper, the champion of the modern style of eloquence, in order to prove the purely relative meaning of the term 'antiqui' and the consequent injustice of its persistent application to the orators of the Roman Republic, draws the attention of his hearers to the fact that the interval that has elapsed between the death of Cicero and the present day does not exceed the limit of a man's life-time. To substantiate this assertion he gives an annalistic enumeration of the reigns of the Roman emperors from Augustus down to Vespasian. (Statue sex et quinquaginta annos quibus mox divus Augustus rem publicam rexit . . . ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem[22] quo Vespasianus rem publicam

[19] Some critics, like Lange and Urlichs for instance, in order to avoid certain objections to which they attached undue weight, suggested that possibly a long interval had elapsed between the composition and the publication of the treatise. But this hypothesis is worthless and uncalled for; worthless, because it involves the gratuitous assumption that Tacitus was prevented from publishing the treatise in the reign of Titus, and if so, that he issued this work of his youth in the reign of Trajan, when wholly occupied with historical composition. It is uncalled for, because the difficulties which gave it birth, do not exist, as we shall see.

[20] The praenomen Publius, given by the cod. Mediceus, has been recently confirmed by a Carian inscription (Bull. de Corresp. Hell. 1890 p. 621) Ἀσιανοὶ Ἴωνες Ἀνθυ[πάτῳ] Πο. Κορν[ηλίῳ] Τακίτῳ. Apoll. Sidon. Ep. IV 14. 22 calls him twice Gaius, but the C., found also in a few MSS., was probably originally due to a dittography of the initial letter of the nomen gentile.

[21] In the famous and much disputed passage at the beginning of the Histories (I 1): dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano (69–79) incohatam, a Tito (79–81) auctam, a Domitiano (81–96) longius provectam non abnuerim, *dignitatem . . . auctam* is the technical designation for the quaestorship (Borghesi, Urlichs), and if Tacitus was appointed to this office by Titus 'suo anno,' he was *twenty-five* years old and therefore born 54, 55 or 56. In the present discussion, it will be *expedient* to assume the earliest date with Nipperdey, for by making this concession the chronological objections will be emphasised as strongly as possible, and their subsequent refutation accordingly the more convincing.

[22] On statio which has also created unnecessary difficulty, see note ad loc. The peculiar meaning which the word has here, is perhaps a Gallicism.

fovet. *Centum et viginti* anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas.) Now in adding up the various items, it was found, that the sum total only amounted to 117 years (43 B. C. — 74/75 A. D.). As Maternus repeats Aper's statement in almost identical language (c. 24 ext.) and as 'in hunc diem' was taken to mean 'down to this very day' (Dec. 7. 43 B. C. — Dec. 7. 74 A. D.),[23] the discrepancy appeared so glaring as to be explicable only on the assumption of a textual corruption. But as the number 120 was fixed by the repetition mentioned and as the completed reigns of the emperors cited are known to be indisputably historical,[24] the error was supposed to lurk in the last item, and accordingly critics have vied with one another in correcting the writer's faulty arithmetic. Their conjectures, enumerated on p. 21, have deservedly failed to carry conviction,[25] and hence the great majority of modern scholars were forced to resort to the expedient of taking 120 years as a *round* number, a supposition which does not account for the elaborate enumeration preceding.

I am convinced that the difficulties hitherto discovered in the passage under notice are imaginary, for the statement 'centum et viginti anni etc.' neither expresses an exact nor an approximate

[23] We are not only under no compulsion to take 'in hunc diem' in this sense, but there are also weighty reasons against its being so interpreted. (1) It is not easy to understand how Maternus could have referred back to Aper's computation more accurately than by repeating his own words, a device met with elsewhere in the Dialogue. Cf. e. g. c. 9 ext. and 12 1, c. 24 ext. and 32 22, c. 36 5 and 40 7. (2) The demonstrative pronoun 'hic,' esp. when joined to time designations, is exceedingly common in the sense of 'the present, now existing,' (3) 'Down to this very day' would have been correctly expressed by 'in hunc ipsum diem.' (4) An exact interpretation of the phrase involves the absurd assumption that the author of the Dialogus intentionally placed the debate on the anniversary of Cicero's death (Dec. 7), a supposition sufficiently refuted by *prope* quadriennium.

[24] This applies also to the duration of the reign of Augustus, although the MSS. give 59 years in our passage, by which the beginning of his reign is made to antedate the assassination of Caesar! Lipsius has therefore justly changed the number to 56, for Suetonius, Dio Cassius and *Tacitus himself* date the reign of Augustus from the year 42/3 B. C. while others took the battle of Actium (31 B. C.) as a starting point. The error in our MSS. is simply due to the haphazard attempt of some ancient scribe or reader who wished to bring up the sum total to 120.

[25] Andresen in his latest revision of Nipperdey's Annals, *Einleit.* p. 7, actually proposes in all seriousness to delete 'sextam iam' altogether! But no conceivable motive can ever have induced a mediaeval scribe or reader to *interpolate* so *definite* a statement.

sum total of a preceding enumeration, but is the *objective point of Aper's entire argumentation.* The number 120 is a *fixed* quantity, for according to a prevalent belief among the Romans just so many years constituted the ultimate limit of the natural life of man, and inasmuch as the interval between the death of Cicero and the speaker's time does not exceed this limit, a fact which is established by the computation of the reigns of the emperors, the injustice of the appellation 'antiqui,' when applied to the orators of the Ciceronian age, is in Aper's opinion clearly demonstrated.[26]

But if our text is perfectly sound and unobjectionable, the data furnished by it are equally unimpeachable. We, therefore, conclude that the dramatic date of the Dialogue is the year *75* or *74*, according as we reckon the still incompleted sixth year (iam) of Vespasian from Jan. 1. 70 or July 1. 69 A. D. Tacitus was at that time 19/20 years old, presumably a little younger, his friend Pliny only a boy of 13/14, and Quintilian nearly 40 and for about three years the incumbent of a rhetorical chair in Rome.

Terminus ante quem.

This date is in a measure confirmed by a terminus ante quem, furnished by c. 37 5 ff. *Mucianus* is there represented as still actively engaged upon a work entitled 'Acta.'[27] But in the following passage of Pliny's Nat. Hist. (XXXII 6, 62) the same Mucianus is unmistakably alluded to as one no longer living: Haec sint dicta de corpore, sed dicemus et de nationibus, ne fraudentur gloria sed dicemus aliena lingua quaeque peritissima huius censurae in nostro aevo *fuit*. Sunt ergo Muciani verba quae subiciam. Now Pliny dedicated his Natural History to Titus in 77 A. D. Mucianus must, therefore, have died a short time previously, the reference to him being found in the 32d book. Andresen, whom Peterlechner, as usual, simply echoes, is not disposed to attach any validity to the inference drawn from the above passage, because Pliny *may* (!) just as well have intended to convey the meaning 'der, wo es sich um die Behandlung solcher Dinge handelte, in unserem Zeitalter am einsichtsvollsten geredet hat.' This interpre-

[26] For a detailed discussion of this interpretation, the reader is referred to my note ad loc. (pp. 185–187). Dr. Lodge, of Bryn Mawr, ingeniously suggests that my view would derive additional weight, if we read 'colligantur' for 'colliguntur.'

[27] I rejoice to find that my contention that these 'Acta' had nothing whatever to do with the well known official publications, is shared by Kubitschek in the new edition of Pauly's Realencycl. I col. 295, 16 ff. s. v. *Acta.*

tation has always seemed to me singularly far-fetched and unnatural, and it may safely be said, that no reader would ever think of understanding the words in question in this sense, unless he were determined to nullify or at least to minimise at all hazards any awkward evidence that may be found in the way of a preconceived hypothesis concerning the authorship of the Dialogus. If consistent, Andresen ought also to have denied that the words in c. 2 5 f. venerunt ad eum M. Aper et Julius Secundus, celeberrima *tum* ingenia . . . *defuit* . . . *contemnebat* . . . *nesciebat* imply that both of these men were dead when the Dialogus was written.[28]

The date of composition and publication.

Intimately connected with the dramatic date of the Dialogue and in a large measure dependent upon it, is the much disputed question regarding the date of composition. Steiner had, as we have seen, greatly simplified discussion by a clear alternative : *Tacitus either wrote the Dialogue before the reign of Domitian or he did not write it at all.*[29] Accordingly, the opponents of the Tacitean authorship directed their main efforts to prove that the Dialogue could not have been written in the reign of Titus, for the makeshift that the composition and the publication were not virtually coincident was justly rejected as intrinsically improbable. The arguments adduced in support of a later date have been best formulated and most persistently advocated by G. Andresen. It will, therefore, be

[28] This opinion is actually advanced, though still cautiously, by Steiner p. 24 and stoutly advocated by Jansen p. 26. Both were doubtless influenced by Nipperdey's assertion that the Dialogus cannot have been written before the death of the interlocutors, and as Nipperdey and many others believed Maternus to be identical with the sophist of that name, executed in 91, and that Messalla is the same as the consul of the year 115, the motive which prompted the above mentioned advocates of Tacitean authorship to take the position they did, is very transparent. We shall see that, even supposing Nipperdey's contention to be valid, there is no obstacle in the way of regarding all the interlocutors as no longer living in 81 A. D.

[29] Of modern critics, Huebner, Nipperdey, Wutk, Urlichs and Schanz still believe so late a date to be perfectly compatible with Tacitean authorship. The last named styles our treatise "eine mit Bewusstsein vollzogene künstlerische That" (p. 361). I confess that this phrase conveys no meaning to me. Or does Schanz imagine that the consul Tacitus, the author of the Agricola and Germania, whose Histories were to appear a few years later, suddenly about 99 A. D. at the age of 45 and four years after the publication of Quintilian's great work, took it into his head to write a *rhetorical* treatise, couched in *Ciceronian* phraseology which he culled *directly* from Cicero's writings? This seems to me psychologically improbable. Non eadem erat aetas, non mens.

conducive to clearness, if the following discussion deals exclusively with this scholar's presentment of the case.[30]

After dismissing, in a few words, the evidence of the MSS. as worthless and dealing with the alleged difficulties regarding the dramatic date in the traditional way, Andresen proceeds as follows: The Dialogus cannot have been written during the reign of Domitian, because it contains criticisms on men and measures which could not have been given publicity under that emperor. Nor can it have been composed before Domitian, chiefly for two reasons. (1) The words in the introductory chapter 'quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes *iuvenis admodum* audivi' are unintelligible, unless we supply in thought "and as a *mature* man I now reproduce in writing, what I then heard," but as Tacitus was 27 years old in 81 A. D., he could not have designated himself as 'iuvenis admodum' with reference to the time in which, at the age of 21, he had listened to the debate in question (75 A. D.),[31] for we should in that case have expected some expression like 'paucos abhinc annos.' It is equally incredible, that so deep a problem as the causes of the decline of eloquence would readily have suggested itself to a youth of 27, even granting that he possessed the requisite intellectual maturity to grapple with it. Nor is it at all probable that Fabius Iustus, who cannot have been much more than twenty in the reign of Titus, had occupied himself with this difficult question at this time. (2) It is incredible, that the passages concerning Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus (c. 8 and 13) were written at a time, when these powerful informers were still alive and in the enjoyment of imperial favor. Marcellus, it is graciously admitted, was dead when Titus ascended the throne, but Crispus lived to a green old age, highly esteemed by Domitian, until 93 A. D. Hence the Dialogus must have been written, at the very earliest, shortly after this date. But this approaches a period in which the style of Tacitus had already been fully developed, at least in its essential features,[32] and we are, therefore, put to the alternative of denying

30 Einl. to his edition, 1891[3]. Cp. also Eckstein pp. 35–39 Sauppe, Philol. XIX 256 ff. Steiner pp. 15–20 Jansen pp. 18–36 Schwenkenbecher pp. 6–11.

31 "So spricht aber Niemand von sich, der erst sieben oder acht Jahre älter geworden ist"! Nipp.-Andr. *Einl.* to Tac. Ann. p. 12.

32 "In seinen Hauptzügen." This is a somewhat tardy concession made under the influence of Woelfflin's discovery concerning the genetic development in the style of Tacitus. In the second edition (1879), we still read '*vollständig*

the Tacitean authorship altogether or of accepting the psychological impossibility that one and the same writer at one and the same time was capable of employing two kinds of style, so different as that employed in the Dialogus and in the Agricola and Germania.

iuvenis admodum.

The πρῶτον ψεῦδος in this seemingly cogent and logical argumentation is the utterly unwarranted assertion that the quaestor P. Cornelius Tacitus, who at the early age of 23/24 had become the son-in-law of the consul Agricola, then in the zenith of his fame, could not have designated himself as 'iuvenis admodum' in reference to the time, when he at the age of 20/21 was pursuing his studies under the guidance of Aper and Secundus! The indisputable fact has, moreover, often been pointed out that in no other period of a man's life will even a few years work greater changes than in the interval between youth and early manhood, and if this is the case with men of average intellectual endowment, how much more true must it have been in a man of genius, such as Tacitus admittedly was. That the greatest Roman historian received a most thorough rhetorical training, that he acquired high distinction as an orator at an early age are facts denied by no one,[33] and if any doubt as to his precocity still remained, it would be dispelled by the following famous and often cited letter of Pliny (VII 20, 3): erit rarum et insigne duos homines aetate et dignitate propemodum aequales nonnullius in litteris nominis alterum alterius studia fovisse, equidem *adulescentulus* (Pliny was born 62 A. D.) cum *iam tu fama gloriaque floreres*, te sequi, tibi longo sed proximo intervallo et esse et haberi concupiscebam. et erunt multa clarissima

ausgebildet.' It is also worthy of notice that Andresen in his last edition, and in his revision of Nipperdey's Annals, tacitly omits all reference to the alleged execution of Maternus in 91 A. D. and the inference based upon it that the Dialogus was a kind of In Memoriam tribute! See esp. his *Tac. als Schullectüre* p. 322 f. This latter view is well, though superfluously, refuted by Weinkauff p. LVIII.

[33] Cp. Eckstein p. 70 ff. Haase p. VII f. XVI. LI. That Tacitus, like his friend Pliny, enjoyed the instruction of Quintilian is highly probable (cf. e. g. Liebert, de doctrina Tac. p. 4 ff.), in spite of Wutk's contention to the contrary (p. XI ff.): 'Cur ei (sc. Quintiliano) operam navaret Tacitus, viginti iam annorum iuvenis, quem tum vel brevi post ad causas agendas animum convertisse *conicio* (!?) — et cur ad Quintilianum se conferret, cum Messallam, quem arcta familiaritate complexus esse videtur (H. III 9 IV 42), sequi posset, qui similia atque ille sentiret?!! His other arguments are of an equally convincing character.

ingenia sed tu mihi (ita similitudo naturae ferebat) maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus videbaris!

And this man, it is seriously contended, was not likely, at the age of 27, to have had any desire to discuss or the requisite intellectual equipment and maturity to fathom a problem which must needs have suggested itself to every educated observer of the literary characteristics of his time! But, if we must assume that Tacitus could have had no scruples in calling himself 'iuvenis admodum' with reference to the days of his forensic apprenticeship, inasmuch as he even styles himself 'iuvenis,' at the beginning of Domitian's reign,[34] is the phrase itself properly applicable to a youth of 21? There is not the slightest doubt of it, for words designating time of life are of an extremely elastic nature in Latin.[35] Finally, even supposing that the term 'iuvenis admodum' were more consistently used in Latin than it is, and had been rigidly confined to the 17th or 18th year,[36] Tacitus, we contend, would still have had a very strong motive for intentionally presenting himself as younger than he actually was, in order to account for the certainly strange circumstance that he, though

[34] Ag. 3 tot annis (i. e. 81–96 A. D.), quibus *iuvenes* ad *senectutem* (at the age of 42!) . . . per silentium venimus. Cp. also Ag. 9 consul filiam *iuveni* mihi despondit (77 A. D.).

[35] Thus e. g. Nepos (Att. 8, 2) speaks of Brutus as 'adulescens' at the age of 37, of Hamilcar and Eumenes as 'peradulescentes,' when 21 years old. Sallust (Cat. 3) styles himself 'adulescens' at the age of 34, and Caesar (Cat. 49) at 36 'adulescentulus.' Pompey in his 24th year was still 'peradulescens,' according to Cic. (pro leg. Man. 21). Cicero himself was 'adulescens' at the age of 26, when he defended Roscius (Orat. 30, 107), and Gell. XV 28, 5 in speaking of the same trial uses the phrase 'admodum adulescens.' Crassus when 21 years old is 'adulescentulus' and 'admodum adulescens' (Cic. de off. II 13, 47 Brut. 43, 159). In Cic. Phil. V 17, 48 we read 'superior Africanus, T. Flamininus admodum adulescentes *consules* facti. Vell. Pat. II 41, 3 styles Caesar when 24 'admodum iuvenis,' and Quint. (XII 6, 1) finally goes so far as to designate Demosthenes at the age of 21 as 'admodum puerum'! Cp. also Eckstein p. 37 Haase p. XVI note 62 Weinkauff p. XXIX. XLIII. CLVII Jansen p. 34 f.

[36] Cp. Nipp. Andr. *Einl.* Ann. p. 7 "Denn frühestens ist diese Bezeichnung wohl für das 17te Jahr anwendbar, mit welchem die toga virilis angelegt wurde; wie weit sie aber für das spätere Alter ausgedehnt werden konnte, wird sich bei dem Schwankenden, dass alle Altersangaben dieser Art haben, kaum bestimmen lassen." It is very remarkable that Andresen, who so strenuously objects to the phrase 'admodum iuvenis,' should have allowed the above words to stand, although he quietly omitted other equally important passages from Nipperdey's original introduction. See note 29.

admitted to a conversation which took place in the house of a *friend* of his teachers, yet remained so studiously in the background as not even to represent himself as joining in the general laughter at the close.[37] We, therefore, conclude that no argument against the date of composition under Titus, the only date compatible with Tacitean authorship, can be legitimately drawn from the phrase 'iuvenis admodum.'

Vibius Crispus.

We proceed to the discussion of the *second* objection, that the Dialogus cannot have been published while Crispus was still living and in power. It requires but little penetration to see that this argument, so far from invalidating the early date here advocated, rather confirms it in a remarkable manner. Vibius Crispus, no less feared as an informer than Eprius Marcellus, who had to commit suicide after being detected in a conspiracy against Vespasian in 79, repeatedly got into trouble under this same emperor (cf. Tac. H. IV 41. 43). During the reign of Domitian, as we have seen, he was again in high favor, but under Titus we hear nothing of him. See also note c. 8 21. Now what, I ask, can be more probable than the supposition that Crispus was at that time in disgrace, for Titus, as Suet. Tit. 8 expressly informs us, hated this whole class of 'delatores,' even going to the extent of prosecuting them with vigor throughout his short reign. But instead of adopting this commonsense and intrinsically plausible explanation, which is in perfect keeping with the *necessary presumption* that the Dialogus is a genuine work of Tacitus, we are called upon to assume a date toward the close of Domitian's reign, apparently for no other reason than that such a supposition would compel us to attribute our treatise to some unknown cultured contemporary![38] But the refutation of the objections of Andresen and his allies after all only justifies the inference that the Dialogus *may* have been written in

[37] See note to adrisissent, discessimus (c. 42 txt.).

[38] This pernicious mode of argumentation, which meets us *at every turn* in discussions on the authenticity of the Dialogus, has been so well characterised by Ritschl, Opusc. I 43, that I cannot refrain from reproducing his protest here: "Man wetteifert den Bericht des Alterthums zu verdächtigen, als wenn von vornherein die Aufgabe gälte sich eines widerstrebenden Zeugnisses um jeden Preis zu entledigen, während doch alle Grundsätze historischer Kritik die Sache gerade umzukehren und eine vielverbürgerte Ueberlieferung festzuhalten gebieten, sobald sie erstens in sich selbst vernünftig zusammenhängt und zweitens durch anderweitige Bedenken und Gegengründe nicht erschüttert wird."

the reign of Titus. Happily it can also be proved (1) that it *must* have been composed at that time and (2) that a later date, while quite incompatible with Tacitean authorship, is at the same time irreconcilable with the authorship of *any one else*, so that we are put to the alternative of attributing the Dialogue to the writer to whom the MSS. ascribe it (the biographical data of Tacitus interposing no obstacle to this assumption), or of unwarrantably supposing that some totally unknown author wrote the treatise between 79-81!

Written in the reign of Titus.

In the first place, I fully agree with Andresen and others that the view which brings the Dialogus within close temporal proximity to the Agricola and Germania involves a psychological impossibility (see also note 28).

A second obstacle in the way of a later date was first pointed out, I believe, by Steiner (p. 17 f.). In the introductory chapter, the author tells us that he intends to reproduce from memory 'isdem numeris isdemque rationibus, servato ordine disputationis,' a debate which he had heard as a very young man. Now on the theory that these words were written six or seven years after the event referred to, the statement, though taxing our credulity to some extent, nevertheless remains within the bounds of possibility. At any rate, it does not go beyond the wide latitude which the traditional usage of dialogue writers from Plato to Cicero has sanctioned. In fact, the prooemium of the Dialogus is unmistakably modelled upon a similar dramatic device of Cicero.[39] Plato, it is true, makes most extraordinary demands upon the memory of his Socrates, but he is very careful to confine the interval between the discussion and its subsequent detailed report to very narrow limits. In view of these facts, it may be safely denied that a writer, who shows himself so admirably successful in imparting to a fictitious debate the semblance of historical reality, would deliberately, at the very outset, disillusionise his readers by calmly asserting that he was simply retelling from memory, with all accuracy and minuteness of detail, a conversation which he had listened to more than —*twenty* years previous! Such self-stultification on the part of our author is incredible, and yet we should be forced to believe in it, if our treatise was not written till after the death of Domitian.

[39] See note c. 1 21.

That the Dialogus was published during the latter part of Domitian's life has never been seriously maintained. Some scholars, however (e.g. Vogel, Wolff), have thought it possible that it may have been written as late as 85 A.D., on the ground that the despotic nature of Domitian had not yet manifested itself in these earlier years of his reign. This hypothesis is so clearly a mere subterfuge resorted to for the purpose of escaping the alleged difficulties found in the use of 'iuvenis admodum,' that we dismiss it without further comment, especially as Vibius Crispus had by that time been doubtless restored to imperial favor, if not to his former power. Cf. also Peter, Einl. p. 16.

But we may, as already intimated, go one step further, and show that the Dialogus, if written after the reign of Domitian, would involve a literary anachronism, the subject with which it deals being no longer a theme of discussion in the time of Nerva and Trajan. If so, the reign of Titus will remain as the only possible period for the composition of our treatise, be its author Tacitus or any one else! As this important argument seems not to have been advanced hitherto, I feel justified in discussing it more at length.

In scanning the pages of literary history we repeatedly meet with certain controversies which seem to arise suddenly, one knows not whence; gradually they seize upon the minds of literary men, and a battle is waged for some time between opposing factions. The ultimate outcome is invariably the restitution of the 'status quo'; no side ever gains a decisive victory. First a cessation of hostilities ensues, a truce is declared, a reconciliation effected or a compromise made. The issue is then forgotten. Only now and then in literary records do we seem to hear a faint echo as of distant thunder, reminding one of the struggle of long ago. Other questions have succeeded and pass through the same stages of growth, culmination and oblivion. We may illustrate this by a number of concrete examples. In the days of the Sophists and Plato, we have the question whether things are νόμῳ or φύσει. During the two and a half centuries before our era, the discussion raged fiercely as to whether anomaly or analogy was the dominant factor in language formation. In the age of Cicero, Dionysius and Caecilius we have the controversy concerning the respective merits of the Atticum and Asianum genus dicendi. At the close of Quintilian's life, it had become a dead issue. In the Middle Ages,

the learned were stirred by the dispute regarding nominalism and realism. The France of the 17th century is deeply agitated by the momentous question touching the superiority of the wisdom of the ancients over that of the moderns. The war, as often, ended in a compromise. Perrault on his death-bed became reconciled to Boileau. The same quarrel had been transplanted to England by St. Evremond; it is represented by Sir Wm. Temple, Wm. Wotton ('Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning'), Dryden (Preface to his translation of the Aeneid), Boyle and Bentley, Swift (Tale of the Tub and the Battle of the Books). There is scarcely a contemporary English writer of repute who was not drawn into the fray as a partisan. Then suddenly we hear no more of the dispute; it had ceased to exist. In France, in the 18th century, another very similar controversy arose in regard to the decline in taste and the superiority of Homer as an epic poet. The works of Regnier, Fénelon, Hardouin, Aubignac, Terrason, Buffon, etc., etc., all resound with the discussion of this pseudo-momentous issue. Finally, on April 5, 1716, Mad. Dacier and La Motte signed the articles of peace, and the latter announced in an alleged poem to a breathlessly expectant Academy, that the war was, indeed, ended, the victory being, as usual, on neither side.[40]

Now the controversy concerning the decline of eloquence, I contend, belongs to the same category of burning issues as those just enumerated. The identical question was discussed in the days of Demetrius Phalereus and, in Latin literature, esp. from the 4th–7th decade of the first century, references to the same topic meet us at every turn. Cp. e. g. Petronius in the very first chapter, Seneca in his Introduction to the Controversiae, the younger Seneca in his Epistles, and the anonymous author of Περὶ ὕψους in the famous closing chapter. In the reign of Domitian these voices are hushed. The controversy had, as in all the instances cited, passed off the stage. The very existence of Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria bears eloquent testimony to this fact. He does, indeed, preach a return to the classic model of Cicero to counteract the pernicious influence of the emasculated though scintillating style of Seneca, so popular at the time of his arrival in Rome. But when he wrote his great work, a more hopeful, optimistic feeling had taken possession of

[40] Cp. H. Rigault, L'histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes, Paris 1856, esp. pp. 130–431.

him; the age, owing in a large measure perhaps to his own teaching, seemed again favorable to the healthy growth and development of a truer eloquence. Without this conviction, the Institutio could never have been penned. Again, if the problem of the decline of eloquence had still been a living issue at the close of the 1st century, where should we have come upon clearer indications of its existence than in the epigrams of Martial or in the letters of Pliny, which so faithfully mirror the intellectual movements of the time? Of oratorical decadence, of corruption—not a word. The historical works of Tacitus himself point in the same direction. In fact, the amount of attention paid by these writers to oratorical achievements, the high meed of praise bestowed upon orators, the very number mentioned, prove that the decline of eloquence no longer disturbed their reflections.

Now the Dialogus is, in my judgment, a special contribution, perhaps the ablest and profoundest, to this controversy, and hence it was *necessarily written* at a time when the question was still agitating some of the best minds of literary Rome. But this was no longer the case at the close of Domitian's reign, or in that of Nerva or of Trajan. The Dialogus could, therefore, no more have been composed at this late date, whether by Tacitus or any other contemporary, than Perrault's Parallèles des anciens et des modernes or Swift's Battle of the Books could have been penned in the days of Louis XVI. or George I. These questions had all been finally disposed of and now figured only in history, typifying certain intellectual movements of an earlier period.[41]

[41] It is with some reluctance that I take notice of Wutk's lamentable failure to prove that the Dialogus of Tacitus cannot antedate the 20th epistle of the 1st book of Pliny's correspondence, which he assigns on quite unjustifiable grounds to the year 99 A. D., but as Schanz, Röm. Lit. p. 363, has been led astray by Wutk's illogical and often disingenuous argumentation, this contribution to the 'Controversy' must needs be dignified by serious refutation. The letter in question — Wutk, instead of citing the original, characteristically paraphrases its contents — discusses the relative superiority of copiousness and brevity in oratorical composition, and Pliny, who declares in favor of the former, asks his friend Tacitus to give his views on the subject. Now Wutk asserts that Pliny could not have made this request, if he had read the Dialogus, inasmuch as Tacitus had there already given a satisfactory answer (c. 19 9 ff.). A copious array of alleged parallelisms between Pliny and our treatise is then adduced, all of which had been previously utilised by Nast and Hess to prove the Plinian authorship of the Dialogus!! None of these passages, moreover, have anything

It may be well, at this point, to cast a brief retrospective glance over the ground so far traversed. We have seen that the testimony of the MSS., though they are derived from a single copy of the 13th century, which may, however, be traced back to an archetypon of the 9th century, cannot be justly impeached; we have seen that the dramatic date of the dialogue, though hitherto open to doubt, owing to a persistent misinterpretation of a passage in c. 17, can be determined with satisfactory accuracy (74/75 A. D.). It has also been shown that our treatise cannot possibly have been composed and published later than the reign of Titus (79–81), every other date involving us in insuperable difficulties; that the phrase 'iuvenis admodum' is free from objections; that Tacitus, at the age of 27,

in common with the subject matter of the 20th letter under discussion, and yet Wutk triumphantly concludes: ex his atque talibus locis quibus probatur *vel eisdem vel similibus vel diversis* (!) quoque interdum de eloquentia opinionibus Tacitum et Plinium esse ductos, Plinium illam epistolam ad Tacitum dare non potuisse efficitur si dialogum legisset, antequam ad amicum scriberet. *Nosset enim omnia quae interrogaturus esset in dialogo responsum.* Ex quo conficitur, ut litterae a Plinio tum missae sint cum opusculum illud Tacitus nondum composuerat (i. e. after 99 A. D.). Never, perhaps, has an equally far-reaching inference been based upon more gratuitous and utterly fallacious assumptions. In the first place, it is *not true* that the Dialogus gives an answer to Pliny's question; on the very contrary, it must have left him completely in the dark, as it does every reader of to-day, as to Tacitus' own opinion, for the author impartially allows Aper on the one hand, and Messalla (c. 31) and Secundus (c. 38) on the other, to give expression to diametrically opposite views, so that the Dialogue, so far from rendering the 20th letter superfluous, might even have induced Pliny to compose it! But suppose for a moment the Dialogus did *contain a satisfactory answer* to Pliny's inquiry, it would still not follow that the letter antedated the treatise. Wutk accepts the Tacitean authorship, and as no amount of exegetical sleight-of-hand (e. g. p. XI f.) can dispose of the obstacles in the way of a later date than the reign of Titus, an interval of nearly *twenty* years will have elapsed between the publication of the Dialogue and the composition of the letter, taking Wutk's own date. This being so, is it unreasonable, I ask, to imagine that Pliny at the age of 37 (born 62 A. D.) might possibly have forgotten all about the passages in the Dialogus which he had read at the age of 18–19, for according to Wutk, Pliny's high admiration for Tacitus precludes his ignorance of any work his intimate friend had written? And if we add that the references in question are but *incidental* to the main design of the treatise, it ought to be clear to everybody not blinded by preconceived opinions that Pliny's letter in no sense implies the non-existence of the Dialogus. On Wutk's own theory, finally, the publication of the Dialogus would be well-nigh *coincident* with that of the Histories! Pliny alludes to the latter; how could he ignore the former?!

as we must infer from the high official position and the oratorical reputation to which he had already attained, was unquestionably of sufficient intellectual maturity to grapple with a problem, in which by reason of his rhetorical training he would naturally have felt an interest.

Now, if we can finally trace an adequately striking correspondence between the political, social and ethical convictions, the criticisms on men and measures, the literary judgments found in the historical works of Tacitus and the Dialogue; if even the style should reveal remarkable and numerous coincidences; if, in a word, to use Lipsius' phrase, 'liniamenta quaedam apparent eiusdem viri et vultus,' we shall be forced to conclude that the cumulative weight of these parallelisms of thought and diction will form a chain of evidence in favor of Tacitean authorship of irrefragable strength.

In the following some of the more salient coincidences of the many pointed out or discussed in the Notes, are more conveniently grouped together and classified.[42]

(a) *Political Views.*

Sixteen years had elapsed between the Dialogus (80/81) and the Agricola (97), followed closely by the Germania (98). The Histories were published between 105 and 109 and the Annals about 115. During this eventful period, the great historian had seen seven emperors come and go; he had lived, in enforced literary silence,[43]

[42] Cp. also Lange ap. Dronke pp. xxi–xxviii Eckstein, Proleg. pp. 68–83. Classen, Eos I pp. 6 ff. Haase, Praefat. I pp. xxxiv–xlii. xlviii–lv. Weinkauff pp. xc–cii. cxx–cxxxi. cxxxvii–clxx. pp. 20–30 (full of erroneous and irrelevant references and repetitions) Jansen pp. 48–82. Nipperdey, Tac. Ann.[9] Einleit. I pp. 20 ff. Furneaux, Annals, Introd. Vol. I pp. 27 f.

[43] Ag. 3 tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos *per silentium* venimus. Non tamen pigebit *vel incondita ac rudi voce* memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. This famous passage does not necessarily exclude a rhetorical treatise like the Dialogus any more than some of Tacitus' speeches which were certainly published in the reign of Domitian, as we must infer from Pliny's letters. The composition of the Dialogue during that time is rendered impossible on *internal* grounds, and the above statement of Tacitus, as is clear from the context, refers only to works of a *historical* description. Nothing is gained by attempting to prove too much, a fault into which many advocates of the Tacitean authorship, notably Weinkauff, have repeatedly fallen.

through the horrors of the despotic reign of Domitian, which threatened permanently to destroy what was still left of freedom in thought and action, and which could not but engender that longing regret for the better days of ante-imperial times which vibrates with such pathetic intensity in Tacitus and Juvenal. The Dialogus antedates this epoch; a more optimistic feeling permeates the work; the youthful author still dips his pen in sunlight. In spite of this, occasional shadows flit across his page, harbingers, so to speak, of the storm clouds which were destined to darken the narrative of Tacitus' later writings.

Of the three possible forms of government, Tacitus' sympathies were undoubtedly on the side of the Republic,[44] but he clearly recognised that the times had changed, that amid the multifarious and ever-widening interests of the Empire, peace and tranquillity could only be secured by a monarchical régime.[45] We must resign ourselves with philosophical composure to the inevitable, however much we may deprecate the abuse of the one-man power and the demoralising effects produced by it.[46] Tacitus is, nevertheless, convinced that even under despotic rulers great and good men may live unmolested, provided they do not call down upon themselves the wrath of the Emperor by injudicious opposition.[47] Thrasea Paetus, Helvidius Priscus and Cn. Piso[48] demonstrated indeed the sincerity of their convictions and the purity of their motives, and Tacitus honors them for it, but they utterly failed to bring about the

[44] Ann. IV 33 (cited to note c. 41 15) VI 42 (48) populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiae libidini proprior est. I 74 manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis.

[45] H. I 1 omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit 16 si inmensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis iam pridem ventum est ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano posset quam bonum successorem nec tua plus iuventa quam bonum principem. Ann. I 9 non aliud discordantis patriam remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur.

[46] H. IV 5 bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare II 37 f.

[47] Ag. 42 sciant quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudes escendere qui plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

[48] Ann. XIV 12 T. P. silentio vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus exiit tum senatu, ac sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit 49. Cf. also Ann. I 74 manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis . . . permotus his quantoque *incautius* efferverat (sc. Cn. Piso).

realisation of the principles for which they suffered. Under these circumstances, prudence and moderation must determine our mode of conduct, and danger must not be wantonly courted, so long as honor and dignity are not jeopardised. Men like M. Lepidus,[49] therefore, L. Piso,[50] Memmius Regulus[51] and above all the historian's own father-in-law[52] receive his unstinted applause. The lives which these men lived proves, indeed, that there were not a few of Tacitus' contemporaries who shared his opportunistic views. But, so far as these have found literary expression in extant utterances, the Dialogus is the only work which can be said to breathe a political atmosphere similar to that which pervades the historical writings of Tacitus.[53]

It is, of course, impossible to determine with absolute confidence to what precise extent the sentiments expressed by the interlocutors reflect the views of the author, for Aper, Secundus, Messalla and Maternus are unquestionably drawn to the life, and their individual characteristics stand out in bold relief; nevertheless, the prominent position assigned to Maternus, the very significance of his own utterances, and the unqualified approval which he is made to give to Messalla's explanation of the causes of the decline of eloquence and to some of the salient features of Secundus' argument prove conclusively that the poet-advocate must be regarded as the chief exponent of the writer's personal convictions, much in the same way as the Crassus of the de oratore is the mouthpiece of Cicero's own views. But if this inference be correct, and it has never been seriously denied, it is of the highest significance to observe that the coincidences between the historical works of Tacitus and the Dialogus, so far as they pertain to political opinions, are practically confined to the speeches of Maternus!

[49] Ann. IV 20 hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit . . . dubitare cogor . . . an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum.

[50] Ann. VI 10 (16) L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans.

[51] Ann. XIV 47.

[52] Agr. l. c.

[53] It is also highly significant that the author of the Dialogus as well as Tacitus in the Annals dates the beginning of Augustus' reign from the year 43 B.C. See note c. 17 9.

Maternus, like Tacitus, sincerely acquiesces in the monarchical régime for reasons of expediency, for the existing state of affairs is still far from realising his political ideals. He willingly concedes the truth of Secundus' statement that eloquence found more favorable conditions of growth in the more turbulent times of republican Rome, but being firmly resolved to forsake the irksome duties of the forum, which had become repugnant to him, he maintains that the blessings of peace and tranquillity, possible only under the government of a single ruler, more than counterbalance the oratorical superiority of the republican period. If called upon to choose between anarchy and oratorical decadence, he would prefer the latter as the lesser of two evils.[54]

Eloquence, like fire, requires fuel to feed it and motion to fan it into a blaze; in fact, any intense literary activity is incompatible with political tranquillity. This observation embodies a truth so profound, and one so far removed from mere commonplace platitude, that I cannot believe it to have occurred to two writers independently of each other, and when we find to our surprise that the same thought is met with in but one other passage in extant literature, namely the — Histories of Tacitus, only blind prejudice can fail to see the important bearing which this parallelism has upon the question of authorship.[55]

The author of the Dialogue, like Tacitus, deplores the loss of freedom of speech, and the risks incurred by giving voice to one's convictions are alluded to by both.[56]

But the striking coincidences do not end here. Maternus, in opposition to Aper's admiring comments, has nothing but supreme contempt for the abject servility of informers and 'amici principis'

[54] Cf. notes to c. 41 and 37 32.

[55] c. 36 init. 38 ext. longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxime principis disciplina *ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat* 41 ext. nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem and Tac. H. I 1 postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, *magna illa ingenia cessere.* A similar idea, with special reference to the development of dramatic poetry, has been well brought out by J. A. Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets* II p. 11 ff.

[56] c. 2. 27 13 cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia Ag. 2 H. I 1 dum res populi Romani memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate . . . rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet Ann. IV 34 f.

who constituted so conspicuous a feature of the imperial court.[57] In like manner, Tacitus seizes every opportunity to brand in burning language the pernicious influence exercised by these fawning favorites of the emperor.[58] Of the individuals of this class expressly stigmatised in the Dialogus, three, viz: Vatinius,[59] Vibius Crispus and Eprius Marcellus,[60] recur in Tacitus, and their characterisation, albeit intensified and more elaborated, confirms the judgment passed upon them in the Dialogue in a very remarkable manner. Marcellus' encounter with Helvidius Priscus is known to us only from the Dialogus and a naturally more detailed account in the Histories [61]

The low and, as we may add, unjust opinion of the Gracchi,[62] the clearly implied censure of Pompey[63] are also in perfect accord with the convictions of the historian at a later period.

But if the political opinions in the Dialogus and the historical works of Tacitus, in spite of the long interval between them, show a family likeness so marked, as to create a very strong presumption in favor of identity of authorship, we discover an equally pronounced resemblance in the domain of moral reflections and in the criticism of society in general.

[57] Cf. c. 13 15 quod adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi.

[58] e. g. H. I 2 nec minus praemia delatorum invisa, quam scelera, cum . . . agerent, verterent cuncta odio et terrore 22. II 92 III 47 V 9 Ann. III 25 multitudo periclitantium gliscebat, cum omnis domus delatorum interpretationibus subverteretur IV 30 delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum VI 1 (7) XII 59 odio delatoris XIV 39 — II 12 libertorum servilia ingenia, amicis inesse adulationem H. I 76 II 95.

[59] On Vatinius, cf. c. 11 10 and Ann. XV 34 there cited.

[60] On Crispus, cf. c. 8 1 (with note) 11 ff.; on Marcellus, c. 5 30. 32 (with notes) 8 11 ff. H. II 53 invisum memoria delationum . . . *Marcelli* nomen, and in general c. 13 10 ff. See also note 79 below.

[61] Cf. notes c. 5 ext.

[62] Cf. c. 40 25 nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges and Ann. III 27 secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque ob prava per vim latae sunt. Hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis.

[63] Cf. c. 38 6 primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit, imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae and Ann. III 28 Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul corrigendis moribus delectus sed gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor.

(b) *Ethical and Social Views.*

One of the most characteristic features of the historical works of Tacitus is his almost pathetic longing for the irrevocable days of old. Amid the moral degeneracy which he saw about him, he fondly conjures up a primitive golden age of justice and innocence, and in the Germania pictures, for the benefit of his contemporaries, a sturdy race not yet contaminated by the vices of civilised Rome.[64] The terms 'priscus, antiquus, vetus' are everywhere laudatory epithets. Still he does not give way to despair, but recognises that his own age is not altogether incapable of noble achievement, and that the halo which envelops the past is apt to blind us to the good qualities of which no period is wholly destitute.

These views coincide in all particulars with the sentiments in the Dialogus. Messalla deplores the indifference of his contemporaries for the 'mores antiqui';[65] the golden age of pristine purity is pictured in glowing colors by the poet Maternus;[66] antiquus, vetus and priscus are invested throughout with the same significance as in the historical works and the habit of idealising the past at the expense of the present is repeatedly alluded to.[67]

The reflections in the Dialogus on modestia, impudentia, licentia,[68] on moderatio,[69] invidia,[70] adulatio,[71] on the love of fame,[72] the consulship as the goal of a Roman's ambition,[73] on the laxity of educational methods,[74] on the demoralising effect of the passion for the theatre, horse-racing, gladiatorial contests,[75] the idea of the spread of corruption into the provinces from Rome as a centre,[76] the aristocratic contempt for mercenary professions[77] and lowly descent,[78] the pointed contrast between the educated classes and

[64] e. g. G. 19 ext. nemo illic vitia ridet nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur . . . plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

[65] Cf. notes c. 28 7. 14 29 1 with the parallel passages from the Agr., Germ. and Annals there cited.

[66] Cf. notes c. 12 8. 13.

[67] Cf. notes c. 12 12 15 2 18 16 41 ext.

[68] Cf. notes c. 26 18 29 7 40 8 Ann. XIV 15 XV 2.—H. II 5. 10 Ann. III 13. 27 XIII 25 XIV 20 f.

[69] c. 40 23 41 23 Ag. 4. 42 Ann. VI 10 (16) XII 37 XIV 53 H. III 86.

[70] c. 23 26 25 27 40 4 H. IV 8 Ann. II 72 III 10. 53 IV 41.

[71] c. 13 15 Ag. 43 G. 8 H. I 1. 15 IV 4 Ann. III 57. 65 XIV 64 XV 59. 73.

[72] c. 10 1.

[73] c. 13 3.

[74] c. 28 f.

[75] c. 29 11 ff.

[76] c. 28 7 H. I 30.

[77] c. 32 22.

[78] c. 8 15 Ann. I 76 II 85 IV 3 VI 27 XI 36.

the proletariat,[79] on the irksome necessity of remembering the emperor in wills,[80] legacy hunting,[81] — all display the true 'color Taciteus,' as evidenced by parallel passages in his works.

In his fondness, finally, for crystallising psychological and ethical reflections or general truths in pointed epigram and well-balanced antitheses, the author of the Dialogus reveals — ex ungue leonem — the keen analytic observer so well known to us from the Histories and the Annals.[82]

(c) *Literary Criticism.*

The Dialogus was written by a man equipped with a thorough rhetorical training, and possessed of a wide knowledge of the characteristics of Roman eloquence and its history. If so, can we assert with confidence that the historian Tacitus was similarly qualified by natural endowment and training to write the treatise which has come down under his name and which otherwise reflects

[79] c. 19 9. [80] c. 13 ext. [81] c. 6 6.

[82] e. g. c. 1 8 ff. ut aut de ingeniis male existimandum sit, si idem adsequi non possumus aut de iudiciis, si nolumus 8 27 divitiae et opes quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat 10 3 mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci 12 12 aureum saeculum et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis et vatibus abundabat qui bene facta canerent non qui male admissa defenderent 13 15 nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi 18 15 nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse (see Ann. II 88 cited ad loc.) 21 28 non melius quam Cicero sed felicius quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt 23 17 prope abest ab infirmitate, in qua sola sanitas laudatur 26 13 oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur 27 11 utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia (see G. 45 in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant) 29 18 coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur 32 2 aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur 33 20 eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis 37 ext. ut secura velint, periculosa extollant 40 ext. nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut pateretur et leges nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit 41 8 supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. and 37 21. 32. Cp. also *Hofman-Peerlkamp* p. 100 'Saepissime auctor dialogi ita scribit ut praeter Tacitum nemo umquam scripsit . . . nam sicuti multi homines hoc habent, ut ex incessu motuque corporis eminus cognoscantur iidemque alium incessum motumque fingere ac simulare perpetuo non possint, ita Tacitum sua ars et ratio satis manifestum ostendunt: natura illius ubique recurrit et quasi flamma, ut ait poeta, indicio proditur ipsa suo.'

his individual characteristics in so striking a manner? The answer must again be in the affirmative. We have already seen that Tacitus began his career as an *orator*, that he won such high distinction in this field at an early age as to call forth the unstinted admiration of the younger Pliny,[83] and the latter's correspondence alludes to two of the doubtless numerous speeches of Tacitus in eulogistic terms.[84] Happily we are not confined to second-hand testimony, for the works of Tacitus himself not only furnish superabundant evidence of the oratorical education of their writer, in the many speeches put into the mouths of the actors of his historical drama (which, moreover, exhibit a marked difference in style from that employed in the narrative portions proper[85]), but he never loses an opportunity of characterising or criticising the oratorical efforts of individuals.[86] Nor is this all, for on comparing the judgments passed upon those men who are also mentioned in the Dialogue,

[83] See Ep. VII 20 cited above.

[84] Ep. II 1, 6 laudatus est (sc. Verginius Rufus) a consule Cornelio Tacito: nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit laudator eloquentissimus II 11, 17 Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et quod eximium orationi eius inest, σεμνῶς. That Tacitus also published his speeches, which Huebner (Hermes I 440) denied, seems to me to be clearly implied in the well-known passage in Plin. Ep. IX 23, 2 Narrabat (sc. Tacitus) sedisse se cum quodam Circensibus proximis: hunc post varios eruditosque sermones requisisse 'Italicus es an provincialis?' se respondisse 'nosti me et quidem ex studiis.' Ad hoc illum 'Tacitus es an Plinius?' exprimere non possum quam sit iucundum mihi quod nomina nostra, quasi litterarum propria, non hominum, litteris redduntur, quod uterque nostrum his etiam ex studiis notus quibus aliter ignotus est. The doubt was justifiable only, if Tacitus and Pliny were known to Tacitus' neighbor as 'celeberrima tum ingenia fori.' Had the Histories (105 A. D.) been already before the public, the two names would scarcely have been at once associated in the mind of the questioner, on being told 'nosti me et quidem ex *studiis*.' If so, we shall also have a terminus ante quem for the otherwise indeterminable date of this letter.

[85] e. g. Ag. 30–34. H. I 15 f. 29 f. 37 f. 83 f. II 47. 76 f. III 13. 19 f. IV 14. 16 f. 24. 42. 58. 64. 73 f. 76 Ann. I 22. 28. 42 f. 58 II 37 f. 71 III 12. 16. 50. 53 ff. IV 8. 34 f. 37 f. 40 V 6 (VI 1) VI 8 (14) XI 24 XII 37 XIV 43 f. 53 ff. Cp. E. Walter, *De T. studiis rhetoricis* (confined to the speeches in Ann. I–VI).

[86] e. g. H. I 90 et erant qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans 19 comptior Galbae . . . sermo, Pisonis comis oratio IV 42 occurrit truci oratione Montanus 43 eloquentia clarus (sc. Cluvius Rufus), Ann. III 31 oratorum ea aetate uberrimus erat VI 29 (35) (de Mamerco Scauro), III 34 (Valerius Messalinus), IV 61 (Haterius, see note c. 6 25), V 11 (VI 6) Trio . . . foro exercitus, VI 15 (21) mitis ingenio et comptae facundiae (sc. Vinicius), 48 (54) Balbus truci eloquentia

we again find a very pronounced family likeness, it being also a peculiar characteristic of both authors that their prejudices against the moral conduct of a man do not prevent them from doing full justice to his intellectual abilities.[87]

The same association of ideas, finally, is noticeable in certain miscellaneous items,[88] particularly in utterances on the materialistic character of forensic oratory as compared with that of the past,[89] on the influence formerly enjoyed by orators,[90] the pursuit of philosophy[91] and the like. Everywhere "apparent liniamenta eiusdem viri et vultus," but what is still more significant perhaps, the entire treatise contains not a single thought that can be said to have been repudiated or contradicted in the historical works of Tacitus.[92]

(d) *The Stylistic Character of the Dialogus.*

We have reached the last stage in our journey and are now prepared to consider the argument derived from the style of the Dialogus, which constituted, as has been repeatedly remarked, the one great obstacle in the way of a general acceptance of the treatise as a genuine work of Tacitus.

habebatur, promptus adversus insontes, XIII 3 oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius *auribus adcommodatum* (see also XIII 11 XIV 52 and note c. 21 12)... Augusto *prompta* et *profluens* . . . eloquentia fuit (see note 2 11. 14). Tiberius artem quoque callebat, qua verba expenderet, tum validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguus, etiam Gai Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit. nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres.

[87] Cp. his remarks on Caesar, note c. 21 21; on Eprius Marcellus, c. 5 30 adcinctus et *minax* H. IV 43 *minacibus* oculis Ann. XVI 29 cum per haec atque talia Marcellus, ut erat torvus ac *minax*, voce vultu oculis ardesceret and note l. c.; on Helvidius Priscus, c. 5 32 sapientiam and H. IV 5 doctores sapientiae secutus est; on Vipstanus Messalla, H. IV 42 magnam . . . eloquentiae famam V. M. adeptus est and c. 15 6 ff.; on Vibius Crispus, c. 8. 12 H. II 10 pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos IV 42 quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum . . . imitentur; on Pomponius Secundus, note c. 13 10; Domitius Afer, ibid.

[88] Cf. notes c. 5 12. 19 10 22 12 19 13 2. 25 17 12 19 9 32 34 37 32.

[89] c. 8 and note c. 12 9 H. IV 42 and esp. Ann. XI 5 ff.

[90] c. 36 init. Ann. XV 21.

[91] Cf. note c. 19 19 32 ext.

[92] Ann. IV 61, cited c. 6 25, is hardly a genuine exception, for although Tacitus may in his later years, as has been pointed out ad loc., have esteemed extemporary effusions less highly, it must be remembered that in the earlier passage he speaks more particularly of the *pleasure* afforded by improvisations, whereas the passage from the Annals deals rather with the *ephemeral* character of impromptu speeches.

To begin with, it cannot be too strongly or too often emphasised that the refusal to accept the Dialogus as Tacitean is ultimately and primarily based upon a methodological aberration. For, let us consider for a moment the status quo. Here was a treatise ascribed to Tacitus in our MSS. which was found to exhibit remarkable stylistic discrepancies, when compared with the admittedly genuine writings of the historian, especially the Annals. This being so, one might have supposed that the only legitimate method of criticism would have been to ascertain, if possible, some plausible reasons for the phenomenon in question.[93] But instead of adopting this course, scholars from the time of Lipsius precipitately abandoned the unimpeachable testimony of the MSS., boldly declaring the stylistic character of the Dialogus to be incompatible with Tacitean authorship. This wholly unwarranted inference being regarded almost in the light of an axiom, a perverse ingenuity subsequently succeeded in discovering other confirmatory evidence of the spuriousness of the treatise. These objections have been dealt with in the foregoing pages and it has been shown that they not only possess no validity whatever, but that weighty *internal* reasons, which the sceptics studiously ignore or strangely overlook, confirm the MS. tradition. We shall now prove that the observable stylistic *differences*, though habitually exaggerated on the one hand, can be satisfactorily accounted for, while on the other they are offset by equally striking *coincidences* which, quite apart from the abundant evidence already furnished, cannot but dispel any doubt still remaining as to identity of authorship.[94]

[93] Schanz, *Röm. Lit.* II p. 363, well says 'Das Problem besteht nicht darin die Stilverschiedenheit des Dialogs zu erklären, sondern die der historischen Schriften,' but how the same writer can contend in the same breath that this difference is not 'das Product einer Entwickelung' but 'eine mit Bewusstsein vollzogene künstlerische That' is incomprehensible to me. See also note 29.

[94] Cp. the remarks of Teuffel, *Introd.* to his German translation p. 18 f.: "In der That kennen wir kaum eine schwerere Verirrung des Urtheils als die Bezweifelung oder Bestreitung des taciteischen Ursprungs unserer Schrift und wir erblicken darin einen abschreckenden Beweis, auf welche Abwege es führt, wenn man bei einem schriftstellerischen Producte statt in dessen Tiefe einzudringen, vielmehr an der Oberfläche und dem Aeusserlichen kleben bleibt. Dass ein Unterschied ist zwischen der Darstellungsweise unserer Schrift und den übrigen taciteischen — zumal wenn man vorzugsweise die Annalen der Vergleichung zu Grunde legt — kann ein Blinder sehen; aber nur ein Solcher kann auch die ganz wesentlichen und characteristischen Punkte der Gleichheit und Aehnlichkeit verkennen, und nur plumpes Zutappen kann aus jenen

Relegating the reader for detailed comment to my Notes and to the chapter on 'Style and Language,' I here content myself with an enumeration of some of the more striking stylistic coincidences between the Dialogus and the historical works of Tacitus.

a. The 'happy audacity' with which Tacitus enriched the vocabulary of the language[95] is already noticeable in the Dialogus,[96] the following expressions being also found in the later works, but not elsewhere: *histrionalis* (c. 26 9 29 11 Ann. I 16), *clientulus* (c. 37 2 Ann. XII 36), *educationibus* in the plural (c. 28 23 Ann. III 25) and perhaps *et — et* after a negative (c. 5 5 34 11 Ag. 35).

b. Expressions invested with a *new* meaning and apparently not elsewhere in *prose: cura* = 'liber' (c. 3 13 6 22 Ann. III 24 IV 11), *lenocinari* (c. 6 24 G. 43), *sacra* = 'sacra loca' (c. 13 19 H. III 33 Ann. I 54. 79), *inpexa* in a figurative sense (c. 20 10 and perhaps Ann. XVI 10), *cogitatio* = 'consilium' (c. 3 13 21 21 Ag. 39 H. I 27 II 74 Ann. XV 54), *incitamentum*, an extremely rare word, except in Tacitus (14 times), and not elsewhere used of *persons* (c. 40 11 H. II 23 Ann. VI 29), *obviam ire* used in a non-hostile signification (c. 41 19 H. IV 46 Ann. IV 6 XIII 5), *inauditus* in a legal sense first found in Tacitus and, with two exceptions, always joined with 'indefensus' (c. 16 14 H. I 6 II 10 Ann. II 77 — Ann. IV 11 XII 22).

c. Expressions of very rare or not common occurrence in good Latin prose met with both in the Dial. and the historical writings of Tacitus: *quisque* with plural predicate (c. 1 17), *utrique* = 'uterque' (c. 2 6), *modo . . . nunc* (c. 3 16), *gloria* 'literary fame' (c. 5 10), *mediocritas* (c. 7 4), *ingero* 'din into the ears' (c. 7 14), *notabilior, honorificentius, audentius* (c. 8 12 9 9 18 7), ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction of relative pronoun (c. 8 24), *dare* = 'dedere' (c. 8 30), concessive *ut* (c. 9 18), *vanescere* (c. 10 24), *ullus* as a noun (c. 12 14), adj. with inf. (c. 16 11), *sita* for 'posita' (c. 18 2), use of *quodsi* (c. 19 15), *etsi non . . . at certe* (c. 19 21), *adfluens* (c. 20 8), *nisi quis — nisi qui* (c. 21 24), epexegetic *que* (c. 22 9), *concessu* = 'consensu' (c. 25 12), *ante — post* 'superior — inferior to' (c. 26 31), *numerare* 'esteem' (c. 26 32), *delegari* = 'committere' (c. 29 1), *habere* = 'continere'

Differenzen auf Verschiedenheit des Verfassers schliessen, statt sich des Glückes zu freuen, dass uns von einem denkwürdigen, schriftstellerischen Entwickelungsgange die beiden Endglieder wie die Mittelstufen erhalten sind."

95 See the lists in Boetticher, *Lex. Tac.* LI–LV Dr. *Stil* p. 115 ff.

96 See below, Vogel pp. 279 ff. Jansen p. 65 ff.

(c. 30 13) 'opus esse, sufficere, expedire' with *ut* to avoid the dependence of one infinitive upon another (c. 31 1 32 2 Ann. III 69), *pudendus* as an adjective (c. 32 14), *ingenuitas* (c. 32 21), *dum* with ind. pres. in orat. obl. (c. 32 33), *adversus* 'as compared with' (c. 33 5), *ut* = 'ita ut' (c. 33 19), *facile dixerim* and similar phrases (c. 35 6), *fidelius* (c. 34 25), *robustiores* opp. to 'pueri' (c. 35 15), *compositus* (c. 36 5), *hinc* 'out of such conditions arose' (c. 36 8 Ann. III 27), *reus* in a less restricted, non-legal sense (c. 36 10 Ann. II 24), *distrahere* (c. 36 13), *quo modo* in comparative clauses (c. 36 32), *rubor* = 'pudor' (c. 37 1), *nec* = 'nec ideo' (c. 37 24), *proeliator* (c. 37 33 Ann. II 73), *ius* 'privilege' (c. 40 1 Ann. II 30), *saluber* = 'validus' (c. 41 11 H. V 6 Ann. II 33), *conferre* 'discuss' (c. 42 5 and perhaps Ag. 15).

d. Words and constructions in the Dialogus, especially *frequent* in Tac. or *characteristic* of his style: *ipse* (c. 1 4 3 12), *tamquam* used objectively (c. 2 2), *nec — et* (c. 2 10), *in quantum* and like prepositional phrases (see below), *quo minus* = 'quin' (c. 3 5), *vertere* as a middle (c. 4 3), adj. = adv. (c. 4 3), dativus subjectivus (c. 4 8), *praevalere* = 'plus valere' (c. 5 4), indefinite relative pronoun followed by *alius* (c. 5 9), *fovere* (c. 5 10), adj. = subordinate clause (c. 5 23), *officium* 'office' (c. 6 6), *subnixus* (c. 6 12), *et — quoque* (c. 6 18), ellipsis of *sed* (ibid.), *diu* = 'iam diu' (c. 6 27), ellipsis of verb (c. 7 4), *auditus* = 'auditu cognitus' (c. 7 18), *oblitteratus* (c. 8 3), *habere* with gerundive and gerund (c. 8 11), *donec* = 'quamdiu' (c. 8 17), *principes in amicitia* (ibid.), *mansurum*, and the use of a fut. act. part. = adj. clause (c. 9 22), ellipsis of verb governing acc. with inf. (c. 10 33), ellipsis of verb after *hinc* (ibid.), *increpare* (c. 12 1), *praecipuus* in a superlative sense (c. 12 2), *et* before negative (c. 12 8), *crimen* = 'scelus' (c. 12 12), adjective with genitive (c. 13 22), *an* as a disjunctive conjunction (c. 13 13), ablative of rest (c. 13 25), compound verbs with acc. (c. 14 4 25 14), *satis constat* (c. 16 21), *cum maxime* (c. 16 29), *mox* 'subsequently' (c. 17 10), abandonment of the oratio obliqua (c. 17 19 25 4 30 17 32 32), *ita* = 'itaque' (c. 17 19), *rursus* = αὖ (c. 18 24), *iter* = 'ratio' (c. 19 22), quasi-instrumental ablative (c. 19 23), *postquam* with pluperfect ind. (c. 22 8), asyndetic collocations (c. 23 10), affirmative *et* (c. 25 24), *nunc* (c. 26 27), *primum — mox* (c. 28 7), *haurire*, in a figurative sense (c. 28 28), perfect passive participle for abstract noun (c. 29 11), *et ipsis* 'likewise' (c. 30 1), *an* in indirect questions with 'utrum'

omitted (c. 32 4), ellipsis of demonstrative pronoun (c. 32 8), plural predicate after two singular subjects in adversative clauses (c. 42 6).

e. Peculiar collocations and figurative expressions common to the historical works *and* the Dialogus: Repetition of the same word within short intervals (c. 1 8 13 8),[97] non modo, non . . . modo, non solum, non tantum (c. 2 6 7 13 14 16), paupertas et angustia rerum *circumsteterunt* (c. 8 12 H. I 17 IV 79), a general term more closely defined by a specific word or phrase (c. 9 1 2 12 13 3 16 29 19 7. 24 20 8 22 18 24 10), *in herba vel flore* (c. 9 20 H. V 7), *natura — denegavit* (c. 10 10 Ann. XV 42), *oblectare otium* (c. 10 12 Ann. XII 49), *nomen inserere famae* (ibid. H. II 61 Ann. VI 2), variation and repetition of preposition (c. 10 25 critical note), *aut probata . . . aut excusata* (c. 10 38 Ag. 3), *ingredi auspicatus* — pleonasm (c. 11 8 18 7 35 12), *in Neronem improbam . . . potentiam* (c. 11 9), *sacra studiorum* (ibid.), *nullis contacta vitiis pectora* (c. 12 8 10 18 31 25 Ann. I 10 III 30), position of adverb (c. 12 19), *quos vocetis . . . quam determinetis* and analogous amplifications (c. 16 16), sing. predicate with two subjects (c. 22 20 26 18 40 14), *non . . . neque . . . sed* (c. 29 7), position of *unus* (c. 34 31), *hanc illi famam circumdederunt* (c. 37 26 Ag. 20 H. IV 11. 45 Ann. XIV 15. 53), verb-subject-verb or object-verb-object (c. 37 35).[98]

f. One of the most noticeable features of the style of Tacitus, when compared with that of post-Augustan prose-writers, is his peculiar predilection for *alliterative* combinations.[99] It is, therefore, of the highest significance in the present discussion to observe the same fondness for alliteration in the Dialogus. See 'Style and Language.'

The failure of so many scholars from Lipsius to Andresen to recognise any resemblance between the style of the historian Tacitus and that met with in our treatise was primarily due to the deplorable fact that the Histories and more particularly the Annals were taken as the sole criterion and standard of comparison. In the later works, Tacitus, like Thucydides, seemed, if we may appropriate the language of Quintilian, 'densus et brevis et semper instans,'

[97] Cp. also the remarks of Kaibel, *Stil und Text der* Πολ. Ἀθην. *des Aristoteles* p. 50 with the passage from Soph. Elect. 580 ff. there cited.

[98] Half a dozen instances excepted, all of the illustrations of Tacitean usage given under *a. b. c. d. e.* are *omitted* in Weinkauff's collection pp. cxxxviii–clxiv!

[99] This peculiarity did not escape his later imitator, Ammianus Marcellinus.

while the writer of the Dialogus is 'dulcis et candidus et fusus; ille vi [melior], hic voluptate.' And such, it is true, must be the superficial impression which every reader will carry away from a perusal of the historical works and the rhetorical treatise, but it is, nevertheless, a one-sided one, because superficial. A closer examination, as the above coincidences, intentionally selected almost exclusively from the Histories and Annals, must have made tolerably clear, on the one hand utterly *invalidates* the assertion of Lipsius and his followers that the Annals and our treatise, published more than thirty years previous, have absolutely no stylistic features in common, while on the other, it as fully *confirms* Lipsius' dictum 'mutari is (sc. stilus) in aetate aut argumento potest . . . sed numquam ita ut abeat prorsus a sese.'

But if we must needs admit that remarkable stylistic coincidences exist side by side with equally remarkable stylistic divergencies, all objections urged against Tacitean authorship, quite independent of the weighty internal evidence already adduced, will be disposed of, if we finally succeed in giving some plausible answer to the following questions: (1) How came Tacitus to write in the fluent, exuberant, rhetorical style of the Dialogue? (2) How came he to abandon it for the nervous energy, the studied brevity, and the succinctness of expression, thought-laden to the verge of obscurity, so characteristic of the Annals?

Ciceronian influence.

We have seen that Tacitus enjoyed a thorough rhetorical training preparatory to the forensic career which he had chosen. At the time when the future historian began his studies, Quintilian had already started out on his life-long crusade against the *stylist* Seneca by preaching a return to the chaste and classic model of oratorical excellence which he saw typified in Cicero. Now even if it were not all but certain that the young Tacitus, like his friend Pliny, had been a pupil of the great rhetorician, the treatise itself would prove that its author had at all events come under his influence, for so far from reflecting the stylistic mannerisms of Seneca, so much affected by the writers of the time, the Dialogue displays not only a profound and extensive acquaintance with the works of Cicero, as we shall see, but its very diction is saturated throughout with Ciceronian phraseology. The documentary evidence of this has been collected in the Commentary, and the index locorum s. v. *Cicero* will reveal at a glance the great extent of the author's

indebtedness.[100] This conscious imitation is of course primarily responsible for the ubertas dicendi which pervades the entire treatise; more concretely it is seen in the writer's fondness for collocations of a more or less synonymic and tautological character.[101] Of about 100 examples of this kind, fully one-half may be paralleled from Cicero, our author often betraying his source by intentionally inverting the order of the original collocation.[102]

Contemporary Usage. But successful as the author of the Dialogus unquestionably was in reproducing the tone-color of Ciceronian diction, he was after all but a child of his day and as such naturally as incapable as were Quintilian and the younger Pliny, who imitated the same stylistic model, of entirely effacing all traces of the idioms and the usage of his time. Hence it is that we constantly meet with clear evidence in the Dialogus of what is commonly, but very inappropriately, designated as Silver Latin, so many threads, as it were, interwoven into the Ciceronian texture.[103]

Individuality of Author. To these two strata we must finally add a third element which goes to make up the heterogeneous and composite character of the style of this treatise, an element naturally less pronounced in youthful authors of talent, but never wholly absent, namely, the individuality of the writer himself. It shows itself not so much in the tendency to coin new expressions or to put old words to new uses, a tendency very strong in the later writings of Tacitus, and already noticeable in the Dialogus, as we have seen, but rather in

[100] Cf. also Eckstein pp. 76 ff. Weinkauff pp. cxxxvi f. Knaut pp. 2–9 Jansen pp. 61 ff. Kleiber pp. 11–33, and below pp. lxxxviii–xciv.

[101] In Weinkauff's long list (pp. 39–47), the particular passages and even the title of the Ciceronian works in which the parallel instances occur, are consistently omitted! His collection (136 instances in all) contains, moreover, numerous repetitions and erroneous references, many collocations cited by him being more appropriately classed under the head of *Hendiadys*, in the use of which Tacitus cannot be said to transcend the limits observed by other good prose writers. Cp. also Roth, *De T. synonymis et per figuram ἓν διὰ δυοῖν dictis*, Nürnberg 1826 Eckstein pp. 80–83 Ruperti, Index III, s. vv. Hendiadys and *Synonyma*, Spitta, Ulbricht (see Bibliography), Jansen pp. 74–76.

[102] To the instances enumerated in note c. 4 3, add c. 32 6. 10 37 37 39 8.

[103] Of the numerous illustrations of post-Augustan usage, duly pointed out in the Commentary, a few may be here enumerated: c. 1 2. 18 2 2. 5. 10 3 2. 5. 8. 17 5 4. 28 6 25 7 3. 4 8 7. 9. 11. 15 9 22. 30 10 24 12 12 13 1. 22 15 8 18 1 19 16. 19 20 13 21 19 23 9 25 23 26 24. 31 27 10 28 12 30 2. 5 33 6 34 7. 35 36 11 37 18 39 9. 24 40 27 42 2. Cp. also Weinkauff, *Dialogi quaedam vocabula apud alios scriptores obvia* pp. 30–36 Kleiber pp. 38–68.

boldness of metaphor and in peculiar rhetorical features generally.[104] A few instances of such peculiarities found only in the Dialogus or else of but sporadic occurrence in later Latin may suffice:

a. Vocabulary: *sanguinans* = 'sanguinarius' (c. 12 9), *statio* 'year of reign' (c. 17 14), *planitas* (c. 23 24), *tinnitus* in a figurative sense (c. 26 4) — all ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, *antiquarius* (c. 21 19 37 6 42 6), *uniforme* (c. 32 2) and especially noteworthy the use of *abstract* nouns with a rhetorical signification which elsewhere belongs only to the corresponding adjectives e.g. altitudo, scurrilitas, laetitia, sordes, tepor, lentitudo, planitas. See note c. 21 16.

b. Metaphorical phrases: e.g. *complecti provincias* (c. 5 15), *metum et terrorem feras* (c. 5 22), *substantia facultatum* (c. 8 15), *utilitates alunt* (c. 9 3), *suum genium propitiare* (c. 9 28), *odoratus philosophiam* (c. 19 15), *adfluens auditor* (c. 20 8), *veterno inquinatus* (c. 20 19), *ratio temporum collegerit* (c. 24 15).

c. Rhetorical structure: Two *synonymous* verbs joined by *et;* if in *causal* relation, by *atque* (see note 4 3); libration or equilibrium of clauses (see e.g. c. 10 24 f. 12 ext. 13 25 f. 15 ext. 22 15 ff. 23 22 ff. 28 20 f. 29 ext. 30 ext. 31 12. 22 ff. 32 11 f. 34 ext. 36 30. 32 f. 37 16 ff. 39 17 f. 41 9).

So much in answer to the first question propounded above. We now turn to the second: 'How came Tacitus to abandon the style of the Dialogus for the characteristic diction of the Histories and Annals?'

The psychological element.

The principal reason for this change, first pointed out or at least first properly emphasised by Jansen,[105] is of a *psychological* nature

[104] It should be noticed, however, that by far the majority of these stylistic peculiarities are put into the mouth of Aper, doubtless with the design to individualise the diction of this passionate advocate of the new school of oratory.

[105] pp. 69–72. I cannot forbear to quote part of Jansen's admirable discussion: Haec est animi humani ratio ac natura, ut, si quis iratus ac lacessitus statim nanciscatur occasionem aperiendi, quae animum angant et premant, oratione volubili, profluente, perenni irae indulgeat, si vero per quoddam tempus ad animi impetum coercendum cogatur, oblata tandem libere loquendi potestate, diu in cogitationibus iracundis versatus, indignationem inveteratam patefaciat sententiis asperis, brevibus, abruptis, acerbis. Per quindecim annos T. ad invitam desidiam et turpe silentium coactus, durissimo imperio pressus ac vexatus . . . vitam degerat animi dolore et angore, continua ira ac indignatione plenam ac refertam. Quare minime mirum, eum, cum recuperata tandem libere loquendi facultate "memoriam prioris servitutis et testimonium praesentium bonorum" componere inciperet, redintegrare non potuisse floridum illud ac

and is found in the indelible impress made upon the mind of Tacitus by the horrors of the reign of Domitian, for according to Buffon's famous phrase, "le style est de l'homme même," and so Goethe says "Im Ganzen ist der Stil eines Schriftstellers ein treuer Abdruck seines Inneren." But if the *man* Tacitus necessarily revealed himself in the *stylist* Tacitus, it was as natural that the buoyant optimism of his youth should revel in the exuberance of diction which characterises the Dialogue, as that a brief, succinct, nervous, and energetic style should become the fit vehicle of expression for the feelings of intense indignation which had taken possession of Tacitus when, after the death of Domitian, he determined to devote himself to historical composition.

Influence of subject-matter. Still another reason for the change under discussion is the difference of the *subject-matter* itself. A speech, a history, a dialogue or a letter call for distinctly different stylistic treatment, at least in the hands of an ancient writer, for Latin, as well as Greek, though perhaps in an inferior degree, by reason of an incomparable flexibility of structure and elasticity of form, can be made to reproduce, like a musical instrument, characteristic features of thought and feeling. In fact, it is only in music that we can find a modern analogue to this unrivaled versatility of expression of Greek and Latin, modern languages being far more rigid, less plastic and more devoid of stylistic freedom. Hence we find the various species of literary composition in the classic tongues conforming to particular types or genera dicendi peculiarly adapted to the thought which they are designed to embody,[106] and the numerous ancient systems of rhetoric, which to modern notions seem so often only the result

laetum, numerosum et aequabile dicendi genus, quo iuvenis viguerat, sicut continuis imbribus vexata et prostrata seges non ad priorem integrum laetumque florem resurgit, cum praesertim uberes iam et frequentes spicas conceperit. Animo eius concusso, ex acerbato, indignato talis sermo non amplius conveniebat; uti potuit oratione non fere alia, quam qua usus est, brevi et nervosa, interdum aspera et acerba. Sive igitur Taciti in scribendo consilium sive animi eius immutationem respicimus, saevo Domitiani imperio effectam facere eum non potuisse videmus, quin in historicis suis scriptis componendis uteretur sermone a dialogi stilo prorsus alieno.

[106] It is this mechanical element which alone explains the successful perpetration in antiquity of such literary frauds as that of Anaximenes' Τρικάρανος or the numerous apocryphal writings of Lysias, Demosthenes, etc., no less than the stylistic parodies of Plato. See Classical Studies in Honor of Henry Drisler 1894, 'Literary Frauds among the Greeks.'

of an over-ingenious subtlety of analysis, are but called forth by the infinite stylistic capabilities of the languages themselves. That oratory and history, with which we are here more immediately concerned, demand different rhetorical treatment, is particularly emphasised in a well-known passage of the younger Pliny.[107]

These two causes, then, the *psychological* and the *rhetorical*, taken in connection with the long interval of years that had elapsed between the publication of the Dialogus and the larger historical writings, would in themselves be sufficient to account for the stylistic change which confronts us.

Genetic development.

An examination, however, of the Agricola and the Germania, which are chronologically intermediate between the Dialogus and the Annals, shows that still a third factor had its share in effecting the change under notice. For we observe that the Agricola and the Germania have still many stylistic features in common with the Dialogue which one would look for in vain in the subsequent writings. Again, not a few characteristic usages, still rare in the Dialogue, occur with constantly increasing frequency in the later works, while others common in the Dialogus show a corresponding decrease, often disappearing entirely in the Annals. In other words, the style of Tacitus, as it is revealed to us in its maturest and latest form, is to a considerable extent the result of a *genetic development*, passing gradually through various phases of growth or decay, which we are often still able to trace. This fact, thanks to Woelfflin, is now all but universally admitted,[108] and it will, therefore, suffice for our present purpose to illustrate the point by adducing a few salient examples.[109]

[107] Plin. Ep. V 8, 9 f. habet quidem *oratio* et *historia* multa communia sed plura diversa in his ipsis quae communia videntur, narrat illa, narrat haec sed aliter: huic pleraque humilia et sordida et ex medio petita, illi omnia recondita, splendida, excelsa conveniunt: hanc saepius ossa musculi nervi, illam tori quidam et quasi iubae decent: haec vel maxime vi amaritudine instantia, illa tractu et suavitate atque etiam dulcedine placet: postremo alia verba, alius sonus, alia constructio.

[108] Wolff, *Die Sprache des Tacitus* and Schanz l. c. are, so far as I know, the only scholars who seem disposed to question the truth of Woelfflin's observation, but even Wolff does so only in part, while Schanz merely denies it without the slightest attempt at refutation.

[109] Cp. also Jansen pp. 73–78 Weinkauff pp. cxxxvii–cxlii. This index comparativus abounds in erroneous references and irrelevant quotations, and may so far as *stylistic* questions are concerned, be practically dispensed with, the monumental *Lex. Tac.* being nearly completed.

The following words are common to the minor writings of Tacitus, but not found in the later works: *adligo* (c. 13 15 G. 24), *ascendo* in a figurative sense (c. 7 9 G. 25), *attinet* impersonal (c. 25 31 Ag. 33), *caementum* (c. 20 25 G. 16), *citra* = sine (c. 27 10 Ag. 1 G. 16), *colligo* = computo (c. 17 16 G. 37), *cognatio* (c. 25 23 G. 38), *in commune* = in publicum (c. 26 29 G. 27), *concentus* (c. 15 16 G. 3 virtutis c.), *concito* (c. 14 1 Ag. 38), *confero* 'discuss' (c. 42 5 Ag. 15), *contentio* 'verbal encounter' (c. 4 2 Ag. 9), *contactus* 'contaminated' (c. 12 8 G. 10), *conversatio* = usus familiaris (c. 9 30 G. 30),[110] *cura* 'research' (c. 16 3 Ag. 10), *dominus* sc. infans (c. 29 6 G. 20), *fas* est with acc. and inf. (c. 36 5 Ag. 46), *lacertus* (c. 10 23 G. 17), *liniamentum* (c. 33 3 G. 16 but in the non-tropical sense), *offensa* (c. 3 5 10 30 and in the Histories; in the Annals only offensio, neither form appearing in the Agr. or Germ.), *opinari* (c. 2 10 G. 3), *positio* (c. 16 29 Ag. 11), *remissio* (c. 28 20 Ag. 9). Cp. also the use of *cupido* and *cupiditas* (c. 2 8), *eligere* and *deligere* (c. 10 32), the frequency of abstract plurals, use of neut. adj. sing. and plural for nouns, perfect passive part. for abstract nouns, fut. part. for adj. and many other examples commented on in the Notes and in the chapter on 'Style and Language.' Syntactical illustrations are furnished by the usage of anastrophe of conjunctions and prepositions, *et* before negatives, *et* in asyndetic collocations, change and repetition of prepositions, the use of particles and the like.

The cumulative weight of this evidence in proof of a genetic development in Tacitean style is considerable, but it is perhaps most conspicuous in the decreasing frequency of synonymous collocations, discussed above, inasmuch as the fondness for such combinations is equally characteristic of many other writers, Quintilian alone forming a rather remarkable exception, when we consider the length of the Institutio. Now the Agricola (97 A. D.) still exhibits 64 instances of synonymic groupings; in the Germania (98 A. D.) there is a decided falling off, only 28 examples being found, while

[110] It is curious to notice that Tacitus in the *second* part of the Annals occasionally reverts to his earlier usage. *conversatio* is used in the sense of 'conversation' in Ann. XII 49. Cp. also *cum . . . tum* (c. 5 6 14 19 Ann. XV 48), *damnari* = improbari (c. 16 15 Ann. XVI 28), *denego* (c. 10 11 Ann. XV 42), *disciplina* 'instruction' (c. 30 8 34 2 Ann. XV 52), *divitiae* (c. 8 27 Ann. XVI 3 elsewhere 'opes'), *elementum* τροπικῶς (c. 19 21 30 1 Ann. XIII 3), *ergo* = igitur (c. 34 1 G. 22. 45 Ann. XIV 3 XV 33), *etsi non-at certe* (c. 19 21 G. 33 Ann. XII 39), *intentio* (c. 14 3 Ann. XVI 34), *licet* concessive (c. 9 5 13 3 Ag. 32 Ann. XIV 55), *numerare* (c. 21 35 G. 7 Ann. XV 41), *percontatio* (c. 1 7 Ann. XV 58).

the entire historical works (105–115 A. D.) furnish scarcely more than 50 genuine instances in all, the proportion being about 2 : 1 in favor of the Histories, some particular groupings, however, occurring repeatedly, e. g. discordia, turbae, dissensio; fama, laus, gloria, nomen; quies, pax, otium; vires, arma, manus; inauditus, indefensus. The great majority of instances are met with also in the minor writings, but the following collocations in the Dialogus are exactly paralleled only in the Agricola and Germania: *metum ac terrorem* (c. 5 22 Ag. 32), *tueri et defendere* (c. 7 8 G. 14), *nemora et lucos* (c. 9 32 12 1 G. 9. 10. 45), *fortuitae et subitae* (c. 10 31 G. 11), *gloria . . . honor* (c. 12 14 G. 5), *ingenium ac studium* (c. 14 10 Ag. 3), *caeli siderumque* (c. 16 29 Ag. 12), *vi et potestate* (c. 19 23 G. 42), *vim et ardorem* (c. 24 2 Ag. 8), *severitate ac disciplina* (c. 28 11 G. 25), *remissiones lususque* (c. 28 20 Ag. 3), *probitati neque modestiae* (c. 29 7 40 G. 36), *angustis et brevibus* (c. 30 27 G. 6), *consilio et auctoritate* (c. 36 22 G. 12), *quies . . . otium* (c. 38 17 Ag. 6. 21. 42). Only about a dozen, finally, apparently lack an exact or analogous equivalent, either in the other writings of Tacitus or elsewhere.[111]

Oratio amplificata.

Lastly, attention may be drawn to the extensive use made of the so-called *oratio bimembris* and *trimembris*, which consists in the more or less redundant amplification of a thought and evidently serves the purpose of establishing a stylistic equilibrium or rhetorical libration of clauses. Weinkauff (pp. 89–97) has with great industry, though an excessive zeal, collected 315 (!) alleged instances of this usage from the writings of Tacitus. Unfortunately, by far the greater number, especially in the case of those given under oratio *bimembris*, exhibits no feature that might not be readily paralleled e. g. from Cicero, Livy, and Pliny. They are, therefore, quite valueless for purposes of comparison of the usage of the Dialogus and the other writings of Tacitus. Nevertheless, there remain not a few illustrations which, by reason of a peculiarity of collocation, are not without some significance in the present discussion. E. g.

a. The amplifying clause is preceded by a parenthetical phrase: c. 2 10 purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens 9 8

[111] Cp. e. g. notes to *veteres et senes* (c. 6 11), *iuvenes . . . adulescentes* (c. 7 13), *paupertas et angustia rerum* (c. 8 12), *notitiae ac nominis* (c. 11 11 36 18), *poetis et vatibus* (c. 12 12), *adfluens et vagus* (c. 20 8), *tristem et inpexam* (20 10), *ossa . . . maciem* (c. 21 4), *lentitudinis ac teporis* (21 26) *locupletem ac lautum* (c. 22 17), *in publicum et in commune* (c. 26 29).

egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem 12 11 felix illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum 12 17 Orphea et Linum ac, si introspicere altius velis, Apollinem.— G. 2 inmensus ultra, utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus 33 non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod magnificentius est, oblectatione oculisque Ann. I 13 [eum] non indignum et si casus daretur, ausurum. — Ag. 46 admiratione . . . et immortalibus laudibus et si natura suppeditet, similitudine G. 40 (Weink. and Jansen *12!*) vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum H. I 51 f. odio, metu et, ubi vires suas respexerant, securitate II 80 dum quaeritur tempus, locus, quodque in re tali difficillimum est, prima vox.

b. The amplifying phrase is a negative clause, generally ET NULLUS: c. 12 8 in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora 28 24 sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus . . . detorta natura — Ag. 16 innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus G. 10 candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti 28 promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas H. IV 42 ignotum adhuc ingenium et nullis defensionibus expertum Ann. II 25 invictos et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos III 37 solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus.

c. The last member preceded by ET TANTUM: c. 6 19 illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota G. 4 (cited as H. IV f. by Wkf. !) magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida 29 exempti oneribus . . . et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi H. II 45 expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis — *or by* ET CETERI c. 21 25 Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque . . . libros 25 27 et livore et ceteris . . . vitiis adfici 37 11 Lentulos et Metellos . . . ceteram procerum manum Ag. 12 oleam vitemque et cetera . . . sueta 32 tributa et metalla et ceterae . . . poenae H. I 22 II 16. 71 III 20. 49 IV 5. 10. 14. 26. 71. 74 V 17. 25 Ann. I 7 II 73 IV 6. 9. 71 XI 6. 30 XII 46 XIII 6 XIV 3 XV 53. 55 XVI 26, 'omnia' or 'alia' often taking the place of 'cetera' in the Annals.— *or by a* RELATIVE PRONOUN: c. 10 15 iucunditatem et . . . lascivias et . . . lusus et quamcunque aliam speciem 15 15 Nicetes et si quis alius 18 3 Galbae aut C. Carboni quosque alios 19 11 series et . . . ostentatio et . . . gradus et quidquid aliud 21 3 Canuti aut Atti . . . quosque alios 25 5 sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine 35 18 praemia aut . . . electiones aut . . . remedia aut incesta . . . aut quidquid aliud[112] H. I 63 feminis puerisque

[112] These passages are omitted in Weinkauff's list.

quaeque alia 89 oriens occidensque et quidquid II 6 III 52 Ann. I 32 vigilias, stationes et si qua alia 35 II 33 III 28 XII 36 XIV 3. 5. — *or by an* ADVERB : c. 16 18 veteres et olim natos 24 10 more vetere . . . saepe celebrato Ag. 14 vetere et iam pridem recepta G. 2 vocabulum recens et nuper additum 5 veterem et diu notam 13 robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis 41 inclutum et notum olim H. II 38 vetus et iam pridem insita 53 (for Ann. II 53! in Wkf.) novus adhuc et . . . nuper adscitus Ann. IV 34 (43 Wkf.) novo ac tum primum audito XIII 19 non vetera et saepius iam audita XV 5 vetus et penitus infixum 24 priora et totiens iactata.

d. sine with subst. followed by adj.: c. 40 11 sine obsequio, sine severitate, contumax, temeraria G. 35 sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique.

e. The last member is amplified: c. 6 11 veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnixos 9 22 amicitiam . . . clientelam . . . mansurum in animo beneficium 13 18 sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi 30 9 labor . . . meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes 31 22 ff. adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus . . . fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio Ag. 13 delectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera 41 vigorem et constantiam et expertum belli animum G. 33 superbiae odio . . . praedae dulcedine . . . favore quodam erga nos deorum H. I 18 tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum III 25 miraculum et questus et saevissimi belli execratio 41 vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae novissima libido IV 44 ingenia et opes et exercita malis artibus potentia Ann. I 41 pudor . . . miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria II 14 pila et gladios et haerentia corpori tegmina 69 carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum XIII 8 corpore ingens, verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque etiam specie inanium validus XV 6 tributa ac leges et pro umbra regis Romanum ius.

We may now briefly summarise the arguments in favor of the *Tacitean authorship* of the *Dialogus*, presented in the preceding pages. It has been shown: ***Summary.***

(1) That the testimony of the MSS. is unimpeachable.

(2) That the treatise cannot possibly have been composed after the reign of Titus (79–81).

(3) That this date, examined in the light of the ascertainable facts of the life of Tacitus, is free from all chronological or internal objections, and therefore no obstacle to the assumption that the Dialogus was written by the author to whom the MSS. assign it.

(4) That the Dialogus and the admittedly genuine writings of Tacitus reveal an attitude of mind and heart in the judgments and criticisms passed upon men and measures so remarkably similar, as to be explicable only on the supposition of identity of authorship.

(5) That by the side of palpable stylistic divergencies, there exist equally palpable coincidences.

(6) That these differences in no sense militate against the genuineness of the Dialogue, being demonstrably the necessary result of certain natural and well ascertainable causes which combined to shape as well as to change or even to destroy many stylistic features characteristic of the earliest publication of the future historian.

Under these circumstances, we might be free to dispense with a discussion of the rival claims of QUINTILIAN or of PLINY THE YOUNGER to the authorship of the Dialogue. But inasmuch as their cause, notably that of the former, has from the days of Lipsius found staunch adherents among scholars of repute, we must needs enumerate, as briefly as possible, the reasons on the basis of which their case would have to be summarily rejected, even if the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus were less firmly established than it is.

Pliny. The Plinian hypothesis[113] need not occupy us very long, for the reasons which Nast, Hess, Wittich and Kramarczik have advanced are either ridiculously absurd or absolutely gratuitous. The spuriousness of the treatise was of course taken for granted and the numerous insuperable obstacles in the way of their theory persistently and disingenuously ignored. We are told, among other things, that the dramatic date of the Dialogue admirably agrees with the ascertainable data in Pliny's life, that Pliny was by virtue of his oratorical training and talents peculiarly fitted to discuss the problem dealt with in the Dialogue, that in fact the method of treatment of the subject is quite in the manner known to us from his correspondence! Fabius Iustus also, to whom the treatise is addressed, is repeatedly and significantly mentioned in the letters as a friend.

[113] Cp. Crome II pp. 13–20 *Eckstein* pp. 46–52 *Vogel* pp. 266–271.

Finally, the style of the Dialogue exhibits most astonishing resemblances to the other writings of Pliny.

That these statements are partly open to the gravest objections, partly of no argumentative validity whatever, can be easily shown. In the first place, Pliny was only 13 years old in 75 A. D., the dramatic date of the Dialogue, which fact renders his presence at the discussion in the house of Maternus an impossibility, not to mention the trifling circumstance that a boy, and be he never so precocious, would not have been capable of following the conversation with intelligence. For, unhistorical as the reported dialogue unquestionably is, the author, we must remember, represents it as having actually taken place in his own presence. Again, Aper and Secundus, the leading advocates of the period, are introduced to us as the teachers of the writer, to whom he was devotedly attached; Pliny, on the other hand, nowhere even alludes either to Aper or to Secundus, but on the contrary expressly informs us that he was a pupil of Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos! [114]

Still another argument against the Plinian authorship of the Dialogus must be found in the simple fact that Pliny himself strangely fails to claim the beautiful treatise as his own, it being not so much as even casually alluded to. The significance of this argumentum ex silentio will be apparent, when it is remembered that this vain author seizes every possible opportunity in his letters to mention, for the benefit of an inquisitive posterity, all literary productions [115] that ever emanated from his busy and versatile pen, even down to the most trivial doggerels.

Regarding Pliny's style, finally, for it is tiresome and needless

[114] I am sorry to observe that Hillscher, *Fleck. Iahrb. Suppl.* Vol. XVIII (1891) p. 415, again assumes but *one* rhetorician of this name, identifying him with the Nicetes mentioned by Seneca, *Tacitus* (c. 15 15 where see my note), Pliny, Philostratus, one Automedon in an epigram (Anth. Pal. X 23) and Hieronymus (to the year *32 B. C.: Nicetes* et Hybreas et Theodorus et Plutio *nobilissimi* artis rhetoricae artis Graeci praeceptores *habentur*). If so, he must have been about *140* years old when Pliny came under his instruction! The elder Nicetes, mentioned by Tacitus, was probably born at the beginning of our era, his ἀκμή falling at the close of the reign of Tiberius (see Seneca). In that case, the above epigram refers to a *younger* namesake, Pliny's teacher, and the poet Automedon will remain a contemporary of Nerva as heretofore, the reign of Augustus, to which Hillscher assigns him, being out of the question.

[115] For Pliny's numerous references to his own writings, see Teuffel § 340, 2–4.

to multiply objections[116] against the hypothesis under discussion, it may be said that it bears as much resemblance to the diction of the Dialogus as it does to that of his teacher, Quintilian. Of the many so-called parallelisms collected by Nast, Hess, Eckstein and Vogel, by far the greater number, it must also be observed, belong to the common vocabulary of the language; others more particularly exhibit the features of post-Augustan usage and the stereotype character of what may be called the rhetorical vernacular of the schools of the day. More important is the fact, that amid so much of unavoidable similarity, the diction of Pliny on closer inspection displays, when compared with the style of the Dialogue, so many inherent divergencies, as to render identity of authorship quite impossible.[117]

Quintilian. The arguments advanced in favor of Quintilian[118] are substantially based upon the same observations and considerations as some of those just mentioned. They are, however, more numerous, more subtle and, as the non-Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue is ex hypothesi complacently regarded as indisputable, not without some shadow of probability.

Lipsius and his followers were, it seems, primarily lured into boldly declaring in favor of the great rhetorician, not so much by stylistic considerations as by the fact that Quintilian himself repeatedly[119] refers to a treatise, published but a few years before the Institutio, entitled *de causis corruptae eloquentiae,* for this title appeared to Lipsius, as we have seen, to harmonise so perfectly with the subject discussed in the extant Dialogue that he had no scruples in identifying it with the lost treatise of Quintilian. It is psychologically interesting, in this connection, to observe how completely a preconceived opinion was able to blind even so great a critic as Lipsius to the palpable fact that the very quotations from the 'de causis corruptae eloquentiae' are not only not found

[116] See esp. Eckstein l. c. I am not disposed to attach too much weight to the objection, based upon Pliny's omission of any reference to Messalla or Maternus, for these were doubtless long dead when the earliest extant letter was written (97 A.D.), and it is doubtful if the alleged poetic reputation of Maternus, alluded to *only* in the Dialogus, long survived him.

[117] See Vogel p. 270 f.

[118] Cp. Eckstein pp. 52–61 Vogel pp. 254–265 Gruenwald pp. 1–41 Kleiber pp. 80–90 Novák II pp. 185–228.

[119] Cf. Quint. II 4, 41 f. V 12, 17–23 VI prooem. 3 VIII 3, 56–58. 6, 73–76.

in the Dialogue, but could not, from their very nature, have ever occurred in it, as they deal with the faults of "elocutio" proper, such as the κακόζηλον, hyperbole and the like.[120] But if so, we are put upon the horns of a dilemma, of which it would be hard to say which is the more absurd. For either Quintilian wrote a book 'de causis corruptae eloquentiae' *and* the Dialogus de oratoribus, but by some strange accident repeatedly referred to the former only, or else the two are *identical*, the author's citations being by an equally strange accident absent from the extant treatise[121] — which had no place for them anywhere!

The remaining arguments adduced in favor of Quintilian pertain to the *matter* and the *form* of the Dialogue, the treatise revealing, it is contended, so many elements in common with the Institutio Oratoria as to establish identity of authorship beyond question.

Now as regards the contents of the two works, there can be no possible doubt, as we may at once admit, that many and even striking points of resemblance exist, and they have been duly noted in the Commentary,[122] but this fact can in no sense justify the inference that has been drawn, for the following reasons:

(1) Similarity of subject matter necessarily leads to similarity in its presentation.

(2) Very many of the coincidences collected by the writers mentioned are not peculiar to Quintilian, but may be readily paralleled from other authors, notably Cicero, to whom both Quintilian and Tacitus are alike largely indebted. This is equally true of the numerous aesthetic criticisms of literary men, upon which undue stress has been laid, for here, if anywhere, the great rhetorician is almost wholly dependent upon earlier sources, not only in Greek, but to some extent even in Latin literature, where we certainly might have expected greater independence and originality.[123] These judgments had in course of time become stereotyped and common property, so to speak.

[120] Cp. Spalding (cited p. XV), Gruenwald pp. 41–49 and esp. the exhaustive discussion of A. Reuter, *De Quintiliani libro qui fuit de causis corruptae eloquentiae*, Diss. Breslau 1887 pp. 1–42.

[121] It is amusing to find some early advocates of the Quintilian theory getting over this difficulty by supposing that the passages in question may possibly all have been miraculously accumulated in the lacuna after c. 35!

[122] Cf. Index locorum s. v. *Quintilianus*.

[123] See H. Usener, *De Dionysii Halic. imitat. reliquiae* 1889 H. Nettleship, *Jour. of Phil.* XVIII 225 ff. Peterson to Quintilian X Bk. pp. xxii–xxxix.

(3) Some utterances which happen to be found only in the Dialogue and Quintilian, so far as they might not have occurred independently to two writers like Tacitus and Quintilian, may well owe their existence in our treatise to the fact that the youthful author had heard them from the living lips of Quintilian, having either remembered them or taken them from lecture notes.[124]

(4) There are unmistakable contradictions between the Dialogue and the Institutio. Cf. e.g. notes to c. 5 6 21 7 22 12 35 ext.

(5) In still other passages Quintilian seems to take *direct* issue with statements made in the Dialogue. Cf. e.g. c. 12 5 23 1.

(6) The political tone, which, as we have seen, is the same throughout the Dialogue and the historical writings of Tacitus, is wholly different in the work of the eulogist of Domitian.

(7) The chronological data of the life of Quintilian are absolutely incompatible with the theory under discussion. The writer of the Dialogue was a very young man in 75, but Quintilian nearly forty at that time. The author of the treatise tells us that in 75 he was still assiduously pursuing his forensic studies under the guidance of Aper and Secundus; Quintilian, on the other hand, is known to have been a pupil of Remmius Palaemon (schol. Iuv. VI 451) and especially of Domitius Afer, as he tells us himself (V 7, 7 X 1, 86). Aper is never mentioned, Secundus repeatedly (X 1, 120. 3, 12 XII 10, 11), but as an intimate friend and *equal in age* (aequalis), and when Secundus and Aper, accompanied by their young pupil, paid their visit at the house of Maternus, Quintilian had been for three years or more the occupant of a professorship of rhetoric established by Vespasian.[125]

[124] That his pupils were wont to take notes is not only intrinsically probable, but is expressly attested in a well-known passage of the Institutio, I prooem. 7: duo iam sub nomine meo libri ferebantur artis rhetoricae neque editi a me namque alterum sermonem per biduum habitum pueri, quibus id praestabatur, exceperant, alterum pluribus sane diebus, *quantum notando consequi poterant*, interceptum boni iuvenes sed nimium amantes mei temerario editionis honore vulgaverant. Wilamowitz's (?) statement cited by Reuter p. 63 "Tacitus' Dialog ist der Reflex der quintilianeischen Kritik in der Seele eines Historikers," though nicely put, is only partially true, as it implies too late a date for the composition of the treatise. On Tacitus as a pupil of Quintilian, see Liebert (cited note 33), Gruenwald pp. 49 ff. Walter p. 10 ff. and below, note 147.

[125] These chronological objections alone are so completely subversive of the Quintilianean hypothesis, that its latest advocate, R. Novák, takes refuge in the gratuitous supposition that Quintilian intentionally concealed his identity;

(8) Regarding the stylistic coincidences, it has already been remarked (p. xv) that the mere fact that the authorship of Pliny no less than that of Quintilian has been based upon them, constitutes a clear reductio ad absurdum of the hypothesis itself.

But this is not all, for when we examine the congeries of illustrations collected in 'deadly parallel' columns, by the excessive zeal of Kleiber, Vogel, Gruenwald and Novák,[126] we find that fully one-half are met with elsewhere, are in fact part of the common vocabulary of Latin or of the rhetorical vernacular of the time. Others present no analogies or coincidences that would be recognised as peculiar or significant by any one not bent upon proving a preconceived theory. In the case of a few phrases which Quintilian and the author of the Dialogue seem to share between them, it would be difficult, a similar idea once being given, to express it in dissimilar language.

Finally, amid many genuine parallelisms of diction, we at the same time come upon most striking stylistic divergences. Thus, to mention but a few instances, Tacitus is exceedingly fond of alliterative and synonymic collocations, Quintilian habitually and studiously avoids them, while constructions such as *postquam* with plup. ind., *habere* with gerundive, *dum* with the pres. ind. in orat. obl., *liber* = 'oratio,' and the omission of *utrum*, though common in the writings of Tacitus, *never* occur in Quintilian.[127]

or, if he was not the author, then some one else was, Tacitus being considered by Novák as out of the question!!

[126] The only independent value of Novák's treatise consists in his adducing a number of stylistic resemblances from the so-called Declamationes of Pseudo-Quintilian, hitherto overlooked. But when he calmly regards these rhetorical exercises as *genuine* productions of Quintilian and utilises them to prove the Quintilianean authorship of the Dialogue, he thereby at once forfeits all claims to further consideration, even if he had not also, throughout his treatise, intentionally *suppressed* the numerous parallelisms in the historical works of *Tacitus*, while even earlier writers, such as Cicero and Livy, are mentioned not more than 25 times in a list of over 350 alleged coincidences between the Dialogue on the one hand and Quintilian and the Declamationes on the other!

[127] For other instances, see Weinkauff p. clvi and Vogel p. 255 f.

II.—THE DRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF THE DIALOGUS, AND THE INTERLOCUTORS.

Outline.

The scenery of the Dialogue is laid in the house of the poet Curiatius Maternus. One afternoon[128] of the year 74/75 A. D., presumably in the winter, as the conversation takes place in-doors, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, two intimate friends, accompanied by a devoted disciple, the youthful Tacitus, call upon their mutual friend and to their surprise find him reading the very tragedy which he had the day previous recited and which had, as we are told, given offence to the 'powers that be,' because of some pronounced liberal sentiments put into the mouth of Cato Uticensis, the hero of the play. Secundus deprecates the outspokenness which the poet has injudiciously thought fit to display, and Aper endeavors to impress upon him the necessity as well as the expediency of entirely abandoning so precarious and useless a pursuit, particularly as it must seriously interfere with his forensic duties. Maternus in reply, to the evident astonishment of his visitors, expresses his unalterable determination to withdraw entirely from the forum and the law-courts, and to devote himself henceforth exclusively to the cultivation of the Muses.

This announcement naturally leads to a discussion between Maternus and Aper, touching the intrinsic value and respective superiority of oratory over poetry, Secundus having politely but firmly declined to act as umpire, because of ineradicable prejudices for one side of the question. The ensuing debate, conducted in set speeches, which admirably portray the character and convictions of the two contestants, is made to end in a draw, for reasons to be pointed out below, a turn in the conversation being brought about by a not uncommon dramatic device, borrowed in this instance directly from Cicero, namely, the introduction of a new speaker, in the person of Vipstanus Messalla.

The new-comer observing from the countenances of those present, that the discussion, interrupted by his entrance, had been unusually warm and animated, it naturally fell to the lot of Secundus, as the only passive listener,[129] to acquaint Messalla with the subject of

[128] The time of day may be inferred from c. 42 ext. nisi iam dies esset exactus, for the entire dialogue is of comparatively very short duration.

[129] The youthful author being a persona muta throughout, keeps himself studiously in the background and is, dramatically considered, non-existent.

the previous conversation. Messalla expresses his sincere delight on learning that his friends, as indeed befits men of true culture, employ their leisure hours in discussing subjects not directly connected with their profession, and compliments the eminent lawyer Secundus for his historical researches, while Aper, no less illustrious as an advocate, is ironically praised for not allowing his forensic duties to alienate him from the theoretical and scholastic exercises of modern rhetoricians.[130] This last utterance (otium suum mavult *novorum rhetorum* more quam *veterum oratorum* consumere), though apparently nothing more than a harmless, ironical fling at Aper's fondness for the rhetorical practices of his time, which Messalla held in very low estimation (see c. 35), is of paramount importance in the dramatic development of the Dialogue. For, by calling forth Aper's rejoinder: Non desinis, Messalla, *vetera* tantum et *antiqua* mirari, *nostrorum* autem *studia* inridere atque contemnere . . . cum *neminem hoc tempore oratorem* esse contenderes, the question which is to form the main theme of discussion is with wonderfully artless art brought upon the tapis. It in turn naturally leads to the desire of learning the reasons for this vast difference between the oratory of the past and the present (c. 15 11 f.), a difference which, in Messalla's opinion, was not brought about by any healthy progress, but by the gradual abandonment of loftier standards. The conflict having thus been prepared, and a distribution of the contesting speakers arranged, the debate begins. Aper, who has to stand up single-handed against a united opposition, opens the discussion (c. 16 14) by a casuistical argument concerning the relative meaning of the term 'antiqui' and its proper applicability to the orators of the Roman republic, and then passes on to a scathing indictment of its greatest representatives and a glowing eulogy of the characteristic features of modern eloquence.

Messalla thereupon takes up the cudgels for his beloved 'ancients,' so disparagingly criticised by Aper, but, being recalled to the main theme at issue, gives, what he regards as the principal reason for the decline of eloquence. The close of his argument is lost. The next speaker, who, as we shall show below, is Secundus, supplements, according to the agreement made in c.

[130] Maternus is not likewise commended for the versatility of his interests, because, though he too was an advocate by profession, his poetical predilections were too well known to have special attention drawn to them.

16 8, the reasons for the decadence in question, by pointing out that it is in a measure due to the lack of opportunity for the display of eloquence, unsettled political conditions, such as existed in democratic Athens and republican Rome, affording a more favorable soil for the growth of oratory, than the regulated order of things found under a monarchical government.

Maternus, in summing up the debate, brings about a reconciliation by observing that the differences between the ancient and modern types of eloquence are indeed historically conditioned on the one hand, but on the other not due to any intellectual inferiority of contemporary speakers, for which reason we should take things as we find them and make the most of the opportunities which one's own age unquestionably offers in satisfactory abundance.

On the dramatic relevancy of c. 1-13.

The foregoing outline will have made it clear that the Dialogue develops naturally and consistently from c. 14 to the end. But this manifest unity of plan will seem to have been very seriously destroyed, if it be true that the first thirteen chapters, dealing with the respective superiority of poetry and oratory, are a mere introductory episode, without any organic connection with the enquiry into the causes of the decline of eloquence, which Tacitus himself repeatedly affirms to be the main theme at issue.[181] This seeming flaw in dramatic construction has actually led one scholar to assert, in the face of the author's own unequivocal testimony to the contrary, that "Die Frage, ob die Beredsamkeit vor der Poesie (und vielleicht der übrigen Thätigkeiten eines otium litteratum!?) den Vorzug verdiene, diese Frage, die den Gegenstand des ersten Theiles des Dialogs bildet und die Maternus am Schlusse entscheidend löst (??), sie ist der eigentliche Gegenstand der gesammten Schrift!"[132]

[181] Cf. besides the prooemium, c. 15 10 ff. ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat . . . quia video etiam Graecis accidisse ut longius absit ab Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetes . . . quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessistis 24 11 ff. expromc nobis . . . causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus 27 3 ff. sed causas exquirimus quas te solitum tractare paulo ante dixisti (viz. c. 15) 32 22 ff. hanc ego primam et praecipuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus.

[132] W. Gilbert, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Taciteischen Dialogs* (Fleck. Jahrb. CXXXIII p. 211). Cp. also p. 212: "Tacitus verschleiert absichtlich (?!) das Endziel seiner Schrift, bezeichnet als Thema eine häufig erörterte Frage und

This amusing paradox must, of course, be rejected, but does the alleged incongruity of c. 1–13 and 14–42, which gave rise to it, really exist? Is the first part of our treatise, as scholars have hitherto either tacitly or expressly assumed, nothing more than a kind of dramatic setting or frame-work, designed primarily to bring out some of the interlocutors into strong relief? I am disinclined to rest satisfied with this explanation, for I regard it as an unjustifiable and unmethodical proceeding to stamp one third of an entire work as virtually irrelevant and external to the principal theme, which in the remaining portions exhibits an undeniable unity and consistency of plan. We must therefore look for some closer interdependence between these parts, and perhaps the following considerations may go to prove that such a link does indeed exist.

It has often been observed that Latin literature of the first century bears an unmistakable poetical coloring, and that poetical effusions greatly preponderate over prose productions. 'Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim' might well serve as the motto of this period. Even prose, in order to please, had to clothe itself in poetical raiment, and so Aper, the passionate advocate of the eloquence of his time, continually insists that a speech must, above all, possess rhythm and poetical imagery. Cf. e.g. c. 20 18 exigitur iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor 22 13 sensus apte cadunt et quodam lumine terminantur 20 26 marmore nitent et auro radiantur. Eloquence, in the beautiful peroration of Messalla (c. 32), once the queen of all the arts, who held sovereign sway over the souls of men, is now banished from her proper realm; she is stripped of her retinue, without honor, without freedom. But, so we may add, keeping up the personification, her life was not extinguished, but she passed as a slave into the hands of poetry. Hence it is that the poetry of the age is saturated throughout with oratorical elements; it had become declamatory, as prose had become poetical, making free use of the poet's vocabulary and con-

stellt sich betreffs derselben mit der angegebenen Alternative einstweilen (!) auf den Standtpunkt seiner Zeitgenossen, er verschmäht (?) es bereits jetzt anzudeuten, dass er sie auf eine der üblichen Auffassung nicht entsprechenden Weise zu lösen und mit ihr zugleich eine tiefere, ihm mehr am Herzen liegende (?) und zugleich im Anfang der Schrift zu stellende Frage, die Frage nach dem Werth der Beredsamkeit zu entscheiden gedenke. Und der Spannung der Leser hat er damit einen guten Dienst gethan (?!)." How gratuitous and absurd this all is!

structions. 'Facundus,' in the period under notice, is significantly enough one of the highest attributes of the poet, while the very term 'eloquentia' is made to include all species of poetical composition (see c. 10 13). This being so, the question must have presented itself to so analytic an observer as Tacitus admittedly was, which of these two species of literary composition, poetry or oratory, was the more important, and hence, before entering upon a detailed discussion of the causes of the decline of eloquence, he very appropriately introduces the *orator* Aper and the *poet* Maternus in a preliminary debate concerning the relative superiority of poetry and eloquence. The problem is purposely left unsolved. Why? Because it did not admit of a solution, the author clearly perceiving that in the literature of his day, oratory, so far as it still flourished, did so only by paying heavy tribute to poetry, while the latter in its turn was distinguished by its oratorical character. In other words, neither seemed complete without the other; each was regarded as essential to the other. Viewed in this light, the introductory chapters become, in my judgment, an integral and organic part of the dramatic plan of the Dialogue.

Of the four interlocutors, but little in the way of concrete biographical information is known to us beyond what Tacitus has thought it sufficient to tell us about them.

Curiatius Maternus. The host CURIATIUS MATERNUS is introduced to us in the double capacity of a renowned advocate and a tragic poet of great repute. He seems to have been a native of Gaul, although this is not certain. He was undoubtedly the oldest in the company, having scored a pronounced success as the author of a fabula praetextata in the reign of Nero (c. 11 9). The time when the dialogue is supposed to have taken place marks a turning point in his career, as he announces his intention to retire permanently from the forum and the bar, in order to devote the rest of his days 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife' to the peaceful cultivation of the Muses.[183]

He was very probably no longer living when the Dialogue was written, for the opinion universally entertained down to very recent times, that he is identical with a *sophist* of that name executed in

[183] There is possibly some truth in Baehrens' remark (*Comm. Crit.* p. 99): ad versus faciendos eum traxit animi mentisque indoles, in foro ut versaretur causasque susciperet coegerunt rerum angustiae paupertasque.

91 A. D. by Domitian for declaiming against the tyrants,[184] is now justly abandoned. This identification is improbable on many grounds. In the first place, it involves an impossible date for the composition of the Dialogue. Then again, the term σοφιστής is in no sense applicable to Maternus, the poet and pleader, not to mention that it is intrinsically improbable that a man of such idealistic aspirations should sixteen years later have degenerated into a mere school-rhetorician. Finally, the name itself is exceedingly frequent. A *Curiatius Maternus* is met with twice in inscriptions,[185] while *Maternus* (or *Materna*), apart from the Spanish jurist so highly complimented by his fellow-townsman, Martial,[186] and the two well-known Firmici Materni of the 4th century, occurs about 100 times.[187]

Maternus is undoubtedly the protagonist of the Dialogue, and may be considered, for the reasons given on p. xxxviii, as in a large measure representing the author's personal convictions. The scene of the debate is laid in his house. He suggests the preliminary discussion; directs the course of the conversation, answering for himself and for Secundus (c. 16 8); he summarises the arguments of the various speakers (c. 24 1 ff. 33 1 ff.); recalls Messalla to the main theme at issue; requests him to continue, at the same time assigning the particular topic which he desires him to treat. It is also Maternus, finally, who closes the entire debate by a speech designed to reconcile the opposing factions.[188]

[184] Dio Cass. LXVII 12 *Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστὴν ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκῶν* (= declamans) *ἀπέκτεινε*. It has even been supposed that the closing words of c. 13 were intended by Tacitus as a vaticinium ex eventu! See p. xxvii note 32.

[185] C. I. L. II 3783 III 429.

[186] Mart. X 37 iuris et aequarum cultor sanctissime legum | veridico Latium qui regis ore forum | Municipi Materne. See also I 96 II 74.

[187] See the indexes to the Latin Corpus. Vol. II (*Spain*—about 30 Materni and 23 Maternae) III (5 times) V (6—No. 950. 7956 from *Gaul*) VII (England—4) VIII (Africa—5) XII (*Gallia Narbonensis*—about 25 Materni in all). As the great preponderance of the name in Vols. II and XII can hardly be accidental, the Maternus of Tacitus must have hailed either from Spain or Gaul, the presumption being very strong in favor of Gaul, because both Aper and Secundus were natives of this province.

[188] See p. xxxix, the synopsis on p. 368 and Doederlein, *Rhein. Mus.* III p. 16: bis endlich der Dichter Maternus, welcher bei allem Talent für das practische Leben doch nur in contemplativer Thätigkeit Ruhe und Frieden sucht und findet, auf den welthistorischen Standtpunkt tritt und den Zwiespalt vermittelnd und versöhnend zeigt, wie der Verfall der Beredsamkeit als ein nothwendiges

M. Aper. MARCUS APER, known to us only from the Dialogus, is a man of a quite different stamp. Born in some Gallic municipality,[139] not particularly favored,[140] perhaps neglected by the central government, he seems to have emigrated at an early age to the imperial city.[141] Having acquired a thorough rhetorical training and an all-round education, he soon succeeded, in spite of the obstacles thrown in the way of a novus homo from a distant province, in reaching the praetorship. But he too does not seem to have long survived the debate in which he is given so conspicuous a part; at all events, he was dead when Tacitus composed the treatise, as is evident from c. 2 5 f.[142] He is not mentioned either by Quintilian, who pays so glowing a tribute to Secundus, or in Pliny's correspondence, and his name does not appear in our lists of the Roman consuls.

Aper exhibits all the self-satisfied complacency and pride of the successful self-made man, and is naturally an enthusiastic advocate and staunch supporter of the existing political régime, under which he was enabled to rise from obscurity to affluence, influence and fame. His views are thoroughly utilitarian; wealth and power command his respect and admiration, regardless of the moral worth of their possessor. 'Corriger la fortune' is his motto. A man of a combative and polemical nature, a shrewd lawyer, he does not shrink from casuistry, exaggeration and even misrepresentation, if it suits his purpose.

His oratorical ideal is that of the modern school, as represented

Uebel aus dem unschätzbaren Gut eines festen inneren Friedens fliesse; in demselben Sinne in welchem Tacitus selbst (see p. xli and note 67) . . . die Klage über die Gegenwart zu mässigen pflegt. I cannot afford to discuss the aberration of those critics who hold that the attitude of Maternus in the closing part of the Dialogue is irreconcilable with his views in the opening chapters, an opinion which reached an absurd climax in the contention of Strodtbeck that the closing utterances of the poet must be regarded as purely ironical!

[139] c. 10 6 ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar.

[140] c. 7 3 in civitate (probably 'city') minime favorabili natus.

[141] He had also been in Britain, as we learn from c. 17 17, but whether this visit antedates his departure for Rome or whether he went there in some official capacity subsequently, cannot be ascertained. The latter seems to me on the whole the more probable.

[142] See p. xxvi. The supposition that he possibly left Rome shortly after 75, never to return, is in my judgment quite incompatible with the attitude of a man whose very being was so intimately bound up in the city of his adoption, and whose appreciation of the rewards of oratorical success, possible only in a large city, was so keen as that of Aper. See c. 6 and 9 ext.

by Cassius Severus and Seneca, and he vehemently protests against the disparagement of contemporary rhetoric at the expense of the ancient type of eloquence, which he regards as no longer suited to the demands made upon modern orators by the altered taste and the higher culture of his time.

In giving a characteristic tone to Aper's diction, the author displays greater skill than in the stylistic individualisation of the other interlocutors. It is typified by redundancy of expression, a fondness for metaphors, often singular and bold, and an occasionally peculiar vocabulary, all of which features are far less conspicuous, if not wholly absent, in the speeches of Maternus, Messalla or Secundus.[143] How far Aper's style is a faithful reproduction of the original, can, of course, not be determined. The fact, however, that the man himself, drawn to the life as he seems, has been invested with some touches which were unquestionably copied from Cicero's portrayal of Antonius in the de oratore, suggests the probability that Aper's speeches, with their numerous Ciceronian reminiscences in thought and phraseology, are also from the formal side an artistic production of the author, the really historical elements, if such exist at all, being exceedingly few in number.

Julius Secundus.

Julius Secundus is far better known to us, for Quintilian speaks of him in three passages: X 1, 120 Iulio Secundo, si *longior contigisset aetas* clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret; adiecisset enim atque adiciebat ceteris virtutibus suis quod desiderari potest, id est autem ut esset multo *magis pugnax* et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. Ceterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum: ea est facundia tanta in explicando quod velit gratia, tam candidum et lene et speciosum dicendi genus, tanta verborum etiam quae adsumpta sunt proprietas, tanta in quibusdam ex periculo petitis significantia 3, 12 *aequalem* meum atque a me, ut notum est, familiariter amatum, mirae facundiae virum, *infinitae* tamen *curae* XII 10, 11 elegantiam Secundi. He was probably a knight, and has very plausibly been identified by O. Hirschfeld with the Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ (i. e. the well-known

[143] Some of these features, from a mistaken notion of the purpose for which they are designed, have been severely censured and used as an argument against the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue, but, as Weinkauff (p. cxxxv) has well observed, emphatic reiteration, while possibly objectionable to a *reader*, is in itself not ill-suited to a *spoken* speech which purports to represent an actual improvisation.

orator) ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος mentioned by Plut. Otho c. 9.[144] That he died at an early age, perhaps about the same time as Aper, is clear from Quintilian and c. 2 5 of the Tacitean treatise.[145]

The internal agreement between Tacitus and Quintilian, in the high estimate of the oratorical abilities of Secundus, is remarkable and seems to prove that his picture, as drawn by the former, is a tolerably faithful likeness. He is coupled with Aper as among the 'celeberrima ingenia fori'; his cautious disposition and non-combative nature, alluded to by Quintilian, is revealed in the very first words put into his mouth by Tacitus (c. 2 4 ff. nihilne te . . . fabulae malignorum *terrent* . . . sublatis si qua *pravae* interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem . . . *securiorem?*) and Quintilian's statement regarding his overscrupulous care finds an echo in the phrase in c. 39 9 *curam et diligentis stili anxietatem* contrariam experimur.[146] This characteristic seems to have occasioned the charge that he lacked readiness and fluency of speech,[147] a criticism which his devoted pupil does not really refute, when he assures us 'Secundo purus et pressus et, *in quantum satis erat*, profluens sermo *non defuit*.' Combining all these features, one can-

[144] Cf. Friedlaender *S. G.* I⁶ 183.

[145] 88 A. D., the date given by Andresen and Peterson, Quint. X 1, 120 is much too late, for apart from the fact that Secundus would still have been living when the Dialogus was published, we should be involved in another difficulty. For it is not likely that Tacitus came under the instruction of Quintilian before the death of Secundus. Now, Tacitus must have completed his studies before Agricola betrothed his daughter to him (77 A. D.). But if so, what is more natural than to suppose that the young Tacitus, Secundus having died shortly after 75 A. D., became for a short time the pupil of Quintilian, who had lived on terms of the closest intimacy with his departed teacher? Both must have been previously acquainted, and it is pleasant to think, albeit a mere fancy, that Quintilian may have been an occasional participant in the 'disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis,' which Tacitus so often had the privilege of listening to in the house of Secundus (domi quoque . . . adsectabar). At all events, we may say that the assumption of any later date for the death of Secundus than the one here advocated, would at the same time necessitate the rejection of the all but certain hypothesis that the future historian had come under the direct influence of the great rhetorician.

[146] It is no exaggeration to say that this statement is as eminently characteristic of Secundus, as it is absolutely out of place in the mouth of the *poet* Maternus.

[147] c. 2 10 f. quamvis maligne plerique ('very many') opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem.

not help thinking that nature had rather marked him out for a scholar than for the active and less peaceful vocation of an advocate, and hence we are not surprised to learn that he also devoted himself to historical research, and had published an admirable biography of Julius Africanus (c. 14 21 f.).

In the present mutilated condition of the Dialogue, Secundus scarcely figures as an interlocutor at all. But that the author did assign to him a much larger share in the conversation seems to me indisputable. For the conspicuous manner of his introduction, the careful description of the oratorical characteristics of himself and Aper, with whom he is placed upon a perfect footing of equality, finally, the very phrase of the prooemium, 'cum *singuli . . . causas* adferrent,' no less than the words in c. 16 8 pro duobus promitto: nam et ego et *Secundus* exsequemur eas partes etc.,[148] render the supposition that the author had nevertheless condemned him to silence throughout the debate quite inconceivable. But whether his contribution to the discussion was lost in the large lacuna after c. 35, which has been the opinion of some scholars, or whether we still possess part of it in the speech commonly assigned to Maternus, is quite another and more difficult question, which we shall endeavor to answer at the close of the chapter.

The fourth interlocutor, and the last to appear upon the scene, is VIPSTANUS MESSALLA.[149] He was the only native Roman in the company,[150] of illustrious family, and probably a direct descendant of the famous M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. This is nowhere *Vipstanus Messalla.*

[148] This unequivocal and positive promise of a speech by Secundus is quite generally set aside as worthless, but Tacitus was under no compulsion to make a purposeless statement, nor does an artist introduce a 'motive' merely for the sake of abandoning it at pleasure. It has also strangely been argued that Secundus' want of oratorical facility may well account for his not appearing as an interlocutor. But this explanation utterly ignores the fact that the author expressly attributes what he regards as an unjust accusation, to the *malignity* of some critics. If so, he had the more reason for exhibiting Secundus as a *fluent* speaker instead of virtually confirming the charge by allowing him to remain silent!

[149] Cp. Ph. Fabia, *Les sources de Tacite*, Paris 1893 pp. 231–243.

[150] This is made evident not only by c. 28 9 *vestra* vobis notiora sunt: ego de *urbe* et *his* propriis ac *vernaculis* vitiis loquar, but also by the fact that he alone speaks of maiores *nostri* (c. 30 6 34 1 35 3), while Maternus, addressing Messalla, designates the orators of the Roman republic as maiores *tuos* (c. 27 6).

expressly indicated[151] in the Dialogue, but clearly implied in the significant omission of his ancestor in c. 25 15 ff. This extremely meagre information can happily be considerably augmented from Tacitus himself.

Messalla was born about 46/7 A. D., for in the year 70 he had not yet reached the senatorial age, which had been fixed by Augustus at 25.[152] In the war between Vitellius and Vespasian (69 A. D.), he was tribune of the seventh or Claudian legion, which formed part of the Moesian army, and subsequently joined the forces of Antonius Primus, then stationed at Hostilia, near Verona, taking part in the second battle of Bedriacum and at the siege of Cremona.[153] After his return to Rome, he seems to have written historical memoirs describing, with the accuracy of an eye-witness, the chief events of the war, a work which Tacitus utilised as a secondary source for his narrative of this period.[154]

Like the rest of the interlocutors, he was probably no longer living in the reign of Titus,[155] and he does not appear in Pliny's correspondence. The high compliments which Tacitus, in the Histories, pays to his character and his oratorical accomplishments coincide so perfectly with what is said of him and what he is made to say in the earlier treatise, that we cannot but recognise in this

[151] For 'Maiores tuos' has been misinterpreted to mean 'Your ancestor.' See note ad loc.

[152] Tac. H. IV 42 magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus est pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari.

[153] Tac. III 9 f. Interim Aponius Saturninus cum legione septima Claudiana advenit. Legioni tribunus *Vipstanus Messalla* praeerat, *clarus maioribus, egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset.*

[154] H. III 25 rem nominaque auctore Vipstano Messalla tradam 28 Hormine id ingenium, ut Messalla tradit, an potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium incusat, haud facile discreverim. On the probable time of publication of Messalla's memoirs and their relation to Pliny's history, cp. the discussion in Fabia p. 184 ff. 234 ff.

[155] The identification of *Vipstanus* Messalla with M. *Valerius* Messalla — the cognomen is exceedingly common — who was consul with one M. Pedo Vergilianus in 115 A. D., though advocated by the great majority of scholars, from Lipsius, Schulze and Eckstein down to Steiner and Jansen, must be rejected. Partly because we should in that case have certainly met with his name in Pliny, who mentions his half-brother Regulus so often, partly because it is incredible that a man of his prominence and talents did not reach the consulship till past the age of 70!

one of the many clear proofs of the identity of Tacitus with the author of the Dialogue.[156]

Full of enthusiasm for the sublime oratorical achievements of his countrymen, he represents, in pointed contrast to Aper, the uncompromising laudator temporis acti who is unable to see in the eloquence of his time anything more than a deplorable corruption and retrogression from the higher ideals and the chaster models of the republican period. This remarkable change he primarily attributes to the prevailing laxity of home training and the pernicious educational methods of contemporary rhetorical schools, which totally unfit the young and ambitious aspirant to forensic reputation for the practical duties of his profession. The close of Messalla's argument is unfortunately lost in the large lacuna after c. 35. In what follows, quite a different subject is under discussion, which unquestionably points to another speaker. Can his identity be determined?

The speaker of c. 36–40 8.

The problem here presented is intimately or rather inextricably connected with the question whether the existence of another lacuna, not indicated in the MSS., must be assumed; and this in turn depends upon the degree of homogeneity inherent in these closing chapters, a point on which critics even to this day widely differ. The problem is rendered still more complicated by the fact, that even those scholars who postulate a second lacuna are not agreed as to the place in the text to which it must be assigned, some holding that the gap occurred before the words 'Finierat Maternus,' while others insist that it must be placed after 'admovebant' (c. 41 7). Still others deny the existence of any additional lacuna whatever, attributing the whole argument from c. 36–42 to Maternus. Under these circumstances, it will again be expedient, before discussing what I hold to be the true solution of the difficulties, to give a very brief historical survey of the phases through which this controversy has passed.

As usual, it was a remark of Lipsius which started the problem on its career, for to c. 42 init. in the *first* edition (1574) he in a hapless moment jotted down these words: 'Hinc colligere est quam multa huic syntagmati desint. Neque enim initium sermonis

[156] Cp. Classen, *Eos* I p. 6 ff. The fact that Messalla himself repudiates the name of an orator, though eminently entitled to it (c. 15 4 ff.), indicates perhaps that the soldier and man of affairs took up the career of an advocate more as an avocation than a profession.

Materni extat sed haec omnia continenter sub *Messallae* persona leguntur.' Lipsius did not pursue the thought any further, nor did he state his reasons, but he doubtless felt, as Lange and Steiner did at a later period, that the closing words were somehow inconsistent with the previous utterances of Maternus,[157] a conviction which subsequently culminated in Strodtbeck's and Eckstein's interpretation of Maternus' closing address as ironical, a supposition which obviated the assumption of a lacuna and allowed the whole speech to be spoken uno tenore by the interlocutor whom the MSS. expressly designate as the last speaker.

Lipsius' conjecture was universally rejected or ignored for nearly 300 years, until Steiner[158] endeavored to restore it to honor, only differing from him in that he substituted *Secundus* in place of Messalla, as the preceding speaker, partly because Messalla would otherwise have monopolised the discussion of *all* the causes of the decline of eloquence, partly because he was convinced that Secundus could not have been so strangely ignored by the author. A lacuna after c. 40 7 he rejected, because the MSS. do not indicate it.[159] Steiner found some support for Lipsius' view in a few dots which Cyrillus asserted were found between the words 'utatur' and 'finierat' in the codex Farnesianus (C).[160] But even granting that these problematical dots pointed unmistakably to a lacuna, Steiner's theory, which has found no follower save Weinkauff (p. lxviii, lxxxiv), falls to the ground, if it can be shown that the c. 36–42

157 Lange apud Dronke p. xxiii note 5: Maternum dominationis laudes in exitu praedicantem sibi non satis constare. Steiner p. 30 f.

158 p. 33–36. Woltmann cuts the Gordian knot by calmly emending: Finierat Messalla, tum Maternus!

159 p. 30 'Auch tritt von jenen Worten an keineswegs etwas Neues (?) ein, sondern es ist die natürliche (?) Fortsetzung des bis dahin erörterten politischen Zustandes aus dem Munde *einer* und *derselben* Person. Diese Person aber, welche jene *politischen* Ursachen der Beredsamkeit darlegt, kann Maternus nicht gewesen sein,' for the reason given by Lange. See note 157.

160 "interest spatium distinctum ac lacunam indicans." Eckstein in Walther's edition, followed by most critics, supposed this insignificantly small space to have been left vacant "ad finem sermonis indicandum," while Baehrens (*Comm. Crit.* p. 99 note) thought "nil nisi litteram initialem omissam esse scilicet a rubricatore addendam, id quod de Vaticano (A) quoque testatur Michaelis" (viz. inierat — F in margine minio picturus erat librarius). But the very existence of these dots in C is doubtful. Michaelis is *silent* about the Farnesianus, and no trace of any dots or vacant spaces is found in the other MSS. in the place mentioned!

cannot be assigned to *one single* speaker, be his name Messalla, Secundus or Maternus, because of the heterogeneous character of their contents.[161]

Another theory was advanced by *Heumann*, who contended that a lacuna must be assumed after the words 'faces admovebant,' because of the want of any organic connection with what follows. The words cited he regarded as the close of *Messalla's* argument, while the remainder was assigned to Maternus. This view did not find a champion till *Becker*[162] strongly advocated it a century later, with the modification, however, that he too assumed the preceding speaker to have been Secundus, his grounds being similar to those advanced by Steiner. But this explanation was also neglected or rejected, until *Andresen*, fifty years still later, again returned to the original hypothesis of Heumann,[163] adding, what his predecessors had failed to do, a few passages as evidence of the contradictory character between the two parts. Finally the whole question was taken up anew by *Habbe*,[164] who in turn argues in favor of Becker's solution of the problem.

The great majority of editors and critics, however, obstinately hold to the view that everything from c. 36 to 42 was spoken by Maternus, some of these clinging to the belief that Secundus did not speak at all,[165] while others maintain that he did so, but that his contribution to the debate, together with the close of Messalla's argument and the beginning of Maternus', was lost in the lacuna,[166] which they in consequence assume to be one of considerable magnitude.

[161] When Steiner also argues that Pontanus (the cod. B is the apographon of his copy, now lost) left the middle of p. 30[a] and the whole of p. 30[b] vacant, in the hope that the lost speech of Maternus might some day turn up, his prejudices allowed him to forget that if such had been Pontanus' motive, we should, to say the least, have expected some space to have been left vacant *after* the word 'utatur,' and not merely at the *close* of the entire treatise! Cp. also Baehrens l. c. and Meiser p. 53 f.

[162] Becker, *Seebode's Archiv* II (1824) 71 ff., reprinted in Orelli[1] pp. 95–98 and in Ruperti ad c. 35 ext. (Vol. IV pp. 445–447).

[163] *Tacitus' Dialogus als Schullectüre*, in Zeitschr. f. Gymn. XXV (1871) pp. 319 ff. In his various editions of the Dialogus, Andresen, however, continually vacillates between Secundus and Messalla as the speaker of c. 36–41 7.

[164] *De Dial. de orat., qui T. esse existimatur, locis duobus lacunosis*, Progr. Celle 1881 pp. 13–19.

[165] e. g. Eckstein, Peter, Wolff, John (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift* 1889 p. 534).

[166] So e. g. Brotier (see below) and Doederlein (Rhein. Mus. III p. 16).

I am convinced that the explanation given by Becker and followed by Habbe is the only true solution of the problem, but their argumentation seems to lack precision and cogency, and has consequently failed to carry conviction. Perhaps the following remarks may contribute something to the more general acceptance of their view.

The chief objection of the conservative critics against the assumption of a lacuna seems to be that the MSS. furnish no clue to its existence. But the non-indication of a lacuna is by no means a clear proof of its non-existence. For while it may be admitted that the writer of the archetypon of our MSS. may have been careful enough to leave a vacant space, in the expectation that the missing portions might some day be found, the scribes of a later age, no longer cherishing such hope, would either content themselves with a few dots or a vacant space, which in turn might be easily overlooked by subsequent copyists, or else they would at once write on continuously, thus covering up all signs of an original gap. That this happened repeatedly in actual practice is a fact indisputably established by palaeographical research; nor are such neglected lacunae confined to the omissions of mere words and phrases.[167] To show the inherent weakness of the objection in question, it is only necessary to draw attention to an instance very near at hand, which has nevertheless been completely overlooked even by the supporters of a second lacuna in the Dialogus. I refer to the condition of Bk. V of the — Annals of Tacitus! For after the words (c. 5) 'nec ultra deliberatum, quo minus non quidem extrema decernerent (id

[167] Cp. Cobet, *Oratio de arte interpretandi* etc. Leyden 1846 pp. 163. On lacunae p. 66–75 and esp. p. 67: isti hiatus et lacunae duplici fere modo oriri solent. Aut in antiquissimis libris membranarum tineae perroserant aut macula vel mador aliquot vocabula vel versus hauserant aut alius casus aliquam sententiae partem absumpserat; qui haec deinde describebant librarii primum relinquebant aliquid spatii, si forte alicunde suppleri possent quae exciderant; tandem alii, hac spe abiecta, quae supererant eodem tenore quasi nihil deesset perscribebant. Audi veterem librarium haec candide confitentem in Plutarchi codice Regio Paris. 1671 s. XIII: *τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἀσαφέστατόν ἐστι διὰ τὸ πολλαχοῦ διαφθαρέντα τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων μὴ δύνασθαι σῴζειν τὴν συνέχειαν τοῦ λόγου. καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ παλαιὰν βίβλον, ἐν ᾗ πολλαχοῦ διαλείμματα ἦν ὡς μὴ δυνηθέντος τοῦ γραφόντος εὑρεῖν τὰ λείποντα ἐλπίσαντος δ' ἴσως εὑρήσειν ἀλλαχοῦ. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι κατὰ συνέχειαν ἐγράφη τὰ διαλείποντα τῷ μήκετι ἐλπίδας εἶναι τὰ λείποντα εὑρηθήσεσθαι. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοίνυν χρὴ νοεῖν καὶ πανταχοῦ βιβλίου ἔνθα τις τοιαύτη ἀσάφεια εὑρίσκεται.*

enim vetitum) sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediri testarentur,' the Mediceus, one of the most carefully written MSS. which we possess, *after an intervening space of only* THREE OR FOUR LETTERS, continues with 'quattuor et quadraginta orationes *super ea re* habitae,' and yet there is not only a huge gap in the narrative, covering a period of *two years*, but modern scholars, following Lipsius, even begin a new book at this point, no previous editor having had the slightest suspicion of a lacuna![168] Now when it is observed that the editors of the Dialogus before Beroaldus do not even indicate a lacuna after c. 35 (doubtless because they found none in the MSS. from which their text was printed) and that our best MSS. are some *four* centuries younger than the Mediceus and incomparably inferior to it in point of scholarly accuracy and care, it is certainly no rash inference to assume that the scribes of our late MSS. may possibly have failed to mark a lacuna after c. 41 7, supposing it to have existed in the archetypon, when a vacant space of three or four letters was thought sufficient to represent an immeasurably greater gap in the Annals, not to mention that it is just as possible that this small space may have been after all only intended to indicate the *beginning of a new paragraph!* We therefore conclude that even in the absence of any *external* evidence, the assumption of a lacuna will be methodically justified, if we can adduce weighty *internal* grounds in its favor. Happily these are not wanting.

The speaker of c. 36 had pointed out that the development of the splendid eloquence of republican Rome was directly conditioned and stimulated by the anarchical state of affairs which then existed (horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae *composita et quieta et beata re publica* tribui fas erat tamen *illa perturbatione ac licentia* plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum *mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus*). This is the very cornerstone of his argument, and he therefore, lest it be lost sight of, repeats it in the very next chapter (c. 37 29 f. sed ut *subinde* admoneo, quaestionis

[168] It will also be noticed that both sentences, at the beginning and the end of the lacuna, are *complete in sense*, which disposes of another objection (made by Peter, Wolff, and others) to the effect that the grammatical completeness of the two sentences in the Dialogus (c. 41 7) militates against the assumption of a lacuna. As a matter of fact, gaps would be far more easily overlooked in such cases than if the sentence broke off in the middle, as it does in c. 35 ext. So e. g. in Plaut. Most. 940 A *alone* reveals the existence of a lacuna.

meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit). And yet we are asked to believe that the same speaker, after the fervid exclamation 'quantum ardorem ingeniis quas oratoribus faces admovebant,' immediately continued with 'non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur'! "Yes, we know you are not," so we can imagine his hearers saying, "for you had told us so at the beginning, and only just reiterated it in a still more emphatic manner, asking us to remember and understand that it is only 'turbida et inquieta tempora' that you have in mind; why then repeat it a third time, particularly as your eloquent exposition left no doubt on that point?" There is, therefore, a decided difficulty here, not to mention that the transition is intolerably abrupt and sudden. Now the assumption of a lacuna at this juncture solves this difficulty. But if so, it also follows that the words 'non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur' belong to a different speaker, the very phrase itself, as shown in my note ad loc., pointing to the same conclusion.

This inference will be fully justified, if we succeed in proving that the speech preceding the lacuna conflicts not only with the following utterances of Maternus, but also with those put into his mouth in c. 11–13. As these discrepancies have been duly noted and discussed in the Commentary, I can content myself in this place with a mere enumeration of them:

c. 36 17 plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae atque nominis apud plebem c. 6 ff.	c. 12 14 nec ullis aut gloria maior erat aut augustior honor 13 5 neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia etc.
c. 36 20 hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur	c. 13 3 licet illos certamina et pericula sua vel ad consulatus evexerint
c. 36 29 ff. cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent . . . ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat	c. 13 18 remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi . . . nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem experiar 11 15 nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tuetur quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint

c. 36 15 magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur . . . facilius honores adsequebantur . . . hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant etc.	c. 11 13 nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutantium concupisco non magis quam aera et imagines
c. 36 4 quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat. 38 10 omnia in foro . . . quod maius argumentum est	c. 41 1 quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est
c. 36 7 moderatore uno carentibus . . . hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris etc. 40 1 contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi ff.	c. 41 15 ff. quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum . . . non multi . . . deliberent sed sapientissimus et unus? quid voluntariis accusationibus 40 21 nulla superiorum reverentia.
c. 36 26 ff. cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere	c. 41 14 quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis
c. 37 35 plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt	c. 40 23 tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam
c. 36 11 hinc procerum factiones et adsidua adversus plebem certamina	c. 40 21 nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia
c. 38 3 ff. nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas . . . modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat 39 7 ff. est aliquis oratorum campus . . . saepe interrogat index etc.	c. 41 22 f. nulla in iudiciis moderatio . . . nullus magistratuum modus
c. 37 19 ff. quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent, ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant . . . non quia tanti fuerit etc.	c. 40 25 nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

To my mind, these numerous contradictions and repetitions, with their polemical additions, are quite incompatible with the supposition that Maternus is the speaker throughout, and this may be further shown by some more general considerations.

In the first place, the high eulogy which is indirectly paid to the orators of the Republic, the intense admiration for their superior

oratorical achievement which pervades every line of c. 36–40 8 (cp. esp. 37 11 ff.), is quite out of place in the mouth of Maternus, because he expressly restrains Messalla from indulging in a similar strain, regarding any panegyric of the eloquence of the republican period as superfluous. Cp. c. 24 11 exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum, satis enim illos fama sua laudat 27 2 neque hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est.

Again in c. 36 23 ff. 34 f. the *indispensability* of eloquence is strongly maintained, but Maternus cannot well have shared this opinion, for otherwise he would hardly have bidden farewell to the forum. Maternus accepts the reason for the decline of eloquence as given by the previous speaker, but with this cardinal difference. The one contends that a sturdy eloquence, however desirable, if possible only under anarchical conditions, is no compensation for a peaceful commonwealth with a corresponding oratorical retrogression; the other leaves us to infer that he would rejoice in a superior oratorical development at any cost, though he prizes the blessings of peace no less highly than his friend. Maternus, as behooves the poet, in Aristotle's opinion, takes a philosophical view; he deals more or less with general truths. The attitude of the speaker of c. 36–40 8, on the other hand, is that of the *historian* who searches into the causes that underlie historical phenomena, and who illustrates his argument by concrete illustrations and learned detail. Cp. e. g. the reference to Mucianus, the date of one of Pollio's speeches, the enumeration of Cicero's orations, the allusion to an enactment in one of Pompey's laws, the discussion concerning the procedure in the law courts, the attire of advocates, and many minor items. 'Eadem ratio in nostra *quoque* civitate' proves conclusively that the *same* speaker gave the *same* reason for the decline of Greek oratory as for the Roman. But this exposition is again unsuited to the poet Maternus.

It furnishes the *true solution*, moreover, of the singular coincidence which Messalla had told his hearers often puzzled him (c. 15 13 quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem etc.). The passages dealing so successfully with this perplexing problem cannot therefore have been spoken by Messalla. The same inference must be drawn from a more external observation. Messalla's share in the debate takes up about three tenths of the

entire extant treatise. Now if we assume him to have continued down to c. 40 8, including the certainly not inconsiderable portions lost in the lacuna, he would have given *all* the causes of the decline of eloquence, thus practically monopolising the entire conversation after the close of Aper's speech, — a preposterous supposition, unworthy of the literary artist who penned the Dialogue, and flatly contradicted, not only by c. 16 5 ff., but also by the fact that Messalla had ceased speaking at c. 32 ext., being prevailed upon only at the urgent request of the host to bring his discussion to its proper close. But what follows from c. 36 on deals with an entirely different subject. If, therefore, for the reasons given, neither Maternus nor Messalla can be the speakers of the part between the two lacunae, there remains only *Secundus*, the historian. How perfectly in keeping with his attainments and convictions the passages thus assigned to him are, must be clear from the foregoing remarks. We have also seen that there are other strong grounds for believing that Secundus was not relegated to the background, and that the very phrase in c. 39 9 ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur is preëminently appropriate to the individual whom Quintilian had characterised as being 'infinitae tamen curae.'

There is still one objection to the view here advocated which calls for a brief consideration, as it has often been advanced to show that an important role cannot well have been assigned to Secundus in this debate, — namely, the omission of his name at the close of the treatise ['Ego' inquit (sc. Maternus) 'te poetis, Messalla antiquariis criminabimur' 'At ego (sc. Aper) vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit]. A little reflection, however, will, I am confident, be sufficient to dispose of this objection also, as it proceeds from a strange misconception of the attitude of the respective speakers. For Secundus, alone of the interlocutors, though an admirer of the ancients, nowhere exhibits the uncompromising antagonism toward contemporary oratory so marked in Messalla's answer to Aper, nor again does he extol poetry at the expense of eloquence, as does Maternus in opposition to the same Aper. Furthermore, both Aper and Messalla attack or eulogise certain oratorical manifestations in the *persons* of their chief representatives; Secundus, on the other hand, simply analyses *conditions* from an objective, historical point of view. His strong partiality for the

ancients is, in perfect keeping with the cautious nature of the man, brought out in a negative way by his contention that the moderns did not enjoy the essential conditions which made the eratory of the past what it was. The prerequisite element of a direct and irreconcilable antagonism between the two eminent teachers of Tacitus is therefore wholly and significantly wanting, and hence there existed no motive for including Secundus in the 'criminatio,' with which Maternus and Messalla on the one side, and Aper, their equally fervent opponent, on the other, good-naturedly threaten one another in parting.

Summing up the previous discussion, we conclude that, after Messalla had finished, *Secundus* followed in a speech, and that he in turn was succeeded by Maternus, who brings the entire debate to a close. But the beginning and end of Secundus' speech, the end of Messalla's, and the beginning of that of Maternus are lost in the two lacunae (c. 35 ext. 40 7) which unfortunately disfigure the closing portions of the treatise.

The lacuna after c. 35.

There remains the vexed question as to the probable extent and contents of the lacuna after c. 35, the text breaking off and beginning in the middle of a sentence.

Of our MSS., only the X class (A and B) seem at first sight to furnish a definite clue to the exact size of the gap, both stating that *six pages* were missing. But unfortunately the Dialogus takes up 16 pages in A and 29 in B, which proves that the words 'sex pagellae' were simply copied from their common source,[169] now lost, so that we are still ignorant as to the actual dimensions of the page in the original archetypon. Egger[170] maintained that nine pages had been omitted, basing his calculation upon the worthless cod. Parisiensis 7773, but his premise is a pure fancy, and has justly been rejected by Habbe[171] (p. 8). His own attempt, however, though ingenious, rests upon no firmer foundation, as he operates with two undemonstrable assumptions. He tacitly takes it for granted: (1) That the number *six* was found in the margin of the cod. Hersfeldensis (2) That the codd. Med. 47, 36 and 68, 1, containing respectively the letters of Pliny and Tac. Ann. V (VI), and written by the same hand, were copied from a codex miscellaneus, comprising also the Dialogus, the Germania and the Suetonian

[169] See also E (pp. 9^b–19^b): hic deest multum: in exemplari *dicitur deesse sex* paginas.

[170] Zeitschr. f. Alterthumswiss. III (1836) p. 338. [171] Cf. op. cit. pp. 7–10.

fragment. If so, he argues, we can ascertain with mathematical accuracy the size of the page of the archetypon by a simple comparison with the known extent of the omissions in Pliny's letters, these lacunae not being found in all MSS. of Pliny. Habbe thus calculates the gap in the Dialogus at *one-seventh* of the entire treatise.[172] With those who, like myself, are unable to attach any argumentative validity to his premises, the result reached by means of them will not carry conviction, and I am inclined to think that no satisfactory answer can be given to the question under notice without the accession of new MS. material.

In the determination of the contents of the lacuna, scholars were of course influenced by the views which they held regarding the degree of prominence given by the author to Secundus. Those who maintained that he did not speak at all were unable to invent anything else that might have been spoken by Maternus; of others who believed that Secundus' entire speech was lost in the lacuna, only Brotier has ventured to reconstruct in detail the topics discussed in the missing portions. His restoration, though written in fluent Latin, would scarcely deserve mention, save as a jeu d'esprit, did not Habbe, after giving a short synopsis of it (p. 10 f.), express his conviction that this supplement is in every way worthy of being rescued from oblivion. 'Atque Broterium,' he continues, 'melius meritum esse puto de aureolo illo libello recte percipiendo quam nonnullos illorum . . . partis amissae imaginem *non multum a veritate abhorrentem* ante oculos legentium exposuit.'[173]

This favorable comment is, in my judgment, a deplorable aberration, for Brotier's supplement is based upon a complete misunderstanding, not only of the scope and the plan of the Dialogue, but also of the attitude and the character of the interlocutors. The utterances put into the mouth of Messalla, of Secundus (*six* long chapters are devoted to him) and of Maternus are a kind of conglomeration or potpourri of criticisms, anecdotes and the like, culled from Seneca Rhetor, Velleius, Seneca the philosopher,

[172] I append the conclusion (p. 10):

"2 chartae = 4 pag. cod. archet. = fere $\frac{1}{63}$ cod. Med. 47, 36 (Pliny).
3 " = 6 " " " = " $\frac{1}{63} + \frac{1}{126} = \frac{3}{126} = \frac{1}{42}$ (Dial.).

Dialogi autem quod reliquum est ad hunc codicem Mediceum ut 1 ad 6. Ergo pars Dialogi amissa = $\frac{6}{42} = \frac{1}{7}$"! Q. E. D.

[173] The same favorable view is taken by Krauss, who incorporated the Broterian supplement into his German translation, Stuttgart 1882.

Quintilian, Pliny, Juvenal and Tacitus. Only a few selections from Brotier's restoration (?) can here be given, by way of illustration. Thus the over-cautious Secundus is made to fulminate 'ingentibus verbis' against the vices of his time!? Seneca, who is dealt with at length, represents in his eyes the very incarnation of everything that is loathsome and corrupt in morals, oratory and literature. Even Largus Licinius — save the mark! — comes in for a good deal of scathing denunciation; an elaborate eulogy is pronounced upon Vespasian; Maternus is congratulated on his resolution to quit the forum amid conditions so hopelessly corrupt;[174] the poet again gives his reasons for his determination, and then suddenly comes to the rescue of the too much abused rhetoricians (!), Quintilian being lauded to the skies, as a kind of prospective 'vagae moderator summe iuventae, gloria Romanae togae.'[175] Human affairs are then compared with the human body, which passes from youth to maturity, and then to decay, and we learn with regret that nature is not prodigal of genius, and that every field of human activity has but one golden age, so to speak. The language of men is a mirror of the times in which they live, of which truth direct application is made. Maternus ends his epigrammatic philosophy by a characterisation of the eloquence of Demosthenes, and then proceeds as in the MSS. Some of Maternus' utterances are not unworthy of the contemporary of the French Revolution, and we actually hear of the powerful effect of eloquence in allaying internal dissensions or terrifying into retreat an invading army of foreign enemies! There is, in fact, scarcely a single thought in the entire supplement which is in keeping with the context or relevant to the design of the treatise or possible in the mouths of the interlocutors as Tacitus has drawn them! So far as I can see, there is but one topic that can, without fear of contradiction, be put down as having been dealt with in the portions now lost. It is, as already intimated,[176] *a more or less detailed treatment of Attic eloquence*, introduced to show that the same causes that led to the development of a superior type of

[174] One is sorely tempted to enquire why Secundus did not, under the circumstances, also retire.

[175] The savage criticism of Seneca (a bombastic amplification of Quintilian X 1, 125 ff.), as well as the eulogy of Quintilian himself, supposed to have been uttered in 74/75, is of course an amusing anachronism!

[176] See above p. lxxxii.

oratory in republican Rome were operative in producing a similar phenomenon in democratic Athens. To attempt to go beyond this is to leave the terra firma of fact for the limitless regions of conjectural fancy.

III.—THE LITERARY SOURCES OF THE DIALOGUS.

The Dialogue fictitious.

The Dialogus de oratoribus purports to be, as we have seen, the faithful reproduction from memory of a debate which the young Tacitus had been privileged to listen to, and which, about seven years later, after the death of the noted interlocutors, still seemed to him of sufficient interest and positive value to merit the attention of posterity.

The great majority of editors and critics, with the solitary exception of Kleiber and Rausch,[177] tacitly assume that the author's explanation of the origin of the treatise was given in good faith, a few only venturing far enough to concede at least the bare possibility that the debate in question may be in reality essentially unhistorical. The above-mentioned scholars dealt with this subject only incidentally, and neglected many clear indications of the correctness of their view. The following remarks will therefore not be out of place.

The Dialogus, we contend, is a treatise cast into the dramatic form of a debate by its author for the same reasons that prompted Plato or Cicero to choose this particular species of literary composition. For it, and it alone, enabled them thoroughly to discuss a subject from all points of view, without ex cathedra utterances or dogmatic exposition. The grounds which compel me to look upon the Dialogue in this light are briefly as follows:

(1) There is no instance of a similar work in any literature which can be regarded as strictly historical. In all dialogical composition the author invariably exercises the right of the creative artist to invent his characters and to place them in such situations, as may be best conducive to the accomplishment of his object, but, being an artist, he also endeavors to impart an air of verisimilitude to his creation by giving a kind of pictorial reality to the scenery

[177] Kleiber pp. 19–21 Rausch pp. 5–7.

and by investing his dramatis personae with the requisite historical coloring. The letters of Cicero may be cited as accurately representing his own method of procedure no less than that of the ancients in general.[178]

(2) The artistic structure and unity of plan which our treatise reveals is in itself sufficient to refute the supposition that the debate represents an accurate and faithful reproduction of an *informal* and *improvised* discussion between intimate friends.[179]

(3) The language put into the mouths of the interlocutors is unmistakably *Ciceronian* in thought and phraseology.

(4) In the structure of the Dialogus the author has repeatedly *appropriated* dramatic devices and motives from Cicero:

[178] Cp. esp. the dedicatory epistle to Varro (ad fam. IX 8): Feci igitur sermonem (viz. Acad. Post.) inter nos habitum in Cumano, cum esset una Pomponius. Tibi dedi partes Antiochinas quas *a te probari intellexisse mihi videbar*, mihi sumpsi Philonis. Puto fore ut, cum legeris, mirere nos id locutos esse inter nos quod *numquam locuti sumus* sed NOSTI MOREM DIALOGORUM ad Att. XIII 19, 3 sic enim constitueram *neminem includere in dialogos eorum qui viverent* . . . si Cottam et Varronem fecissem inter se disputantes . . . meum κωφὸν πρόσωπον esset. hoc in antiquis suaviter fit ut et Heracleides in multis et nos sex de republica libris fecimus . . . sunt etiam de oratore nostri tres . . . *puero me* hic sermo inducitur ut nullae esse possent partes meae . . . haec Academica, ut scis, cum Catulo, Lucullo Hortensio contuleram. *Sane in personas non cadebant*, erant enim λογικώτερα quam ut illi de iis somniasse umquam viderentur . . . acumen habent Antiochi, NITOREM ORATIONIS NOSTRUM. ad Quint. frat. III 5 (concerning the plan of the de republica), ad fam. I 9, 23 scripsi igitur *Aristotelio more* quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione ac dialogo de oratore. See also the introduction of the de oratore and of the Laelius (1, 4): Catonem induxi senem disputantem quia *nulla videbatur aptior persona* quae de illa aetate loqueretur . . . *idonea* mihi Laeli persona visa est quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret. *Genus autem hoc sermonum* positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis.

[179] Cp. the previous chapter and the *set* speeches throughout the Dialogue, with their careful announcement and subsequent recapitulation of the topics discussed, as well as the elaborate perorations (c. 5 15 f. 16 16 17 1 22 1 23 ext. 25 1 28 5 f. 11 32 ext. 33 3 ff. 14 f. 34 1 ff. 26 f. 38 1). The following expressions are also out of place in an impromptu conversation: c. 14 19 iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis qui ista disputatis adferunt, tum etiam *iis ad quorum aures pervenerint* 27 8 nec vos offendi decebit si quid forte aures vestras perstringat cum *sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem* iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre (see above 'nosti morem dialogorum') 32 32 quos si forte haec audierint.

c. 1 1 saepe ex me requiris 10 ff. vix hercle auderem si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum . . . hominum sermo repetendus esset quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes admodum iuvenis audivi. ita non ingenio sed memoria et recordatione opus est	de orat. I 2, 4 ac mihi repetenda est veteris cuiusdam memoriae non sane satis explicata recordatio, sed, ut arbitror, apta ad id quod requiris, ut cognoscas quae viri omnium eloquentissimi . . . senserint de omni ratione dicendi de rep. I 8, 13 nec nostra quaedam est instituenda nova et a nobis inventa ratio sed . . . clarissimorum . . . virorum disputatio repetenda memoria est quae mihi tibique adulescentulo est . . . exposita, in qua nihil fere . . . praetermissum puto.
c. 2 11 ff. Secundo . . . Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat tamquam maiorem . . . gloriam habiturus si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur	de orat. II 1, 4 sed fuit hoc in utroque ut *Crassus* . . . *Antonius* autem probabiliorem hoc populo orationem fore censebat, si omnino didicisse numquam putaretur, atque ita se uterque graviorem fore, si contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Graecos videretur.
c. 3 1 igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus	de nat. deor. I 7, 15 nam cum feriis Latinis ad eum venissem, offendi eum sedentem in exhedra et cum Velleio disputantem.
c. 4 1 perturbarer hac tua severitate	de orat. I 51, 219 neque vero istis tragoediis tuis perturbor.
c. 11 2 subridens Maternus 'parantem' inquit 'me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat . . . arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent	de orat. I 17, 74 tum ridens Scaevola 'non luctabor tecum' inquit . . . 'id enim ipsum quod contra me locutus es artificio quodam es consecutus, ut et mihi quae ego vellem non esse oratoris concederes et ea ipsa . . . rursus detorqueres atque oratori propria traderes.
c. 14 1 ff. vixdum finierat Maternus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est . . . 'num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secretum consilium . . .' 'minime, minime,' inquit Secundus	de rep. I 12, 17 Haec Scipio cum dixisset, L. Furium repente venientem aspexit . . . Tum Furius: quid vos agitis? num sermonem vestrum aliquem diremit noster interventus? Minime vero, Africanus.

c. 15 1 tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum . . . mirari . . . cum . . . neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes . . . cum eam gloriam quam tibi alii concedunt ipse tibi denegares'	de rep. I 13, 20 tum Manilius: 'Pergisne eam, Laeli artem inludere in qua primum excellis ipse
c. 16 1 'magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movistis, sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit? 15 11 causas . . . quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro.	Brut. 87, 297 rem commovistis nova disputatione dignam de rep. I 21, 34 erat aequum de re publica potissimum principem rei publicae dicere sed etiam quod memineram persaepe te cum Panaetio disserere solitum . . . qua in disputatione quoniam tu paratior es, feceris, . . . si de re publica quid sentias explicaris, nobis gratum omnibus.
c. 16 5 ff. 'aperiam . . . cogitationes meas si illud a vobis ante impetravero . . . 'pro duobus,' inquit Maternus, 'promitto: nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse'	de orat. II 7, 27 ipse obmutescam, nisi prius a vobis impetraro . . . ego, inquit Iulius, pro utroque respondeo Brut. 32, 122 de orat. II 89, 362 de leg. I 11, 32 de orat. II 29, 126 neque . . . nos privabis ut si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut relictum sit, non explores, neque te, Antoni, si quid non dixisti, existimabimus non potuisse quam a Crasso dici maluisse
c. 23 18 vos vero . . . ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi	de orat. I 8, 34 quam ob rem pergite, ut facitis, adulescentes atque in id studium in quo estis incumbite
c. 24 9 ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit sed more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contradicendi partes	de orat. I 62, 263 Atque nescio an aliter sentias et utare tua mirifica ad refellendum consuetudine . . . in philosophorum consuetudine versatus
c. 26 29 veritus credo, ne multos offenderet, si paucos excerpsisset.	Brut. 65, 231 vereri te, inquit, arbitror, ne tibi succenseant quos praeterieris de rep. I 1, 1 commemorare eos desino, ne quis se aut suorum aliquem praetermissum queratur.
c. 28 1 tum Messalla: non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris nec aut tibi	de orat. III 37, 148 tum Crassus: Pervolgatas, inquit, et tibi non incog-

. . . ignotas etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus.	nitas res requiris de rep. I 46, 70 quam ob rem ingrediar in ea quae nota sunt omnibus . . . quoniam ea quae tenebatis ipsi, etiam ex me audire voluistis.
c. 33 deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: quoniam,' inquit	Hortens. fragm. 4 quod cum uterque nostrum adnuissent Brut. 55, 201 cum haec disseruissem uterque assensus est. et ego tamquam de integro ordiens; quando, igitur, inquam.

Sources. But if the Dialogue, barring a certain historical background and a tolerably faithful portraiture of the interlocutors themselves, must be regarded as a work of the creative imagination, the question as to the *Sources* which the author consulted and utilised at once assumes an independent and intrinsic importance.

Cicero. That Cicero's works were the chief and foremost of these Sources is universally admitted and sufficiently clear from the foregoing. But that the youthful author's indebtedness to the great orator extends far beyond phraseological imitation and the repetition of dramatic motives, is made equally manifest by the astonishingly large number of reminiscences of Ciceronian ideas in general. Indisputable analogies in other ancient writers would alone have amply warranted the assumption that Tacitus' appropriations were not restricted to the passages expressly cited from Cicero.[180] Happily we are not confined to mere inferences, justifiable though they be, for the singularly fortunate preservation of the originals themselves still enables us to determine not only the precise extent of this indebtedness, but what is incomparably more interesting and instructive, we can also observe in what manner the writer assimilated and utilised his borrowed material. Some of the more

[180] viz. the Hortensius (note to c. 16 28 and below) Brutus (c. 30 11) Orator (c. 32 27) de orat. (c. 35 5), to which may be added Tiro's Life of Cicero (c. 17 7). The following orations are incidentally alluded to: pro Tullio, pro Caecina (c. 20 3 f.), pro Archia, pro P. Quintio, in Catilinam, the Philippics (c. 38 25 f.), pro C. Cornelio, pro M. Scauro, pro L. Bestia, in P. Vatinium (c. 39 20), pro Milone (38 27 39 21), in Verrem (c. 20 3 38 27). Finally the general statements in c. 30 19 in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet and c. 38 12 neque Ciceronis . . . liber apud centumviros dictus legatur also seems to imply a profound knowledge of Cicero's writings.

striking of these reminiscences from among the many collected in the Notes[181] may here be enumerated by way of illustration :

c. 5 20 ff. quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum . . . ultro feras? ipse securus et . . . potestate munitus . . . eloquentia . . . praesidium simul ac telum quo propugnare pariter et incessere . . . possis	de orat. I 8, 32 quid tam porro regium, tam liberale, tam munificum quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis . . . quid autem tam necessarium quam tenere semper arma, quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare improbos vel te ulcisci lacessitus?
c. 6 15 ff. quod illud gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos . . . sive adcuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis ita gaudii pondus 16 coire populum . . . et accipere adfectum quemcunque orator induerit	de orat. I 8, 31 quid enim est aut tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine existere unum . . . aut tam iucundum cognitu atque auditu quam sapientibus sententiis gravibusque verbis ornata oratio et polita? 25, 116 magnum quoddam est . . . munus suscipere atque profiteri se omnibus silentibus unum maximis de rebus, magno in conventu hominum audiendum 19, 87 uti ei qui audirent sic adficerentur animis ut eos adfici vellet orator.
c. 18 18 non esse unum eloquentiae vultum sed in illis quoque . . . plures species deprehendi nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est and c. 25 9-17.	Brut. 56, 204 atque in his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sunt dissimiles. de orat. II 23, 94 III 7, 25.
c. 22 22 procul arceantur . . . oblitterata et obsoleta; nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum	de orat. III 10, 39 neque tamen utendum verbis iis, quibus iam consuetudo non utitur; sed usitatis ita poterit uti, lectissimis ut utatur
c. 23 11 quos more antiquo apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur	Brut. 84, 289 cum isti dicunt Attici non modo a corona . . . sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur
c. 30 24 ita est . . . ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia	de orat. I 6, 20 nemo poterit esse orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum scientiam consecutus. Et enim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio

[181] See also Kleiber pp. 24–33 and the passages marked with an * in the index locorum s. v. Cicero.

c. 31 1 ff. hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant . . . opus esse non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent	de orat. I 33, 149 equidem probo ista ut causa aliqua proposita consimili causarum earum quae in forum deferantur, dicatis quam maxime ad veritatem accomodate. Sed plerique in hoc vocem modo . . . exercent
c. 31 10 ff. de quibus copiose et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum . . . ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat qui scit quid ira et promptius ad miserationem impellat qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur.	de orat. I 12, 53 quis enim nescit maximam vim existere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad odium aut ad dolorem incitandis vel ab hisce isdem permotionibus ad lenitatem misericordiamque revocandis? quae nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur, penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.
c. 39 13 res velut in solitudine agitur, oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut quodam theatro . . . cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent etc.	de orat. II 83, 338 fit autem quia maxima oratori scaena contio est . . . habet enim multitudo vim talem ut orator sine multitudine audiente eloquens esse non poterit.

That the lost dialogue *Hortensius* was also more extensively used than might appear from the solitary quotation in c. 16 28 could have been safely conjectured on general grounds, for it is not likely that an author who proves himself so profoundly conversant with Cicero's works would have neglected to pluck some flowers from the 'regina dialogorum,' as the Hortensius has been justly styled.[182] One such reminiscence can still be traced with absolute certainty, while in two other instances direct indebtedness is at least not improbable.

Scholars have long ago demonstrated that Iamblichus in the Protrepticus as well as Cicero in the Hortensius alike drew upon a common source, namely Aristotle's Προτρεπτικός.[183] Bearing this fact in mind, we may compare the following two passages:

[182] That the subject of *eloquence* was also discussed in it has been shown by Plasberg, *De Ciceronis Hortensio* p. 34 f., although he strangely overlooked the passage cited from Augustinus.

[183] For the detailed proof, see Bywater, *Jour. of Phil.* II 55 ff. Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII 390 ff. Diels, *Archiv f. Gesch. der Philosophie* I 477 ff. The attempt of P. Hartlich, *Leipz. Stud.* XI 291–300 and passim, to show that

Iambl. p. 134 (c. 8) *τί δ' ἐστὶ μακρὸν ἢ τι πολυχρόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων; ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν, οἶμαι, καὶ βίου βραχύτητα καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται πολύ.*

Tac. Dial. c. 16 25 ff. quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur, si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum inmensi huius aevi perquam breve et in proximo est. Nam ut *Cicero in Hortensio* scribit etc.

This remarkable parallelism cannot, in my judgment, be accounted for, except on the supposition that the passage preceding the direct citation from the Hortensius is also based upon this same dialogue.

Still another echo of this Ciceronian treatise I am disposed to find, although, unlike the previous instance, my suspicion does not admit of positive proof, in the following parallel with a fragment preserved by Augustinus, de trinit. c. XIV 9:

Si nobis cum ex hac vita emigraverimus in beatorum insulis inmortale aevum ut fabulae ferunt degere licet, *quid opus esset eloquentia cum iudicia nulla fierent* . . . nec iustitia cum esset nihil quod appeterentur alieni nec temperantia quae regeret eas quae nullae essent libidines, ne prudentia quidem egeremus nullo delecto proposito bonorum et malorum.

Dial. c. 41 7 ff. quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator . . . quid voluntariis accusationibus (sc. opus est) cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur 12 11 felix illud . . . aureum saeculum et oratorum et criminum inops . . . inter quos neminem causidicum.

Finally, it may be remarked that the fact that the Hortensius contained a detailed discussion of poetry,[184] lends some color to my conjecture that Tacitus was possibly indebted to it for some ideas found in Maternus' 'Defence of Poetry.'[185]

Seneca.

That Tacitus had also read and studied the works of Seneca, the brilliant writer so popular in the days of his youth,[186] may be confidently asserted, even if all positive evidence were lacking, which is far from being the case.[187]

Cicero derived the bulk of his information not directly from Aristotle, but through the intermediary channel of Poseidonios, has not convinced me.

[184] See Plasberg pp. 27 f. [185] *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXII p. xlviii.

[186] Cf. Quint. X 1, 126 tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adulescentium fuit.

[187] Cp. M. Zimmermann *De T. Senecae philosophi imitatore* (Bresl. Abh. V, 1 pp. 73).

This being so, we should not be surprised to find distinct traces of Tacitus' acquaintance with Seneca in the Dialogus. And accordingly Peter,[188] starting out with this presumption, recognises this influence "in der Freiheit, mit welcher, wie unser Verfasser, so auch Seneca, nur in viel ausgedehnterem Maasse als dieser, dem Sprachgebrauch Gewalt anthut, um den Ausdruck bezeichnender und ausdrucksvoller zu machen" and in Seneca's fondness for *epigrammatic* expressions.[189] Now it is curious to observe that in the many illustrations given by Peter of Seneca's stylistic audacity, the Dialogus either furnishes no analogous usage or, where it does, the expression is neither peculiar[190] to Seneca, nor in any way characteristic. The same criticism holds good of the formidable array of evidence accumulated by Kleiber.[191] For of the 64 instances of stylistic parallelisms between the Dialogus and the writings of Seneca cited, there is *not a single phrase* which can confidently be regarded as a genuine reminiscence. For even in the case of some synonymic collocations like emendatus et compositus (Ep. 4, 1 Dial. c. 41 2) or quietum compositumque (Ep. 100, 8 Dial. c. 36 5), which apparently do not occur elsewhere, it were extremely rash to assert, in view of the demonstrable fondness for similar fullness of expression, not only in the minor works of Tacitus, but in Latin writers generally, that they were taken directly from Seneca! The other instances present at best but a very remote resemblance, whether in thought or diction, or they are of frequent occurrence elsewhere, or purely commonplace and nondescript.[192]

[188] *Einleitung* pp. 10–14.

[189] See also Kleiber pp. 78–80. But this is a highly characteristic feature of the stylistic individuality of Tacitus, conspicuous in all his writings. Cp. p. xlii.

[190] This applies also to the use of *incipit* = sequitur with inf. (c. 16 32), for which Novák (p. 186) adduces a number of parallel instances from Pseudo Quintilian's Declamationes: 26, 5 quare si apparuerit te malam causam habere, incipis rem iniquissimam postulare 166, 5 quotiens nullum praefinitum est tempus, incipit esse 213, 8 illo vero sublato incipit ultimum esse quod relictum est. The others cited from 233, 9 and Quint. III 6, 17 are not in point.

[191] pp. 73–80. Index locorum s. v. *Seneca*.

[192] As it is inexpedient to reprint Kleiber's *entire* list, I must content myself with a haphazard selection, which will, however, be sufficient to substantiate the statement made above: hoc enim vocari solebant (Sen. Dial. II 18, 41 and c. 1 6), toto animo incumbam (Ep. 72, 2 — c. 3 13), intra se (Dial. XII 5, 1 — c. 3 12), malignis sermonibus (Dial. VII 17, 1 — c. 3 4), securum esse (Dial. II 2, 1 — c. 5 9), rebus prosperis (see note c. 5 24), quicquid optimum est (Dial. XII

The works of Seneca, moreover, with the solitary exception of a few epistles, like the 100th and the 114th, furnish little or no material which the author of a treatise on eloquence might have incorporated with advantage. Tacitus, under the influence of Quintilian's teaching, took Cicero for his model, and the Dialogus in consequence betrays at every turn the paramount influence which the profound study of all the orator's writings exerted upon the youthful author. This fact alone renders it intrinsically improbable that he should at the same time have allowed himself to be captivated by the scintillating brilliancy of Seneca's style, a view amply borne out by the absence of all *genuine* reminiscences. We therefore conclude that, while an *acquaintance* with the writings of Seneca on the part of Tacitus cannot be denied, we are not justified, on the face of the evidence accessible to us, in including his works among the *sources* of the Dialogus.

Mucianus. Ancient writers rarely cite their authorities, and Tacitus is no exception to this rule. Sometimes, however, the source of some particular piece of information is given, and if the original work is fortunately still extant, as for example in the case of Cicero, we are apt to discover to our surprise that the extent of the author's indebtedness is far greater than one could have supposed. Now this fact, for which we possess numerous analogies, necessarily creates a very strong suspicion or presumption that a closer relationship, than might appear at first sight, exists, where an equally casual acknowledgment is made to some work, preserved to us only in fragments, as the Hortensius, or entirely lost. To this latter class belong the compilations of Mucianus, entitled 'Acta' and 'Epistolae,' which are known to us only from a solitary reference in the Dialogus. The former of these, as has been remarked

8, 4 — c. 6 13), omnis dies, omnis hora (see note c. 6 2), ex municipiis et coloniis suis (Dial. XII 6, 2 — c. 7 18), abiecta, sordida (note c. 8 11), volo [laetitiam] tibi domi nasci (Ep. 23 3 — note c. 9 13), natura ingenium dedit (Dial. VIII 5, 3 — note c. 10 11), proceritas silvae et secretum loci (Ep. 41, 3 — c. 12 1), solacio erit (Dial. II 18, 5 — c. 15 13), si me interrogas, nihil puto viro miserum (Ep. 96, 1 — c. 18 27), boni sanguinis (Ep. 11, 5 — c. 21 35), robigo animorum, in morem cantici (Ep. 95, 36. 114, 1 — c. 22 23. 24), quotiens causa poscet (Dial. IV 7, 2 — c. 23 23), utar tota libertate (Ep. 25, 1 — c. 27 11), scholas intravi (Ep. 76, 4 — c. 29 15), antiquitates evolvere (Dial. VIII 5, 2 — c. 30 2), pro cuiusque natura (Dial. IV 19, 5 — c. 31 20), linguam . . . exercete (Dial. VII 20, 6 — c. 31 4), multae incidunt causae (Dial. IV 20, 1 — c. 31 34), eloquentiae famam (Dial. IX 1, 3 — c. 34 23), nobiles equi (de clem. I 24, 2 — c. 39 6), ad votum (Ep. 15, 3 — c. 41 2), adversum medentem (Dial. II 13, 2 — c. 41 10)!!

in the note to c. 37 8, was undoubtedly a kind of oratorical anthology. If so, it is in the highest degree probable that some other similar details concerning the orators of the Republic, especially in those instances in which the Brutus of Cicero could not have been Tacitus' source, were culled from Mucianus' handy collection.

To this 'Quelle' I am disposed to assign the interesting passage in which we are told that the great orators of the Republic delivered no speeches before the centumviral court, Pollio's celebrated speeches for the heirs of Urbinia constituting only an apparent exception. See note to c. 37 14.

The other passage which, in my judgment, was taken from the 'Acta,' is the close of c. 34, which gives the age at which Crassus, Caesar, Asinius Pollio and Calvus made their oratorical début, and the names of the men whom they prosecuted on that occasion. For it will not be denied that it is intrinsically improbable to suppose that Tacitus laboriously collected each single item from *independent* and necessarily widely scattered sources, a hypothesis rendered the more precarious, when it is remembered that our passage contains *two* palpable chronological errors, and that one of these data (concerning Crassus) is given *correctly* by Cicero in the de oratore,[193] with which dialogue our author, as we have seen, was very familiar. The detailed information bears all the marks of having been due to some compendium or annalistic record of literary history. Several works of this kind are known to us. But the *Chronica* of *Nepos* were unavailable, because they were published before 63 B.C., and could not, therefore, have included Pollio's speech against C. Cato; the *Annales* of *Atticus* are also excluded, because they constituted Cicero's source in the de oratore. The *Annales* of *Fenestella* recorded the dates of the speeches of celebrated orators, their chronology having already in his day become confused, as we may infer from a well-known passage in Gellius.[194] Tacitus may, therefore, have been indebted to this

[193] See my note to c. 34 32 ff. (p. 324 f.).

[194] N. A. XV 28 Cornelius Nepos et rerum memoriae non indiligens et M. Ciceronis ut qui maxime amicus familiaris fuit. Atque is tamen in librorum primo quos de vita illius composuit, errasse videtur cum eum scripsit *tres et viginti annos natum primum causam iudicii publici egisse* Sextumque Roscium . . . defendisse. Dinumeratis quippe annis . . . *sex et viginti* anni reperiuntur . . . In qua re etiam *Fenestellam errasse* Pedianus Asconius animadvertit quod eum scripserit *sexto vicensimo anno* pro Sextio Roscio dixisse. Cp. also *Transact. Am. Phil. Ass.* XX p. 147.

author for his information, the errors included. But since the data under notice are of a nature extremely well suited to a work such as we must conceive the 'Acta' of Mucianus to have been, and as this collection is *expressly cited* in the Dialogue, it will be more methodical to assume this same publication as the *direct* source of Tacitus, while Fenestella or Varro may possibly have been among the informants of Mucianus.

But not only were the 'Acta' probably laid under contribution in the two additional instances just dealt with, but Tacitus' indebtedness to the 'Epistolae' of Mucianus seems also not to have been confined to the passage in which they are cited, for I feel convinced that what we learn of the epistolary war waged between the adherents of the Attic school and Cicero (c. 18 21 ff. 25 23 ff.) is directly based upon this identical compilation, it being again extremely unlikely that Tacitus had recourse to the not easily accessible original letters of Brutus and Calvus,[195] when he might have availed himself of Mucianus' labors. The same convenient edition of these collected letters was doubtless used by Quintilian and perhaps by Plutarch.[196]

The sources of c. 28 f.

I must still discuss one other possible source of Tacitus, to which the Dialogus itself, however, furnishes no direct or indirect clue.

The remarks on the education of children, put into the mouth of Messalla (c. 28 f.), are admittedly among the most interesting and beautiful passages of the Dialogus. F. A. Wolf was, indeed, disposed to regard them as the gem of the entire treatise, and even Gutmann expressly exempts this portion from his otherwise disparaging criticism. Now the impression of a certain maturity of judgment and experience which these chapters unquestionably leave in the mind of the reader, has led some scholars to think that the author must have been more than 27 years of age when this tirade against the laxity of contemporary educational methods was written, from which it would follow that the Dialogue was not composed in the reign of Titus, and all that this inference implies. But the early date as well as the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue rests upon too firm a foundation to be thus easily overthrown, for even admitting, what is by no means certain, that Tacitus at the age of 27 would not likely have given expression to the views in question, it does not seem to have occurred to any one

[195] c. 37 32 haec vetera quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent....
[196] See note c. 18 21.

that Tacitus, here too, as elsewhere, may simply have followed in the footsteps of one or more previous writers, and this seems in fact to have been the case.

Chrysippos. The education of children was frequently made the subject of monographic treatment by the ancients, more particularly by the Greeks.[197] The originals have unfortunately been entirely lost, or preserved only in meagre and insignificant fragments, but among these Chrysippos' Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς seems to have been the most extensively used. Its popularity was not so much due to any originality of treatment, stylistic charm or profundity of observation, for the Stöic Chalcenteros was not distinguished for any of these qualities, but rather to the accumulation of the opinions of others,[198] which could not but make his compilations a repository of useful information, highly welcome to later writers. We are accordingly not surprised to find that Quintilian, in discussing the education of children, has recourse to this identical treatise of Chrysippos, and, what has hitherto escaped notice, that the unknown author of Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς, which has come down to us under Plutarch's name, is also indebted for some of his material to the same Stoic source. The indisputable proof of this is furnished by the following passages:

Quint. I 1, 4 Ante omnia ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus quas, si fieri posset, sapientes *Chrysippus* optavit, certe quantum res pateretur, optimas eligi voluit. et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est.	Ps. Plut. c. 5 *τάς γε τίτθας καὶ τροφοὺς, οὐ τὰς τυχούσας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα σπουδαίας δοκιμαστέον ἐστί* c. 6 *ζητητέον πρώτιστα τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖα τοὺς τρόπους ἔτι μέντοι Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ περίτρανα λαλεῖν ἵνα μὴ συναναχρωννύμενοι βαρβάροις.*
I 3, 14 caedi vero discentes, quamlibet et receptum sit et *Chrysippus* non improbet, minime velim, primum	c. 12 *κἀκεῖνό φημι, δεῖν τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἄγειν παραινέσεσι καὶ λόγοις, μὴ μὰ Δία πληγαῖς*

[197] See the list of titles in Wyttenbach, *Animadv.* to Plutarch's Moralia, Vol. I p. 32 f., Graefenhan, *Gesch. der Philologie* II p. 152, and Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht* II pp. 9–12. Of Latin treatises, only Varro's Catus, de liberis educandis, is known to me.

[198] Cf. Laert. Diog. p. 180 f. *πονικώτατός τε παρ' ὀντινοῦν γέγονεν ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ· . . . ἐπλήθυνε δὲ αὐτὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν γράφων καὶ διορθούμενος πλεονάκις πλείστῃ τε τῶν μαρτυριῶν παραθέσει χρώμενος. . . . "Εἰ γάρ τις ἀφέλοι τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων ὅσ' ἀλλότρια παρατέθειται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρτης καταλελείψεται." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος.*

quia deforme atque servile est . . . deinde, quod, si cui tam est mens illiberalis ut obiurgatione non corrigatur, is etiam ad plagas . . . durabitur . . . adde quod multa vapulantibus dictu deformia et mox verecundiae futura saepe dolore vel metu acciderunt, qui pudor frangit animum [199]	*μηδ' αἰκισμοῖς. Ἐῶ γάρ που ταῦτα τοῖς δούλοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις πρέπειν . . . ἀποναρκῶσι γὰρ καὶ φρίττουσι πρὸς τοὺς πόνους, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀλγηδόνας τῶν πληγῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ὕβρεις. ἔπαινοι δὲ καὶ ψόγοι πάσης εἰσὶν αἰκίας ὠφελιμώτεροι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις* etc.

But if Quintilian and Ps. Plutarch drew from the same fountain, it follows that other striking parallelisms between them, where Quintilian, however, fails to acknowledge his direct indebtedness, can only be explained on the same assumption:

Quint. I 1, 2 f. praestat . . . ingenio alius alium . . . nemo reperitur, qui sit studio nihil consecutus.	c. 4 *εἰ δέ τις οἴεται, τοὺς οὐκ εὖ πεφυκότας μαθήσεως καὶ μελέτης τυχόντας ὀρθῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἂν τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἐλάττωσιν εἰς τοὐνδεχόμενον ἀναδραμεῖν, ἴστω πολλοῦ . . . διαμαρτάνων.*
I 1, 8 de pueris vero . . . idem quod de nutricibus dictum sit: de paedagogis hoc amplius ut aut sint eruditi plane, quam primam esse curam velim, aut se non esse eruditos sciant	c. 7 *τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον . . . τῶν εἰρημένων ἔρχομαι φράσων. διδασκάλους γὰρ ζητητέον τοῖς τέκνοις οἳ καὶ τοῖς βίοις εἰσὶν ἀδιάβλητοι . . . καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἄριστοι.*
I 1, 6 in parentibus vero quam plurimum esse eruditionis optaverim	ibid. *νῦν δέ τις καὶ καταπτύσειε τῶν πατέρων ἐνίων, οἵτινες πρὶν δοκιμάσαι τοὺς μέλλοντας διδάσκειν δι' ἄγνοιαν, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ δι' ἀπειρίαν ἀνθρώποις ἀδοκίμοις . . . ἐγχειρίζουσι τοὺς παῖδας* etc.

[199] Chrysippus' *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς* is quoted by Quintilian in three other passages, to which there are no strictly analogous parallelisms in Ps. Plutarch: I 1, 16 sed alii quoque auctores, inter quos Eratosthenes, idem praeceperunt, melius autem qui nullum tempus vacare cura volunt, ut *Chrysippus*. nam is, quamvis nutricibus triennium dederit, tamen ab illis quoque iam formandam quam optimis institutis mentem infantium iudicat. I 10, 32 et *Chrysippus* etiam nutricum illi quae adhibetur infantibus adlectationi suum quoddam carmen adsignat. I 11, 17 cum praesertim haec chironomia quae est, uti nomine ipso declaratur, lex gestus . . . et a *Chrysippo in praeceptis de liberorum educatione* non omissa. The last phrase also bears witness to the completeness of the Greek treatise, for to say 'nor has this been omitted by Chrysippus in his precepts etc.' implies that Quintilian would have been very much surprised, had he done so. The word *χειρονομία* itself may have been coined by Chrysippos; at least it does not seem to occur before the time of Lucian, being found, significantly enough, in the *περὶ ὀρχήσεως* c. 78. The verb *χειρονομεῖν* is met with occasionally in Plato e. g. de leg. 795 d. 796 e.

I 3, 8 danda est tamen omnibus (sc. pueris) aliqua remissio quia nulla res est quae perferre possit continuum laborem etc.

c. 13 *ψυχὴ τοῖς μὲν συμμέτροις αὔξεται πόνοις, τοῖς δ' ὑπερβάλλουσι βαπτίζεται. Δοτέον οὖν τοῖς παισὶν ἀναπνοὴν τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων . . . πᾶς ὁ βίος ἡμῶν εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ σπουδὴν διῄρηται.*

I 1, 36 nam et maxime necessaria est . . . memoria et ea praecipue firmatur atque alitur exercitatione etc.

ibid. *Πάντων δέ μοι μάλιστα τὴν μνήμην τῶν παίδων ἀσκεῖν καὶ συνεθίζειν κτλ.*[200]

Now the Dialogus of Tacitus contains a number of equally striking coincidences with passages in the Ps. Plutarchean treatise. It therefore follows that he too is ultimately indebted to Chrysippos' Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς, the *common* source of Ps. Plutarch and Quintilian:

c. 5 *Δεῖ δὲ . . . αὐτὰς τὰς μητέρας τὰ τέκνα τρέφειν καὶ τούτοις τοὺς μαστοὺς ὑπέχειν. συμπαθέστερόν τε γὰρ θρέψουσι καὶ διὰ πλείονος ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἂν ἔνδοθεν . . . ἀγαπῶσαι τὰ τέκνα. αἱ τίτθαι δὲ καὶ αἱ τροφοὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν ὑποβολιμαίαν . . . ἔχουσιν, ἅτε μισθοῦ φιλοῦσαι.*

c. 28 13 ff. nam pridem suus cuique filius . . . non in cellula emptae nutricis sed in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis.

c. 5 *μάλιστα μὲν οὖν, ἅπερ ἔφην, ταῦτα πειραστέον τὰ τέκνα τρέφειν τὰς μητέρας· εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀδυνάτως ἔχοιεν . . . ἀλλά τάς γε τίτθας καὶ τρόφους οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα σπουδαίας δοκιμαστέον ἐστί.*

c. 28 16 aut eligebatur maior aliqua natu propinqua cuius probatis spectatisque moribus . . . suboles committeretur

c. 7 *ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τὸ γινόμενον πολλοῖς ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστι. . . . ὅτι δ' ἂν εὕρωσιν ἀνδράποδον οἰνολήπτον καὶ λίχνον, πρὸς πᾶσαν πραγματείαν ἄχρηστον, τούτῳ φέροντες ὑποβάλλουσι τοὺς υἱούς.*

c. 29 1 At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus

c. 5 *εὔπλαστον γὰρ καὶ ὑγρὸν ἡ νεότης καὶ ταῖς τούτων ψυχαῖς ἀπαλαῖς ἔτι τὰ μαθήματα ἐντήκεται . . . αἱ μαθήσεις ταῖς ἔτι παιδίων ψυχαῖς ἐναποτυποῦνται . . . μηδὲ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους τοῖς παιδίοις λέγειν.* Cp. also Quint. I 1, 5. 11.

c. 29 3 horum fabulis et erroribus virides statim et teneri animi imbuuntur nec quisquam . . . pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat.

[200] There are other traces of Chrysippean influence in this treatise, which it would be irrelevant for my present purpose to enumerate. Cp., however, e. g. c. 4 init. with Plut. De Stoic. repugn. p. 1033 (Chrysippos Περὶ βίων).

c. 14 *καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῆς αἰσχρολογίας ἀπακτεόν τοὺς υἱούς. . . . Εἶτά γε μὴν ἐντευκτικοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι παρασκευαστέον καὶ φιλοπροσηγόρους. ὡς γὰρ τὰ ἀνέντευκτα τῶν ἠθῶν ἐστιν ἀξιομίσητα* etc. Cp. also Quint. I 2, 6 ff.

c. 28 18 coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu 29 6 quin etiam ipsi parentes non probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt sed lasciviae et dicacitati per quae paulatim impudentia inrepit.

We may also compare:

c. 4 *ὡς εἰς τὴν παντελῆ δικαιοπραγίαν τρία δεῖ συνδραμεῖν, φύσιν καὶ λόγον καὶ ἔθος. καλῶ δὲ λόγον μὲν τὴν μαθησίν. ἔθος δὲ τὴν ἄσκησιν. αἱ δὲ χρήσεις, τῆς μελετῆς . . . ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἄνευ μαθήσεως τυφλόν· ἡ δὲ μάθησις δίχα φύσεως ἐλλιπές· ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀτελές.*

c. 33 10 neque enim solum arte et scientia sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri 19 nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat . . . si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat. See notes ad loc.

c. 9 *τὴν σμικρολογιάν τῆς λέξεως καὶ ταπείνωσιν παραινῶ διευλαβεῖσθαι . . . καθάπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα οὐ μόνον ὑγιεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεκτικόν εἶναι χρή· καὶ τὸν λόγον ὡσαύτως οὐκ ἄνοσον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔρωστον εἶναι δεῖ.*

c. 23 13 adeo maesti . . . istam ipsam . . . sanitatem non firmitate sed ieiunio consequuntur . . . parum est aegrum non esse: fortem et laetum et alacrem volo; parum abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur.

c. 9 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἐπαινεῖται μόνον τὸ δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ θαυμάζεται.*

c. 37 ext. ut secura velint, periculosa extollant. See crit. note.

Finally, I desire at least to suggest the possibility that Varro's Catus, *de liberis educandis*, may also have furnished our author with some ideas. Tacitus unquestionably knew the writings of Varro (see notes c. 23 9 30 18); that he was acquainted with the particular treatise just mentioned, can of course not be convincingly demonstrated. It is still cited by Gellius N. A. IV 9 and Macrob. Sat. III 6, 5, but what appears to me especially significant, is that Tacitus uses 'educare' in c. 28 15 of *physical* training. I have been able to find but one other passage where this word must have the same meaning, namely in an example cited by Nonius from — Varro, de liberis educandis! Varro, moreover, as is well known, was the laudator temporis acti par excellence,[201] so that nothing is more probable than that a complaint, similar to that put into the mouth of Messalla, may have been made in his Catus. A

[201] Cp. esp. the fragments of the *Γεροντοδιδάσκαλος*, the man of sixty and the like.

slight self-contradiction of Tacitus, moreover, seems also to betray an earlier source. The author makes Messalla say that the time-honored custom by which a young man would attach himself to some great orator, had gone out of vogue in his day (c. 34 init.), and yet Tacitus represents himself in the introduction as conforming to this very practice! Now this discrepancy is at once accounted for on the supposition that Tacitus is here simply echoing the views of his 'Quelle.' But be this as it may, deny, if you will, that neither Chrysippus nor Varro was directly consulted, the fact that the chapters on education are not entirely original with Tacitus must nevertheless, on the strength of the evidence accumulated above, be regarded as indisputable.

We have seen that the author of the Dialogus is under the greatest of obligations to previous writers, notably Cicero, but in spite of this we cannot but admit that Tacitus, even in his youth, was no servile imitator, but that he assimilated his borrowed material in such a manner as to make it practically his own,[202] admirably succeeding in producing a work, homogeneous in construction, artistically elaborated in its style, and bearing all the outward indications of an original composition.

IV.—STYLE AND LANGUAGE.[203]

A. **Syntax.**

1. SUBSTANTIVES.

(1) *Abstract for concrete:*

ingenia (c. 2 6), amicitia (*c. 8 18 Ann. II 27. 77), clientelae (c. 39 17).

(2) *Abstract plurals:*

amicitiae (c. 5 14), voluptates, comitatus, egressus, gaudia (c. 6

[202] On the originality of Tacitus in his larger historical works, see the very able discussion in Fabia, *op. cit.* pp. 266–312. 416–452.

[203] Cp. in general, Draeger, *Syntax und Stil des Tacitus* 1882³ pp. 130, Gantrelle, *Grammaire et Style de Tacite* 1882² pp. 60, Weinkauff, *Pars Rhetorica* pp. 39–106, *Pars Grammatica* pp. 107–123. *Prolegomena* pp. xliv–xlviii. li–lvii. Both Draeger and Gantrelle accord a very niggardly treatment to the Dialogus, Weinkauff's second part is wholly inadequate, and Boetticher, *Lex. Tac.* pp. xxxix–cii is very incomplete and somewhat antiquated. The above synopsis aims at no scientific arrangement, but is merely designed to give a tolerably complete survey of the stylistic usage of the Dialogue, in a conveniently tabulated form. An *asterisk* refers to the more detailed discussion in the Notes ad loc.

4. 14. 18), tribunatus, praeturae, consulatus (c. 7 8 f.), **lasciviae**, lusus (*c. 10 16 f.), educationes, pravitates (*c. 28 23. 25).

(3) *Rhetorical plurals:* Menenii, Appii (*c. 21 31).

(4) *Substantival adjectives and participles:* See s. vv.

(5) *Cases.*

a. Accusative: cogitare (*c. 2 3), arguere with acc. of the person (*c. 5 13), audio (*c. 16 17), anteire (*c. 36 17). Intransitive verbs compounded with prepositions, e. g. praecurrere (c. 20 4), antecedere (*c. 25 14), obtrectare (*c. 25 23).

b. Genitive: with 'incertus' (*c. 13 22),—*objective* gen.: desidia advocationum (*c. 4 4), memoria mei (*c. 13 26), fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum (*c. 34 27), ambitu comitiorum (c. 37 17). —*of price:* pensi habere (*c. 29 5), tanti est (c. 37 28 40 25). —One gen. depending upon another: populi diversissimarum aurium copiam (*c. 34 16).

c. Dative: incumbere (*c. 3 14), patrocinari (c. 10 27), inesse (*c. 33 17).—So-called *dat. subiectivus:* mihi sudatum (*c. 4 8), vobis aperiri aequum est (c. 32 30).

d. Ablative: *Modal* and *instrumental* abl. of gerund (*c. 11 6 33 15—14 22 27 6 36 2); *causal* abl.: vi et potestate, iure et legibus (*c. 19 23 25 28); abl. of *attendant circumstances* = abl. absol.: concursu (c. 6 5 *39 21); abl. of *rest:* tumulo (*c. 13 25).

2. Adjectives.

(1) *Substantival use of adjectives:*

a. Masc.: antiqui, veteres (c. 1 5 16 18), plures, alieni, invidi (c. 5 12. 21. 22), orbi, locupletes, imperiti (c. 6 8), negotiosi, peregrini (c. 7 12. 17), natales (c. 8 15), olim nati (c. 16 18), diserti (c. 17 3), studiosi (c. 21 9), posteri (c. 23 27), priores (c. 25 16), parvuli (c. 29 7), infesti, tristes, cupidi (c. 31 17 f.), prudentes (*c. 32 16), propinqui (c. 34 3), nobiles (c. 39 16), sani (c. 41 9).

b. Neuter Singular: secretum (c. 12 1), honestum, iustum, iniustum (c. 31 5 f.). Especially common in adverbial phrases like: in quantum, in tantum (*c. 2 13 41 20—24 13 32 23), in futurum (c. 4 6), in contrarium (*c. 15 10 16 11), in publicum, in commune (*c. 26 29), in medium (c. 28 3), in publico (c. 2 7), in proximo (c. 16 28), in medio (c. 18 2). For exx. from the other writings of Tacitus, cf. Ruperti, *Index Latinit.* p. 805 f. Dr. *Stil* p. 5. 27. 29. 36.

c. Neuter Plural. Very common and generally with a genitive e. g. arcana dictionis (*c. 2 9), sacra studiorum (*c. 11 9). Without a genitive e. g. summa (c. 10 20), sacra (*c. 13 19), vetera (*c. 37 6). In the ablative only twice viz. omnibus (c. 19 20 *36 7); in the dat. once (c. 37 14). No instance of the gen. plur. occurs in the Dialogus, and but rarely in the Agricola and Germania.

(2) *Predicate adjective for adverb:*
cotidianum hoc patrocinium exerces (*c. 4 4), diem laetiorem egi (c. 7 1), surrexit universus (c. 13 8), trepidus experiar (c. 13 21), tempestivus interveni (c. 14 4), invitus rettuli (c. 23 2), paratiorem . . . venturum (c. 33 24), absentes dare, praesentes dicere (c. 36 30 f.), altior, excelsior . . . agit (c. 37 37).

(3) *Comparison of adj. (and adverbs):*
Rare forms are: sordidius, abiectius (*c. 8 11), notabilior (*c. 8 12), honorificentius (*c. 9 9), audentius (*c. 18 7), distinctior, politior (c. 18 10), fidelius (*c. 34 25), absolutissimus (*c. 5 6), impeditissimus (c. 19 10).

(4) *Adjective = objective genitive:*
histrionalis favor (*c. 29 11).

(5) *Adjective = subordinate clause:*
ipse securus = cum sis securus or securus ὤν (*c. 5 23), egregius (c. 8 16), mitior (c. 27 4). This usage is highly characteristic of Tacitean style.

3. PRONOUNS.

a. HIC = *noster, Romanus:* *c. 7 16 20 20 28 9 29 10 *32 13 36 4.

b. HIC '*the present, now in vogue*': *c. 12 9 *17 16 24 ext. 37 27.

c. IPSE *in the nomin. with oblique case of poss. pronoun:* *c. 3 12. 20 7 1 15 7. 12 36 23 37 36.

d. REFLEXIVE *for indefinite pronoun:* sibi ipsi (*c. 6 7).

e. QUISQUE with plural predicate: sui quisque . . . redderent (c. 1 17).

f. ALIQUIS in negative clauses or with 'sine': c. 6 2. *7. non sine aliqua trepidatione (c. 6 22). — In conditional clauses: *c. 41 7. 21 9 20 10 9 17 20. — aliquis = quidam (*c. 39 6).

g. QUISQUAM used adjectively: nec cuiquam serio ministerio (*c. 29 3).

h. QUID = cur, in indirect questions: *c. 17 5.

i. ALIUS with relative pronoun, followed by indicative: *c. 10 15 *5 9.

j. UTRIQUE = uterque: *c. 2 6 16 22.

k. ULLI as a substantive: *c. 12 14.

l. IS = talis: non eo . . . tecto, ea . . . supellectili (c. 22 17. 19), ea electio, is ordo, ea . . . ubertas, ea . . . brevitas (c. 23 22 ff.), ea natura est (c. 37 38). This usage is more common in Tacitus than in previous writers. Cf. the many exx. (44) in *Lex. Tac.* p. 709.

m. IS for the reflexive pronoun: si ingenium eius . . . inniti videretur (c. 2 17), ut pro eo versus facias (*c. 9 13). Not elsewhere in the minor writings, but frequent in the other works. See *Lex. Tac.* p. 709 f.

n. VESTER = tuus: *c. 10 14.

o. CHANGE of persons: apud nos arguam (*crit. note c. 5 13). See also note c. 1 10.

p. OMISSION of pronoun, see under 'Ellipsis.'

4. ADVERBS.

a. NUNC 'now, however, instead': *c. 26 27.
b. HINC 'out of such conditions': *c. 36 8.
c. RURSUS 'on the other hand': *c. 18 24. On the form, cf. *c. 16 30.
d. CUM MAXIME 'just now': *c. 16 29.
e. IDEOQUE = itaque: *c. 31 32.
f. LONGE = multo: *c. 32 3 33 10. 24.
g. PLANE = nimirum: *c. 26 32; with comparative: *c. 27 4.
h. ADHUC = etiamtum: *c. 25 33. Cf. also Dr. *Stil* p. 8 f.
i. FERE (ferme, the form exclusively used in the later writings of T.) does not occur as a pred. adj. or as an attributive, although other adverbs are frequently so used by T. It is everywhere an adverb pure and simple, and as such joined to the verb, even though it occasionally signifies 'ut fieri solet, ut plerumque fit' (see *Lex. Tac.* s. v. fere, ferme): *c. 20 2 *31 7.
j. CETERUM resumptive: *c. 26 20; transitional: c. 26 1; adversative: *c. 12 11.
k. SIC = ita: ut sic dixerim (*c. 34 7 40 19), sicut — ita for ut — ita: c. 6 21 *11 7. quo modo — sic: *c. 36 32 25 10 39 6 41 9. quem ad modum — sic, is far rarer in Tac.: *c. 33 9.
l. OLIM: In Tacitus *always* of the past, as in c. 16 18 32 19.
On the position of adverbs, see 'Collocatio verborum.'

5. VERBS.

(1) *Simple for compound:*
servare (*c. 1 18), dare (*c. 8 30), pellere (c. 17 19), flectere (c. 19 4), fateri (c. 25 9), cludere (c. 30 27), parare, sectari (c. 34 2. 4), finire (c. 38 6), agitare (c. 41 5).

(2) *Compound for simple:*
consurgere (*c. 6 15), demonstrare (*c. 7 17), prosequi, recurrere (c. 9 10. 12), denegare (*c. 10 11), pertrahere (c. 17 21), determinare (*c. 22 26), desumere (c. 37 36), depacare (*c. 38 19).

(3) *Some noteworthy uses:*
vertere as a middle (*c. 4 3), nasci ad (*c. 5 13 6 4 10 23), dare = tribuere (*c. 6 7), audiri = auditu cognosci (*c. 7 18), mereri = consequi (*c. 9 26), ferre and finire used absolutely (*c. 10 20 — *c. 14 1 42 1), refert quod (*c. 25 23), delegare = committere (*c. 29 1), abnuere = negare (*c. 33 11), cumulare aliquid aliqua re (*c. 36 14).

(4) *Moods:*

a. INFINITIVE.

α. defendere datur (*c. 7 8). — educere sustinuit (*c. 26 24).
β. *Nom. c. inf.* with *verbs:* liber dictus [esse] legatur (*c. 38 14), leges [fuisse] traduntur (*c. 40 14); with *adj.:* con-

tentus (*c. 18 13 23 6 26 28), manifestus (*c. 16 11), obnoxius (c. 10 27).

γ. *Acc. with infinit.* after: concedere (*c. 12 19 33 23, but with 'ut,' c. 11 6 21 20), negatived 'dubito' (*c. 18 17).

δ. *Infinitive as subj. with abstract noun as predicate:* quod gaudium . . . coire populum etc. (*c. 6 15), voluptas quam spectare (c. 6 11). Cf. also Ag. 25 maiore fama . . . oppugnare ultro 44 grande solatium tulit evasisse Ann. XI 20 labor effodere rivos XIV 14 cupido erat curriculo insistere . . . studium cithara . . . canere.

b. Indicative.

α. After sunt qui: sunt apud quos . . . meretur (*c. 31 22).

β. In *oratio obliqua:* *c. 17 19 *25 4 *30 17 *32 32.

c. Subjunctive.

α. *Potential:* timuerim (c. 13 2), cesserit (c. 13 10), vocaverimus (c. 18 4), negaverim (c. 26 14), dixerim (c. 32 21), possis (c. 22 14).

β. *melius fuisset* for erat (*c. 41 6).

γ. After *nec:* See 'nec.'

δ. *Deliberative:* an invideret (c. 25 30).

ε. *Subj.* of *characteristic:* qui . . . fateretur (*c. 17 17).

ζ. *Consecutive* subj. in relative clauses are very numerous, but they do not call for special comment.

η. *Repeated action:* e. g. c. 18 3 19 15.

θ. *Indefinite frequency:* c. 19 11.

ι. *Assimilation:* adferrent . . . dum . . . *redderent* (*c. 1 17), ut arriperet . . . *inclinasset* (*c. 28 27).

(5) *Tenses.*

a. Perfect.

α. *Perfect* (aorist) *potential:* paene dixerim (c. 32 21). Cf. Dr. *Stil* p. 13.

β. *Perfect* infinitive = pres. inf.: velim impetratum (*c. 15 10). In *c. 24 6 inmutasse non debet, the action is regarded as already completed. On incipit (= sequitur) extitisse, see c. 16 32.

γ. *Perf. subj.* = present, in subordinate clauses: ut ita dixerim (*c. 34 7 40 19).

b. Future = present: fatebor (*c. 21 1), apparently confined to the first person of a small group of verba dicendi et declarandi.

c. Sequence of Tenses: edidit . . . pervenerint (c. 8 8 f.). But perhaps 'pervenirent' is the genuine reading.

6. Participles.

(1) *Substantival use:*

periclitantes (c. 5 22 et saep.), tacentes, dicentes, orantes (c. 6 16. 18. 19), intenti (c. 7 13), salutantes (c. 12 14), adsistentes (c. 20 8), iudicantes (c. 20 23), sequentes (c. 25 16), praecipientes

(c. 28 6), discentes (c. 30 1), invidentes, timentes (c. 31 18), faventes (c. 34 21), vitiatae (c. 35 19); in the *singular:* medentis, regentis, cognoscentis (*c. 41 10. 13. 19), in confesso (c. 25 6 27 3).

(2) *Future participle for an adj. or adj. clause:*
mansurus (*c. 9 22), dicturus (c. 10 33), duraturus (c. 22 15 34 23) and perhaps habiturus (*c. 2 16).

(3) *Nomin. of fut. part. with accusative:*
adepturus (?), see crit. note c. 10 20.

(4) *Perf. pass. part. = abstract noun:*
occupatus et obsessus animus (*c. 29 11), Quintius defensus (c. 37 26).

7. GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

(1) *As an adj.:* pudendus (*c. 32 14).

(2) *With a preposition = abstract noun:*
circa educandos formandosque liberos (*c. 28 12).

(3) *With 'habere':*
spectanda haberemus (*c. 8 11), expectandum habent (c. 19 25), dicendum habuerit (c. 31 19), respondendum haberent (c. 36 29), dicendum habeas (c. 37 17). But in *c. 13 12, concupiscendum habent, the gerund takes the place of the missing adjective 'concupiscibilis.'

8. PREPOSITIONS.

(1) *With accusative:*

a. AD. With *verbs:* ad exempla vocare (c. 13 12, see also crit. note c. 10 25), accedere (c. 16 2 31 3 36 31), componere (c. 41 2), nasci (*c. 5 11); with *adj.:* fructuosius etc. (c. 5 16); = 'in accordance with': ad utilitatem (c. 5 19 30 29).

b. ADVERSUS (-UM). On the form, cf. c. 4 5 16 30 Lex. Tac. s. v. = *prae:* differentiam nostrae desidiae . . . adversus acerrima . . . studia eorum (*c. 33 5); = *contra:* *c. 36 12.

c. ANTE 'superior to': ante Ciceronem numeret (*c. 26 31).

d. APUD: apud quos = in qua civitate (c. 40 18. See Lex. Tac. p. 91). 'de scriptore': apud te Agamemnon . . . diserte loquitur (*c. 9 6).

e. CIRCA: tempus circa Medeam consumas (*c. 3 17), circa excessus (c. 22 12), circa . . . liberos (c. 28 12).

f. CITRA = sine: citra damnum (*c. 27 10), citra obtrectationem (c. 41 26).

g. INTER: inter quos 'in whose company' (*c. 12 15 Lex. Tac. p. 667), inter manus = in manibus (*c. 3 2).

h. INTRA: intra me ipse formavi (*c. 3 12).

i. IUXTA in a temporal sense, a ἅπ. εἰρ.: iuxta finem vitae (*c. 22 8).

j. PER. *For the instrumental ablative,* per quae (*c. 24 5 33 20. In c. 19 22 29 8 32 8 we have an acc. of *extent*). — per ipsum stare (*c. 21 37. Cf. also H. III 72 per mores nostros liceret Ann. III 29 per leges quaesturam peteret).

k. POST 'inferior to': post Gabinianum (*c. 26 22). See 'ante' above.

l. PROPTER as a causal particle: In Tacitus only twice, 'ob' being used instead. Propter magnitudinem cogitationum (*c. 21 20), tantum propter ('for the sake of') Neronem . . . pugnaretur (H. I 65).

(2) *With ablative:*

a. A (AB) with 'audio': a Calvo male audire (*c. 18 25).

b. EX: auditorium . . . ex invidis (*c. 34 21); in a *modal* sense, ex comparatione (*c. 23 9), ex interrogatione eius (c. 39 11).

c. PRO: 'as,' pro pignore (c. 13 23); 'in proportion to,' pro mediocritate (c. 7 4); pro dignitate rerum (c. 30 29); = 'de': pro memoria mei (*c. 13 26).

(3) *With accusative and ablative:*

a. IN. in Neronem improbam . . . potentiam (*c. 11 9); = ad: paratus in obsequium (*c. 41 13); = usque ad: in hunc diem (c. 17 16); = 'up towards': in illa sacra illosque fontes (*c. 13 19), in ipsam arcem (c. 10 19), in caelum laudibus ferebatur (c. 19 16); in locum (c. 12 11 17 10); in publicum, in contrarium and the like, see under 'Adjectives' 2 (1) b. — With a *concessive* force: in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes (*c. 6 12); = inter: oratores in quibus (c. 17 1), sit in apparatu eius (c. 22 20), nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur (c. 31 12). Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 610; in fastidio, in laude, in honore, in consuetudine (*c. 18 17 19 15 32 31).

On the *change*, *repetition* and *anastrophe* of prepositions, see below under 'Collocatio verborum.'

9. PARTICLES.

(1) *Copulative Conjunctions.*

a. ET:

α. At the *beginning* of a sentence: *c. 4 1 16 5 28 1 32 27 33 1.

β. In an *affirmative* sense: *c. 25 24. Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 403.

γ. = etiam, c. 40 25 13 24 21 27 (twice) and 25 13 (by conjecture).

δ. With *comparative* force: pariter et (*c. 5 28 39 15).

ε. *Epexegetic:* c. 6 19 *7 16 20 13 28 10 33 9 36 9.

ζ. Joins a *specific* term to the more *general:* c. 2 12 *9 1 13 3 16 29 19 7. 24 20 8 *22 18 24 10.

η. Joins *synonymous* verbs: *c. 4 3 7 8 8 22 9 16. 30 11 7 *17 29 22 22 26 34 30 25 32 6 33 9 39 22. See 'atque.'

θ. Joins an attributive adj. and genitive: See critical note c. 10 36.

ι. *et ipse* 'likewise': *c. 30 1 37 15.

κ. *Before* a *negative:* et nullis (*c. 12 8 28 5. Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 394); *after* a negative: (*c. 2 10 4 4 21 3 5 26 17 27 20 25 22 15); et . . . et after a negative: *c. 5 5 34 11; ne-quidem . . . et: c. 10 1.

λ. After an *asyndeton:* See critical note c. 37 18.

μ. *Polysyndetic* 'et,' more than *twice* repeated: *c. 10 17 25 15. 26 37 11 Ag. 37 G. 40 and H. IV 53.

ν. *et . . . quoque:* c. 6 18 11 9 19 18. Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 391.

b. AC (ATQUE).

α. *ac non:* *c. 1 11.

β. *ac . . . ac*, combining clauses and two nouns: *c. 10 22 41 21.

γ. *Polysyndeta* with *ac:* *c. 17 12 39 16.

δ. *atque* intensive: *c. 14 15 19 10.

ε. *atque* combining two verbs, standing in *causal* relation to each other: *c. 4 3 6 27 15 2. 12 *17 29 23 4 32 6 and critical note to c. 20 7.

ζ. *neque . . . ac:* c. 1 19.

c. QUE.

α. Joining *clauses:* *c. 6 6 14 6 31 32 32 6.

β. *Epexegetic:* magis profecerat usuque . . . didicerat (*c. 22 9), minimum usus minimumque profectus (*c. 41 10).

d. NEC (NEQUE).

α. nec = nec ideo: c. 12 13 *37 24.

β. non — nec (neque): c. 12 3 19 4 21 34 25 28 *29 7. 17 31 2 36 30.

γ. nec (neque) = ne — quidem: *c. 8 28 *21 37.

δ. nec — quidem: *c. 29 15 40 15.

ε. With optative: experiar (*c. 13 21); jussive subj.: determinet (c. 22 ext.), respondeat (c. 32 1).

e. CUM — TUM: *c. 5 6 14 19.

f. MODO — NUNC: *c. 3 16, SAEPE — FREQUENTER: *c. 39 10, PRIMUM — MOX: *c. 28 7.

g. QUOQUE = vel: c. 6 18 *39 22.

(2) *Disjunctive Conjunctions.*

a. AUT.

α. unus aut alter: *c. 9 20 21 6 29 2 39 13.

β. In *interrogative* clauses: quis . . . deducit . . . aut salutat (c. 9 9) 21 8. Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 128.

γ. aut = et: *c. 18 3 40 3.

b. VEL.

α. *restrictive:* dicam . . . vel ideo ut rideatur (c. 39 2).

β. *subordinated* to 'aut': aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro (*c. 28 2); or to 'sive': sive in iudicio vel in senatu sive apud principem (*c. 5 28 critical note).

γ. vel — vel = aut — aut: *c. 4 6.

(3) *Adversative Conjunctions.*

a. SED.

α. *Subordinated* to 'sed': sed haec . . . proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed (*c. 8 11).

β. On the *omission* of 'sed,' see 'Ellipsis.'

b. AUTEM.

α. Marking *contrast*, usually after 'quidem,' e. g. ceteros quidem . . . Marcellum autem (c. 8 21 ff. et saepius).

β. In *transition:* vitio autem malignitatis (c. 18 16 et saep.). Tacitus, in the later writings, like Horace (Ep. II 1, 199. 260 A. P. 53), very rarely employs this particle; never in the Agr.; twice in the Germ. (13. 16); in the Hist. only IV 3 and perhaps II 20; in the Annals *six* times; in the Dial., under the influence of Cicero's diction, we find it 22 times.

c. NON MODO (NON . . . MODO), NON SOLUM, SED TANTUM — SED ETIAM (SED . . . ETIAM), SED QUOQUE: *c. 2 6 *7 13 *14 16.

d. QUIDEM concessive: *crit. note 35 14.

(4) *Causal Conjunctions.*

a. NAM.

α. In *parenthesis:* c. 30 11. Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 891 f.

β. In *interrogative* clauses: c. 13 11.

γ. Implying an *ellipsis:* *c. 2 13 *9 1 25 23.

δ. *Beginning* a narrative, for the more usual 'igitur': *c. 2 1 19 1.

ε. namque: See 'Collocatio verborum.'

b. ENIM.

α. In *parenthesis:* c. 8 2 9 2 11 3 24 12.

β. In *interrogative* clauses: c. 5 4 6 3 28 4 41 3. 13.

γ. Implying an *ellipsis:* *c. 1 16 *5 4 *16 14.

δ. Position: See 'Collocatio verborum.'

(5) *Illative Conjunctions.*

a. IGITUR and ITAQUE.

α. igitur, resumptive: *c. 3 1. Lex. Tac. p. 550 f.

β. igitur, marking the close of an entire argument: *c. 8 28.

γ. itaque: c. 14 21 30 19 39 23. Not elsewhere in Tacitus.

δ. On the position, see 'Collocatio verborum.'

b. ITA = itaque: *c. 17 19 1 13 34 18 36 31.

c. ERGO resumptive: *c. 34 1.

10. PARTICLES IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

a. QUOD.

α. nec refert quod, *ἅπ. εἰρ.* (*c. 25 16).

β. brachylogical use: quod invicem se obtrectaverunt (*c. 25 23).

b. QUIA.

α. = 'inasmuch as': *c. 15 14.

β. = non quia with subjunctive and indicative: 'non quia poeta es (*c. 9 13), non quia tanti fuerit (*c. 37 28).

c. QUATENUS = quoniam: *c. 5 11.

d. UT.

α. opus esse ut (*c. 31 2), sufficere ut (*c. 32 1). Probably

used to avoid the subordination of one infinitive to another.

β. *restrictive:* ut nostris temporibus (*c. 1 11).

γ. *concessive:* ut beatissimus . . . eventus prosequatur (*c. 9 19).

δ. *ut* = ita ut: nisi ut scientiae meditatio . . . accedat (*c. 33 19).

ε. *ut sic* dixerim: *c. 34 7 40 19.

ζ. *ut si* 'as if, by way of example': ut si in Graecia natus esses (*c. 10 21); ut si (= quasi) . . . vidisset (c. 10 9). In Tac. always with imp. or plup. subj.

η. *nedum ut:* *c. 10 5. Not elsewhere in Tacitus.

e. QUOMINUS = quin: nihil te . . . terrent q. (*c. 3 5); as an epexegetic adversative particle 'but that': adeo . . . non satiant q. (*c. 3 15), ubi nemo contrarie dicit q. (c. 34 11), after 'deesse': *c. 21 13.

f. TAMQUAM = ὡς introducing the opinion of others: *c. 2 2. 15 18 26 35 14. With future participle: *c. 2 16. Cf. also Dr. *H. S.* II 680. 818.

g. QUAMQUAM: with *ind.* only *twenty* times in Tacitus, to sixty instances with subj.: *c. 8 6 24 8. With *ellipsis* of some form of 'esse': quamquam . . . grata (*crit. note c. 6 27). So also Ag. 18 H. I 14 Ann. I 13. At the *beginning* of a sentence 'of course': *c. 28 8 33 17 and G. 17 Ann. XII 65. *sicut — ita* = quamquam — tamen: *c. 11 7 37 19.

h. QUAMVIS, denoting a fact. In Tacitus only with subj.: *c. 2 10. With *adjectives*, some form of 'esse' being understood: quamvis in diversis ingeniis (c. 25 21). So also Ag. 9 quamvis inter togatas and Ann. XV 41 quamvis in tanta . . . pulchritudine. Cf. in general, Dr. *H. S.* II 768. 815.

i. ETSI.

α. In Tac. always with indicative: c. 36 4. 13 *38 2 (crit. note).

β. etsi non — at certe: *c. 19 21.

j. ETIAMSI, introducing a fact: *c. 28 2.

k. LICET in a concessive clause: *c. 9 5 13 3.

l. POSTQUAM: with plup. ind.: *22 8 38 ext. More common in Tac. than in other writers.

m. ANTEQUAM.

α. antequam with imp. subj. in oratio obliqua: causas *exquirimus* quas te solitum tractare dixisti, antequam te Aper *offenderet* (*c. 27 5).

β. antequam with pres. subj.: *c. 5 1.

n. QUANDO = cum: *c. 13 24 (crit. note).

o. CUM. Temporal, with indic.: *c. 9 14.

p. DUM.

α. A 'dum' clause subordinated to a 'cum' clause: *c. 1 17.

β. 'until,' with subj.: c. 19 25.

γ. Approaching a causal 'cum' in meaning, with ind. in oratio obliqua: *c. 32 33.

δ. dum modo: *c. 25 6 G. 6. Not elsewhere in Tacitus.

q. DONEC: 'as long as,' with perf. ind.: *c. 8 17 40 20 f.

r. UT = cum, with ind.: ut semel vidit (c. 10 8).

s. SI, NISI.

α. Present subj. in protasis and apodosis: c. 16 25 26 2 and Ag. 46 Ann. III 54.

β. Potential perf. subj. in apodosis of an unreal condition: c. 3 19 quibus vix suffeceris . . . etiam si importasses.

γ. The apodosis is a *future participle:* habiturus, si . . . videretur (*c. 2 16 f.).

δ. *Perf. subj.* in conditional relative clause, expressing repeated action: ad quorum aures pervenerint (*c. 14 20). 'Pervenerint' may, however, be construed as a fut. perf.

ε. *nisi* after expressions like 'parum est,' in place of an adversative coördinate clause: cum parum esset . . . breviter censere, nisi qui . . . tueretur (*c. 36 26).

ζ. *nisi forte . . . nisi qui:* *c. 21 24.

η. *si forte*, with subj.: *c. 27 8 32 ext.

θ. *sive* with indic.: *c. 6 22 *28 27.

ι. The *protasis* is an *adj.:* ut *frigidissimos* quoque oratores ipsa . . . studia incendere potuerint (*c. 39 22).

κ. *Parataxis* in place of a conditional clause: *c. 17 10.

11. INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES.

a. AN, with 'utrum' omitted *c. 32 4. = aut: *c. 13 13.

b. UTRUMNE: *c. 35 7 37 16.

c. QUID = cur: See 'Pronouns.'

12. AGREEMENT.

(1) *Predicate in the plural with two subjects in the sing. in adversative clauses:*

ego te poetis, Messalla antiquariis criminabimur (*c. 42 6). A striking characteristic of Tacitean style.

(2) *Predicate in the sing. with two subjects:*

vis et utilitas . . . intellegitur (c. 5 25), fama et laus . . . comparanda est (c. 7 11), vulgus . . . et . . . populus . . . vocat (c. 7 17), numen et caelestis vis . . . edidit (c. 8 8), ne opinio quidem et fama . . . sequitur (c. 10 1), cura quoque et meditatio accessit (c. 16 4), formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam (c. 19 8), malignitas et invidia tardaverit (c. 23 26), disciplina et severitas eo pertinebat (c. 28 24), vis et facultas . . . cluditur (c. 30 26), accedebat splendor rerum et magnitudo causarum (c. 37 14 f.), minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est (c. 41 12), modus et temperamentum defuisset (c. 41 23 f.).

In all similar cases the subjects are synonymous or nearly so, and hence coalesce into one thought.

(3) *Predicate agrees in number with the nearest of two or more subjects:*
est quoddam . . . pondus et constantia (*c. 6 20), recta est indoles et bona spes sui (c. 7 14), relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis (c. 9 30), vulgus . . . et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit (c. 20 8 f.), sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae (*c. 22 20), omissa modestia ac pudore (*c. 26 18), incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo (*c. 26 24), quies et . . . otium et . . . tranquillitas et maxime principis disciplina . . . depacaverat (*c. 38 ext.), clientelae quoque ac tribus . . . legationes ac pars Italiae . . . adsisteret (c. 39 28). The verb usually precedes in these instances. See also c. 37 14 cited under (2).

(4) *Relative pronoun referring back to the nearer antecedent:*
praesidium simul ac telum, quo (c. 5 28), nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum quod (c. 12 1).

(5) *Neuter plurals, with two feminine abstract nouns:*
lasciviae et dicacitati per quae (*c. 29 8).

B. Style and Rhetoric.

1. Collocatio verborum.

(1) *Substantives.*

a. Transposition of cognomen: Iuste Fabi (*c. 1 1), Marcellum hunc Eprium (c. 8 1), Crispum Vibium (c. 8 2), Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio (c. 13 10), Turpionis Ambivii (c. 20 12).

b. In the combination of two proper names, the praenomen or cognomen is added to both or omitted in both, for the sake of symmetry: c. 2 5. 11 3 20 8 1 f. 23 13 10 f. 15 17 17 25 18 9 (Catoni seni — C. Gracchus. Here 'seni' takes the place of a cognomen) 10. *17 (crit. note) 20 4. *11 23 8 f. 25 31 26 2 f. 32 *34 32 ff. 35 4 37 9 f. 25 f. 39 20 f. 40 3 f.

c. Object placed between two predicates: intulerit ictus et exceperit (*c. 37 35).

d. Object follows predicate: ut pateretur et leges (*c. 40 25).

e. Gen. with demonst. pronoun precedes the noun upon which they depend: eiusdem aetatis oratores (*c. 22 3 crit. note), eorundem temporum disertos (c. 25 14), eiusdem familiae suboles (c. 28 17), eiusdem aetatis patronos (c. 34 14).

f. Obj. gen. precedes: vitae omnia consilia factaque (c. 6 19), II. V 16 fessis bello pacis amor praemiaque.

(2) *Adjectives.*

a. unus, when joined to another adj. not a numeral, *follows:* longum et unum (*c. 17 13), solus statim et unus (*c. 34 31), sapientissimus et unus (c. 41 16).

b. Attributive adj. expressing a characteristic quality of the substantive, precede; postpositive attributives convey a special *emphasis*, e. g. profluens sermo (c. 2 14), pravae inter-

pretationi (c. 3 7) 4 1 5 2 6 1 7 14 12 15 32 14 36 9 38 4 40 14 41 11 — ardore iuvenili (c. 2 8), reum locupletiorem (c. 5 8), voluptatem brevem (*c. 9 4), clamorem vagum, voces inanes, gaudium volucre (c. 9 23 f.), usus recens (c. 12 10), naturam humanam (c. 31 11), leges adsiduae (c. 36 9), causae centumvirales (c. 38 10). Cf. also Dr. *Stil* p. 91, who cites but one of these instances. *Sacrosque reges* is no exception, as Dr. l. c. supposes, for *sacer* is a *standing* epithet of rex, and always *prepositive*. If the author had intended 'sacer' to be emphatic, he would doubtless have placed it after 'reges.' Cf. note c. 12 16.

c. Pred. adj. in attributive position: vel praecipua iucunditas est (*c. 6 26), firmus sane paries (*c. 22 15), quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur = q. c. d. et l. severissima (ae) fuisse traduntur (c. 40 15). Cp. also G. 42 praecipua Marcomannorum gloria H. II 66 praecipua quarta decimanorum ferocia Ann. I 1 non Sullae longa dominatio 49 quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit 66 centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt II 45 contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans.

(3) *Verbs.*

a. Pred. precedes: See above 12 (3).

b. Pred. follows, in citations: ut Vergilius ait (*c. 13 17).

c. Pred. placed between two objects: sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem (c. 34 30. See note c. 37 35).

d. inquit, unusually far removed from the beginning of the sentence (*c. 3 15 42 ext.).

(4) *Pronouns.*

a. Position of ipse: intra me ipse formavi (*c. 3 12), tibi ipse (c. 3 20) c. 7 1 15 7.12 36 23 37 36.

b. Position of idem: Out of 500 instances in Tacitus, an attributive idem and its inflected forms is *postpositive* only Ann. II 14 III 69 VI 32 XIII 17 (for euphonic reasons) XIV 9. See critical note c. 22 3.

c. hic meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester: *c. 4 1 10 9 13 12 15 3 16 6.12.15 21 7 26 31 42 4.

d. Indef. relat. pronoun followed by alius: *c. 5 9.

(5) *Adverbs.*

a. Quoque misplaced: testimonia quoque in publicis iudiciis (*c. 36 29).

b. Anastrophe of adverbs: nostra potissimum aetas (c. 1 3), excogitata subtiliter, dicta graviter (c. 1 15), 6 2 12 7 13 7 *17 5 *22 8.15 28 6 29 4 31 23 34 13.

c. Adverbs, adj. or pronouns modifying two adj., verbs or substantives are placed between them: fabulosa nimis et composita (*c. 12 19), 4 9 6 5.14.28 7 13 9 16 10 9.23 11 7.13.16

12 9 13 20 15 1 17 21 18 7 26 1 28 21 32 2 34 11. 23. 31. An exception occurs c. 1 20 multum vexata et inrisa.

d. PLERUMQUE in a *non-superlative* sense, *two* passages out of *twenty-two* excepted, is *prepositive* in Tacitus: *crit. note c. 6 8.

(6) *Prepositions.*

a. In Tacitus the preposition is not REPEATED or VARIED, except in *adversative* and *asyndetic* clauses. See the crit. note c. 10 25.

b. ANASTROPHE of the preposition, though common in the later writings of T., is in the Dialogus confined to formulaic expressions such as: ea de re (c. 2 4), quem ad modum (c. 33 7), magna ex parte (c. 35 12). See c. 8 19 13 19 (crit. note).

(7) *Conjunctions.*

a. ENIM in third place: *c. 30 23.

b. IGITUR: Out of 174 instances in Tac., igitur is post-positive but *seven* times: c. 8 28 10 35 20 20 Ag. 16 G. 45 H. IV 15 Ann. I 47. See note c. 3 1.

c. ANASTROPHE.

α. namque: *c. 19 6 Ann. I 5 II 43 IV 43.

β. quin immo: *c. 6 7 34 24 36 23 (by conjecture) 39 9 G. 14.

2. RHETORICAL STRUCTURE.

(1) *Anaphora.*

a. SUBSTANTIVES: c. 13 6 22 14 35 ext.

b. ADJECTIVES: c. 3 17 22 5 *36 8. 17 38 8 40 14 f. 18. 20. 21 41 9. 25.

c. PRONOUNS: c. 7 11 f. 9 28 12 6 23 ext. 28 ext. 30 13. 22 34 4 f. 36 19 41 14 ff.

d. PARTICLES: c. 6 6 9 10 18 8 30 20 32 8 f. 37 2 f.

e. PREPOSITIONS: c. 8 15 30 16 32 31.

(2) *Chiasmus:*

c. 5 10 6 22 7 16 8 ext. 9 ext. 10 12. 31. 39 f. 12 14 *20 ff. 13 20 f. 15 8. 14 ff. 18 11 19 18 f. 21 34 f. 22 ext. 26 3. 22 29 17 30 2 32 15 f. 34 27 35 19 *36 ext. 37 18. 32 40 11. 17. For exx. in the other writings of Tacitus, see Weinkauff p. 98 f.

Under this head we may also include the following peculiar collocations: nullis contacta vitiis pectora (*c. 12 8), communibus ducta sensibus oratio (c. 31 25) and ceteris aliarum studiis artium (*crit. note c. 10 18).

(3) Ἀντιμεταβολή:

percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis (*c. 33 20), ridiculum videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur (c. 39 2) and perhaps 28 18, where see crit. note.

(4) *Climax:*

scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus (*c. 33 19), ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia (c. 30 24 f.), ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae

numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur (c. 32 8 f.), sine adparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim, sine ingenuitate (c. 32 21), magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii (c. 34 8 f.).

(5) *Ὕστερον πρότερον:*
probatis spectatisque (*c. 28 16), confirmare et alere (*c. 33 9 crit. note).

(6) *Hypallage:* eo tragoediae argumento (*c. 2 3) 25 13

(7) *Epanalepsis (iteratio):*
minime, minime (*c. 14 7), ita est . . . ita est (*c. 30 23).

(8) *Libration of Clauses (ἰσόκωλα) e. g.:*
c. 1 7 f. *21 2 7 5 15 ff. 24 6 18 ff. 25 7 5 f. *12 f. 8 10 f. 20 ff. *10 24 ff. 12 10 ff. *20 ff. 13 25 14 15 ff. 15 14 ff. 16 24 ff. *17 12 18 9 ff. *23 ff. *19 12 20 ext. 22 11 ff. 15 ff. 23 22 ff. 24 5 *25 10 ff. 28 19 f. 30 *4. ext. *31 12 *22 ff. 33 10 f. 36 15 ff. *32 ff. *37 16 f. 39 16 f. 40 ext. 41 7 ff. 20 ff.

(9) *Antithesis:* See p. xlii note 82.

(10) *Pleonastic collocations.*

a. ANTE (PRIUS) PRAEDIXERO (*c. 18 7 28 12).

b. INGREDI AUSPICATUS SUM (*c. 11 8). 'maturare festino' is perhaps wrongly regarded as pleonastic. See note c. 3 12.

c. NEMPE ENIM: *c. 35 12.

d. HENDIADYS: *c. 1 14 *10 22 20 21 21 14 *28 11 39 6.

e. SYNONYMS: See p. liv f. and notes to c. 4 2 5 1. 22 6 3. 11. 22 7 8 8 7. 11 9 31 10 1. 31. 35 11 7 13 4. 18 15 1 16 14 17 28. 29 19 23 23 10. 26 24 2 25 27 26 10 28 10. 24 30 9 32 6. 20. 29 33 16 35 22 36 5. 22. 30. 34 37 10. 22. 37 38 17 39 8. 14 40 20 41 2.

f. AMPLIFICATION OF CLAUSES: quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem ista significatione determinetis (*c. 16 16), more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato (*c. 24 10), nemo . . . sumebat (*c. 38 4), donec erravit, donec . . . confecit (c. 40 20).

(11) *Alliteration:*
*c. 2 13 4 9 5 22. 23 11 11 12 5 f. 13 1 16 14 17 29 18 15 22 11. 17. 22 29 9. 12 30 25 31 11 32 16 f. 40 10 and cursu . . . colore . . . cultu (*crit. note c. 20 6 f.), lascivia . . . levitate . . . licentia (*c. 26 8), apud principes . . . apud patres . . . apud plebem (*c. 36 18).

(12) *Ὁμοιοτέλευτα (ὁμοιόπτωτα):*
eloquentiam colam solam (*c. 4 10), Saleium Bassum cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam (*c. 5 6), litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum (c. 14 19), latus clavus oblatus (c. 7 2), minorem honorem (c. 12 20), militarem rem (c. 28 25), propioribus temporibus (c. 21 30), quemquam nostrum quamquam (c. 24 7 f.), serio ministerio (c. 29 3), qui scit quid sit (c. 31 15 f.).

(13) *Collisio syllabarum:*
illĕ lēges (c. 3 9), illī lībeat (c. 19 24), ipsĕ sēcurus (c. 5 23), servī vīdentur (c. 13 16), similiŏr ōratio (c. 14 13), minŏr ōratorum (c. 41 12), libertatem temperatis (c. 23 25), flammă māteria (c. 36 1), arbitratū tŭo (c. 42 3). But these collocations are not open to the well-known censure of Quintilian, because of the difference in quantity. See note c. 14 13 and also Mayor to Iuv. X 122 fortunatam natam. Gerber, *Spr. als Kunst* I 388.

(14) *Figura etymologica:*
tecto tegi (*c. 22 17). In c. *32 11 and 34 8 it seems to have been intentionally avoided.

(15) *Ellipsis.*

a. Comparatio compendiaria: poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio (*c. 14 12).

b. Zeugma: laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco (*c. 26 10), ingenio ac spiritu sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est (*c. 24 4), valetudine . . . corporibus utuntur (*c. 41 11). See also note c. 25 29.

c. Constructio ad sententiam.

α. *Subject to be supplied from preceding noun:* Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae . . . adgressi sunt (*c. 17 17).

β. *Affirmative verb to be supplied from an expressed negative:* nec male [dicta simularentur] nec bene dicta dissimularentur (*c. 34 22).

d. Omission of verbum dicendi.

α. *inquit:* c. 4 1 25 1.

β. Governing the *oratio obliqua:* sentio quid responderi possit: [dices] hinc ingentes adsensus (*c. 10 33), suae eloquentiae . . . educationem refert: [dicit enim] se . . . didicisse (c. 30 14).

γ. [haec dico] ne dividatis saeculum (*c. 17 24).

δ. *c. 11 1 ut solebat [dicere].

e. Different tense to be supplied from preceding verb: *c. 7 4 diem laetiorem egi . . . quam eos [dies ago].

f. Ellipsis of copula.

α. *Infinitive.* 'esse': *c. 2 13 4 6 5 34 10 14. 18 11 12 12 20 13 6. 16 15 11 16 26 18 3. 17. 21 20 24 21 19 23 17 25 26 32 23. 29 33 22. 24 f. 37 14 38 14 39 21. 'fuisse': *c. 12 18 40 14—40 15.

β. *Indicative:* c. 5 27 6 10 ff. 9 26 f. 30 12 6. 11 18 11 ff. 25 17 ff. 35 10. 17 37 34. After 'nec mirum': *c. 19 17 36 25. After 'quamquam': c. 6 ext. (crit. note). Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 1248.

γ. *Subjunctive.* Perfect in indirect questions: *c. 18 17 nec quaero quis disertissimus [fuerit]. Imperfect: habiturus (c. 2 16 but see note).

δ. *Participial form of esse:* *c. 9 20 intra unum aut alterum diem [ὤν, manens], 6 12 in summa . . . abundantia (ὄντες

quamquam sint), 8 18 principes fori [ὄντες, cum essent], 21 4 in eodem valetudinario [ὄντας, iacentes, versantes].

g. Of SUBSTANTIVE: *c. 21 8 Calvi [libros, orationes] in Asitium.

h. Of DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN: c. 5 15 17 28 23 15 *32 8 37 24. — With *quidem:* non [illum] quidem meliorem (*3 8) 5 31 9 13 *34 18.

i. Of PARTICLES. *sed:* *c. 6 19 10 32 21 5 37 28 *35 14 (crit. note). *atque* (*et*) *alter* after 'aeque': *35 9.

j. ASYNDETA: fastidiunt, oderunt, Calvi mirantur (*c. 23 10) 35 8 ff. See 'Anaphora.'

(16) *Inconcinnity.*

a. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ: quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi potest (*c. 8 24).

b. ANACOLUTHA: *c. 9 13 *16 27 *32 27.

c. TANTA — QUAM: *c. 6 10. QUO — TANTO *37 34.

d. POSITIVE following COMPARATIVE: altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata (*c. 37 37).

e. Change of TENSES: qui . . . se fateretur interfuisse . . . qui se . . . accepisse narrabant (*c. 17 25).

f. ATTRIBUTE ADJ. and GENIT.: privatas et nostri saeculi controversias (c. 10 36, but see crit. note).

g. PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE and SIMPLE CASE: See crit. note c. 16 26.

(17) *Figurae sententiarum.*

a. METAPHORS.

α. *Military:* *c. 5 24 ff. 26 19 ff. *37 ext.

β. *Agricultural:* c. 1 3 6 26 *9 20.

γ. *Human body:* c. 18 19 *21 33 26 17 31 19.

δ. *Nature:* c. 20 18 21 17 22 22 24 2 *28 8 30 25. — *c. 9 15 *28 16.

ε. *Dress:* *c. 6 17 26 5 *31 22.

ζ. Some noteworthy miscellaneous metaphors: c. 8 7 10 12 20 10 26 3 f. 28 28 31 32 33 3 38 7 40 6.

Tacitus and post-Augustan writers generally rarely employ apologetic particles like quasi, velut, tamquam, quidam. Cf. c. *5 23 19 1 33 14.

b. PERSONIFICATION: *c. 8 12 *12 7 32 18 37 34 38 7. 27 — 24 15.

c. METONYMY: famam pallentem (*c. 13 21) *2 1 *3 13.

V.—THE MANUSCRIPTS.[204]

The extant MSS. of the Dialogus, all of the 15th century, are derived from the copy[205] of a MS. of unknown date, discovered in some German monastery and brought to Italy about the year 1457/8.[206]

That this apographon belonged to the Vatican library, as is generally assumed, is, in my judgment, more than doubtful, for the fact that Calixtus III and Pius II were no patrons of learning, cannot possibly account, as Michaelis strangely imagines, for its early disappearance from the library, not to mention that the great humanist Pope, Nicolaus V, was no longer living († 1455) when the unknown works of Tacitus, so long expected by him and Poggio, finally reached Italy. The precious MS., in all probability, passed into private hands or, like the cod. Mediceus discovered by Boccaccio at Monte Cassino, into some cloister's library, where it was

[204] Cp. esp. Massmann, *Germania* (1847) pp. 169–219, Reifferscheid, *Suetoni Reliquiae* (1860) pp. 409–413, Urlichs, *Eos* II pp. 227 ff., MICHAELIS pp. v–xxii, Steuding pp. 1–7, Baehrens, *Comment. Crit.* pp. 44–48, Binde pp. 1–23, Goelzer pp. iv–xii, SCHEUER, *Bresl. Abh.* VI 1 pp. 49 (*Class. Review*, July 1892), Peterson pp. lxii–lxxxix.

[205] That it was not the original MS., has been shown by Reifferscheid pp. 410 f. The provenance of this MS. is involved in obscurity. *Reifferscheid* argued in favor of the monastery of *Fulda*, which is known to have possessed the works of Tacitus, for *Rudolfus of Fulda* († 865) and his successor, *Meginhard*, incorporated into their joint work, the *Translatio S. Alexandri*, whole chapters of the *Germania* (c. 4. 9. 10. 11. See Massmann p. 160). In his *Addenda* p. xiv, Reifferscheid preferred *Corbey*, from which cloister he believed Rudolfus borrowed his copy of Tacitus. Others, on more plausible grounds, favor the monastery of *Hersfeld*, for in Poggio's correspondence (cf. Michaelis pp. xix–xxii) touching the discovery of hitherto unknown works of Tacitus, a 'monachus Hersfeldensis' plays a very prominent part.

[206] I have no hesitation in rejecting, with Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des class. Alterthums* I² pp. 257 f. note 4, the universally accepted tradition which attributes the discovery of the Dialogus, the Germania and the Suetonius fragment to *Henoch of Ascoli*. It rests solely upon a statement of Iovianus Pontanus (quoted below) which, as Voigt has convincingly shown, is open to very grave objections. Poggio, moreover, never mentions Henoch in connection with the new Tacitean treatises, and the well-informed Vespasiano, in his biographical sketch of Henoch, expressly says that this monk found nothing of particular importance, excepting the cook-book of Pseudo Apicius and Porphyrio's commentary to Horace (see Voigt II p. 203 note 1). On the probable origin of Pontanus' error, see note 213.

allowed to perish, a few copies having, however, been taken previously. It is upon two of these apographa, as Michaelis was the first to show, that our MSS. are based. The first family (X) is represented by the Vaticanus 1862 (A) and the Leidensis 18 (B). The other (Y) comprises the Farnesianus or Neapolitanus (C), the Vaticanus 1518 (D), the Ottobonianus 1455 (E), the Vaticanus 4498 (Δ) and Vindobonensis 711 (V). Four others still remaining, the Vindobonensis 351 (once the property of Sambucus, see note 4), the Venetus or Marcianus, the Parisinus 7773 and the Harleianus, are absolutely valueless, and may safely be dispensed with in any recensio of the text of the Dialogus.[207]

We shall first give an account of the principal MSS., then pass on to a consideration of the intricate and difficult subject of their interrelationship, and finally discuss the controversial question of the respective validity of the X and Y families.[208]

a. *Description of the MSS.*

1. The codex *Vaticanus* 1862 (**A**) contains the Germania and the Suetonius fragment, followed on pp. 23^b–43^b (fol.) by the *Dialogus*. The variants peculiar to this MS. are:[209] *Vaticanus* (A)

207 Peterson in his recent edition has endeavored to rescue the Harleianus (H) from what he regards as undeserved neglect. He devotes no fewer than six pages (pp. lxxv–lxxxi) to its history and its description, and religiously records all its readings. But even a hasty examination of his evidence ought to leave no doubt in the mind of any unbiassed critic, that the verdict of condemnation which Michaelis and Baehrens have passed upon this MS. is fully justified. The Harleianus is an incredibly corrupted MS. It contains not a solitary variant of independent value, nor does it furnish even so much as a clue to a genuine reading where the other MSS. are also corrupt. But Peterson's laborious collation possesses a negative value, in that it gives us a tolerably clear idea of the character of the MS. upon which the editio princeps (Spirensis) e. g. was based. The Parisinus, of which I possess a more accurate collation than the one published by Egger (1836), is a direct offspring of the Harleianus. Peterson, therefore, very justly remarks (p. lxxvi) that it "need not be referred to again in any discussion of the text of the Dialogue. It has not, and ought never to have been allowed, any independent value whatever." It is to be regretted that the editor did not see his way clear to pronounce a similar verdict upon the equally worthless parent MS.

208 Since the appearance of Michaelis' edition (1868), which marks a new era in the text critical treatment of the Dialogus, all previous discussions concerning the MSS., from Lipsius down to Orelli, Tross and Ritter, possess only an historical interest and value.

209 A number of readings, *erroneously* attributed to A, D or Δ by Michaelis

	A	BCDΔEV
5 6	Salerum	*Saleium*[210]
9 8	Caeleium	*Saleium*
13 3	et cent	*consulatus* (CEV)
14 12	poetas defendi [poetas]	*poetas defendi*
15 11	utṛịq̃. (puncta 1. manu).	*utque*, ut'que (D).
12	silior (= similior)	*similior*
16 31	XII^m VCC^tos LIIII^or	12854 (—*12954* Loers)
17 29	aggnoscere	*agnoscere*
18 5	Calvius	*Calvus*
28	venias	*veniam*
19 23	qui et	*qui vi* (supr. vers. B) *et*
20 22	ex ficaces	*efficaces*
21 30	temporibus temporibus	*temporibus*
25 18	ñvosior (i. e. *nervosior*)	numerosior
26 10	forda	*foeda*
16	post se	*posse*
25	Cylio	*Caelio*
26	certo	*certe*
29,5	qui corā	*quid coram*
30 7	habuit	*habuerit*
31 26	mutuabimus	*mutuabimur*
31	c̃ltem (i. e. *comitem*)	civitatem
33 24	pate	aperte C paratu B parate
36 8	hic	*hinc*
20	non [per]	*nec per*
37 36	ei (et-B)	*eo*

Corrections by the scribe:

10 4	[in] sequitur	*sequitur*
12 5	secedit sedit	*secedit*
16 19	Mn Nestor (Mnestor — ΔV)	*Nestor* (Menestor C)
20 15	ł sc. cena	*scena* E
38 3	horas perorare	*perorare horas* (CΔ)
40 26	bene bone	bene

Out of these 32 variants, A has preserved the genuine reading (also found in BDE) in but a *single* instance (16 19), and this, curiously

and subsequent editors, I have been able to correct, through the great kindness of Prof. G. Andresen, who has permitted me to inspect his recollation of the Vaticani. See e. g. esp. c. 5 2 9 25 11 9 12 17 (ac . . . ac — ABED) 16 28 (animus D) 21 1 24 8 25 18 31 13 37 2 38 5 40 15. 16. 26 41 12.

[210] The genuine readings are printed in *italics*.

enough, has been forthwith corrected. In *three* cases (c. 10 4 12 5 20 15) a wrong reading has been correctly emended, but whether by the first hand or not, I am unable to say. Finally, in *two* passages (c. 25 18 31 31) A has fortunately retained the compendium, falsely resolved in all other MSS., which enables us to restore the original. In general, it may be said that the corruptions, barring one or two exceptions, are not of a very serious nature, being often due to the scribe's inability to interpret correctly the abbreviations with which the archetypon, as we shall see, must have abounded. The curious mutilation of well-known proper names also shows him to have been a man of little learning. And in spite of his assurance 'meliusculum feci' he resorted to conjectures but rarely, and these are, strictly speaking, rather in the nature of unimportant changes than of intentional emendation.

2. The codex *Leidensis* 18 (B), once in the possession of Perizonius († 1715) contains the usual three treatises, the *Dialogus* occupying the first place on pp. 2^a–30^a (quarto). This MS. was discovered and collated by L. Tross (1841). On p. 1^b we read the following remark, written in red ink: *Hos libellos Iovianus Pontanus* (b. in Cerreto, Umbria 1426, d. 1503) *excripsit nuper adinvētos et in luce relatos ab Enoc Asculano quāquā satis mendosas* | *M. CCCCLX martio m̄se.* and again in the margin at the beginning of the Suetonius: *Iov. Pontanus Umber excripsit.* These adscriptions led Tross, Massmann (p. 10–13, 182–186), Ritter and others to regard the Leidensis as Pontanus' own copy, which he was supposed to have transcribed with scrupulous care from the original MS. of Henoch (?). But these inferences rest upon no foundation, for Geel long ago pointed out that the handwriting of the remarks just quoted can leave no doubt that the Leidensis is but a *copy* of the MS. of Pontanus; nor is it at all likely that this learned Italian, who recognised the mutilated condition of the text, would have abstained from emendations.[211] At a later period this MS. was subjected to another revision by an unknown hand, who introduced many changes, of which by far the greater number are corruptions of the text.[212] How far this reviser (b) relied upon his own

Leidensis (B)

[211] See Reifferscheid p. 413 f. and Lachmann, Lucret. p. 10: neque Iohannem Iovianum Pontanum unum Taciti libellum tam superstitiosa sedulitate transcripsisse ullus homo suspicari potuit nisi insigniter perversus.

[212] The correct reading is given in *b* vs. *ω* in 18 instances: Eprius (c. 5 30), nedum (10 5, also Ald. 1534), nominis (11 11, also Put.), vide[a]ntur (12 19. So

resources or based his corrections upon other MS. material, similar perhaps to that from which Spira and Puteolanus printed their texts (for **b** often agrees with their readings), cannot be accurately determined.[218]

The following readings are found only in the Leidensis:

3 10	emisit (quaemisit)	*omisit* (misit — C)
21	Graecorum	*Graeculorum*
5 23	quadam velut	*velut quadam*
7 1	*ipse*	ipso
12	vacuos	iuvenes (*iuvenes vacuos*)
9 8	Coeleium (so regularly)	*Saleium*
10 2	laboris	*omnis laboris*
28	*effervescit — offendis*	effervescet — offendes
31	ac	*et*
12 1	increpat	*increpabat*
3	coetus	*consulatus* (CΔEV)
13 26	mea	*mei*
14 2	Libanius	*Vipstanus* (Rupertus)
14	*vero*	vere
18	*eruditionis*	eruditiones
25	consuetudine, but corrected into	*consumere* by the 1. hand
15 7	*ipse*	ipsi
16 11	ipsum . . . manifestum	*ipse . . . manifestus*
21	Hypericles	*Hyperidem*
21	proferatis	*profertis*
33	fingitis videturque	*fingitis*
17 5	*potius temporibus*	temp. potius
21	idem Caesarem	*idem et Caesarem*
18 25	"quidem a Calvo"	*a Calvo quidem*
19 2	an [qui]	*qui*
4	dicendi directa	directa dicendi (*dicendi*)

also MSS. except D), pallentem (13 21 Put.), veniet (13 25 Put.), exhortatus (14 10 Put.), Menenium (17 1, also E), in (18 14), Canuti (21 3 Put.), laetiores (22 6 Put.), invitus (23 3), a qua (27 11), dicacitati (29 8), refert (30 14), ut (32 8), videor (33 15), magnus (34 8).

[218] The identity of many readings of **b** and the *Harleianus* (Peterson p. lxxix) simply confirms the statement made above, that this codex was closely related to the MSS. used in the earliest printed editions. It should also be noticed, what Peterson fails to point out, that in all the passages in which *H* and *b* agree, they give a *false* reading, except *twice* (quia — c. 21 29 invenies — c. 29 13), where AB, *alone* of our MSS., go *wrong!* Again, in all cases of disagreement, H is invariably *wrong*, except in c. 32 30, where the genuine reading *vobis*, though universally rejected in favor of 'a vobis' (*b*), is found in *all* our MSS.! See note ad loc. Cp. also Michaelis p. xi.

8	et	*ac*
15	erant	*erat*
15	*videretur* (vide^{re}tur E)	videtur
15	*et*	atque
16	inserere	*insereret*
17	*erant*	erat
22	^{iti}generibus	*itineribus*
20 5	et	*aut*
9	"et vagus et" adfluens	*et adfluens et vagus*
21 27	mirantur	*miratur*
36	*rubor*	rubore
22 5	ex verbis	*et verbis*
6	locosque	*locos quoque*
13	limine	*lumine*
23 10	et oderunt	*oderunt*
17	solo	*sola*
25 12	Hypericles	*Hyperides*
21	*scias*	sciam
28	verum	utrum (*Brutum* — Put.)
26 30	laederet (see note)	offenderet
34	*fracta*	freta
27 3	*me quidem*	me equidem (mequidem)
28 22	actiam	Acciam (*Atiam* — Ernesti)
29 16	ullas quidem	*quidem ullas*
30 8	*qua usos*	quo ausos
31 13	vitiis [cōtinētr]	*in vitiis*
33	iuris	*iuris civilis*
32 24	recessimus	*recesserimus*
34 8	multumque	*multum*
22	*dissimularentur*	dissimularent
36 1	mortibus (corr. out of 'moribus')	*motibus*
11	*reorum*	rerum
23	cogerent	*regerent*
23	sibi	*sibi ipsi*
28	tuerentur	*tueretur*
37 30	de ea re	*nos de ea re*
40 18	"oratores Athenienses"	*Athen. oratores.*

At first sight this long list of more or less significant variants might well create the impression, that B is not so intimately related to A, as their otherwise striking agreement, as against the readings of the Y class, has led critics to imagine. On nearer examination, however, it will be seen that but few of the peculiarities of B, not also found in A, can be attributed to their common archetypon. By far the larger number of divergencies are due to scribal carelessness,

to the false solution of compendia, to scriptura continua and other errors familiar to the palaeographist. In about 17 passages (c. 7 1 10 28 13 26 14 14. 18 15 7 16 11. 33 17 21 19 2. 17 21 36 23 10 26 30 31 13 34 8), we must recognise the conjectural labors of Pontanus or the copyist of the Leidensis, which have in a number of instances resulted in the restoration of the genuine reading. In still other cases, B, as we shall see, has been corrected from one or more other MSS. Eliminating all these readings, we shall find but a few variants in which B may with some degree of confidence be said to have rescued the original reading of the archetype (c. 7 12 and possibly 25 21 26 30 36 11).

Vaticanus (D)

3. The *Vaticanus* 1518 (D)[214] is a codex miscellaneus, containing a Life of Horace, Porphyrio's[215] commentary, the Suetonius, *Dialogus* (fol. p. 173ᵇ–189ᵃ), and Germania.[216]

The MS. was written by an unlearned scribe, who contented himself with a mechanical transcription, being quite unmindful of the sense of his text. It is just this feature which constitutes its value, for his apographon thus became a faithful copy of the original; but the archetypon must have abounded in abbreviations, which caused this copyist repeatedly to go astray. For among about 130 variants peculiar to D, over one third can be directly traced to compendia. In many instances the scribe made no attempt at decipherment, e. g. 10 26 v̌ŏ (= voco) 19 4 ĭ (= ista, illa) c. 20 2 fãnte (perhaps, as Andresen thinks, for 'fabulantem,' the other MSS. reading 'praefantem'), 28 12 č (= circa), 31 9 p̄h̄ī (= plerumque) 19 huĩt (= habuerit), 33 4 drãm̃q̃ (= differentiamque), 19 p̄t (= potest), 23 iᵈ (= istud, illud), 36 20 mřãtus (= magistratus). 36 ɔ̈ (= contra) etc.

In 46 instances (c. 3 18 5 11 19 25 25 30 26 2 30 23 31 2. 5 32 33 34 20 36 16 38 5 39 20 40 15 41 21. — 2 6. 8. 11 5 26. 32 8 12 10 15. 19 11 4. 12 12 9 14 16 15 14 16 20. 25 18 5. 24 21 2. 15. 18 21 36 22 16. 22

[214] Cp. Binde p. 3 f.

[215] As D, or rather its original, very frequently, as will be shown below, agrees with the X class of MSS., upon which archetypon Pontanus' copy was based, and as *Henoch of Ascoli* is known to have discovered the *Porphyrio*, Pontanus' statement, reproduced in B, regarding this monk's connection with the Tacitean treatises, may simply be due to an inference on his part, readily occasioned, if his copy also contained the Porphyrio together with the Dialogus and the Germania.

[216] Massmann p. 16 by an unaccountable error says that this MS. has the marginal note to c. 35 'hic desunt sex pagelle.' Michaelis only notes a vacant space of 'aliquot versus,' or 12½ lines according to Andresen.

23 8. 15 26 8 28 2 29 1. 18 32 14 33 20) D has erred in giving the *inflectional* endings which were habitually abbreviated or, by *confusing* single letters, easily misread or illegible in the original. These errors, because of their instantly recognisable origin, are not apt to perplex the critic; they possess, in fact, a distinct value, in that they permit him, without incurring the risk of conjectural audacity, to restore the genuine reading on internal grounds alone, even unanimity in the MSS. furnishing no positive indication of the reading of the archetypon. Michaelis' statement that D was written 'tamquam per somnium' seems justified, when we observe that it contains no fewer than 29 omissions (c. 5 2 7 12 8 29 9 4. 12. 31 10 8 12 11 14 12 16 17 19 7. 14 21 24. 37 22 18 25 14. 15. 27 26 21 29 6 30 17 31 18. 25 33 17. 18 35 6 36 20. 32), *ten* instances of dittography (c. 6 6 12 18 15 8 24 8. 9 25 3 26 7. 15 28 19 37 10), *one* of haplography (28 10 lusus[*que*] *pue*rorum), and *seven* transpositions (c. 6 8 10 18 19 14 28 26 30 11 40 8 41 14), of which the two first, however, very probably represent the original reading. See notes ad loc. Of possible interpolations, I have noticed but *five:* c. 5 18 imperii [famam], but see note; 10 2 *inquit* omnes; 15 2 Maternum *nostrum;* 16 32 princeps ille; 25 18 Caesar et.

The genuine reading has been preserved in D vs. ω, in c. 31 15 ira 32 18 detrudunt (detrudant — ω) 32 quosi (= quos si) forte (quod si — ω). In c. 37 18 de expilatis, the preposition is probably the false restitution of a lacuna, in place of 'aut,' which in Δ is found after 'utrumne.' See note ad loc.

4. The codex *Farnesianus* or *Neapolitanus* (C) contains the second part of the Annals (XI–XVI), the Histories, *Dialogus* (18½ folio pages), Germania and the Suetonius fragment. It is a beautifully written MS. Lacunae are indicated with care, either by vacant spaces or by marginal notes of the scribe. It was known to Lipsius, who valued it highly,[217] as did all subsequent scholars till Michaelis dethroned C in favor of AB. The MS. was lost from view for a long time, until rediscovered by Niebuhr in Naples.[218] *Farnesianus* (C)

[217] "Quum depravatissimus vulgo circumferretur libellus . . . admirabile est quantum a Farnesiano codice in eo sanando simus adiuti. Multi hiatus expleti, verba et lineae integrae insertae, centeni aliquot loci emendati." Cp. Massmann p. 7. That the MS. was written by a monk is evident, not only from the picture of a monk at the beginning, but also from certain readings, such as 'sanctitatis' for 'civitatis' (G. 10) and the omission of 'divus' in Dial. c. 17 8.

[218] Eckstein, *Proleg.* p. 62 by a curious error regarded this MS. as quite distinct from the Farnesianus.

The variants peculiar to C are: habetur (c. 2 4), misit (3 10), Vibum (8 2), aetate adolescentia (8 30. See note), Saltim (10 7), per (12 23), Uthanius (14 2), caedit (16 20), videtur (16 26), sed modo (16 33), voluit (20 15), -mscribuntur (21 10 i. e. *inscribuntur*, conscribuntur — ω), quae (21 22), sisi (21 24), alio quo (25 6), C. Caelium (25 31), decessisse (25 29), in omne (26 29. See note c. 13 15), $\overline{\text{sdo}}$ (28 2 i. e. Secundo), etenim iam (28 2), insumere (30 4), copiam (30 17), ornate quid orator et (30 28), apertos (31 26), *isse* (32 9), aperte (33 24), semper novum semper plenum (34 21. See note ad loc.), nec breviter (34 22), Cicero tempore (35 2), quidem qui (36 22. See note), antiquoriorum (37 6 antiquorum — ω, *antiquariorum* — V), per (37 35). Omissions: c. 1 1 3 9 8 17 11 17 12 7 16 28 21 21. 39 25 33 29 6 37 35.

Ottobonianus (E)

5. The *Ottobonianus* 1455 (E) is also a codex miscellaneus, and contains [Messallae Corvini] de progenie sua, Suetonius, *Dialogus* (fol. 9^b–19^b), varia (fol. 19^b–346^a). This MS. was first collated and used by Michaelis. I again enumerate the readings peculiar to it:[219] *appellamus* (c. 1 4), singulis (1 16), assurgendi consistendique (6 15), *de* supr. vers. (20 3), *esset* (22 11), *Aufidi* (23 8), *permittit* (23 24), *studio* (26 19), *dicere* (28 18), aut (28 19), *sufficere* (32 1), quanto facilius (36 15), *ullius* (40 16, for A also has 'illius,' according to Andresen). — *Omissions*, not common to other MSS., are extremely rare in E: et (c. 1 6) and expressis (10 38, but this word reappears as 'expressit' after 'sit'). The *transposition variants*, with four exceptions, due to accident or design (c. 10 18. 35 25 19 26 15), are very instructive and valuable, in that they furnish a clue to the origin of a corruption or confirm the existence of an interpolation, suspected on internal grounds. E.g. c. 5 30 Marcellus prius — prius M. (ω) i. e. $\overset{\text{E prius}}{\text{Marcellus}}$. 31 7 ad dicendum subiecta — subi. ad dicendum (ω) i. e. $\overset{\text{ad dicendum}}{\text{subiecta}}$. 38 19 omnia alia — alia omnia i. e. $\overset{\text{alia}}{\text{omnia}}$.[220] See notes ad loc.

Vaticanus (Δ)

6. Neither the *Vaticanus* 4498 (Δ), containing the Suetonius, [Plinius] de viris illustribus, Agricola, *Dialogus* (p. 78^a–97^b),[221]

[219] Steuding's list (p. 6 f.) is misleading, owing to his ignorance of the readings of V. See Scheuer pp. 12–14.

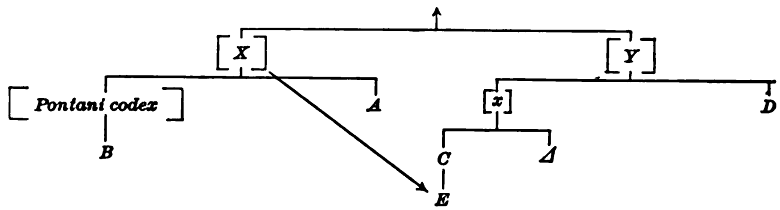
[220] Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII pp. 444–457.

[221] The genuine readings: *stimulabantur* (c. 37 1 Rhenanus) and *famam* (40 26 Muretus), according to Andresen's collation, were erroneously attributed

Germania, nor the *Vindobonensis* 711 (designated V_2 by Scheuer), containing Miscellanea, Germania, *Dialogus* (fol. p. 212^a–230^b), Suetonius, calls for any detailed description. They possess no text-critical importance,.and are of interest only because they bear valuable testimony to the interrelationship of our MSS., to which problem we may now turn our attention. *Vindobonensis* (V)

b. The Interdependence of the MSS.

The discussion of this difficult subject cannot be said to antedate the appearance of Michaelis' edition (1868), which for the first time presented an accurate picture of the character of our extant MSS. Michaelis having, upon very slender grounds, as we shall see, pronounced in favor of the superior validity of the X class (AB), argued that D, which often forsakes its family for the readings of AB or B alone, must be regarded, in spite of the carelessness with which it was written, as the most trustworthy apographon of the archetypon of Y. C he placed next in value, but inasmuch as it often agrees with E, where D coincides with AB, he concluded that the variants in CE must be due to interpolation and conjecture, and not to the common parent of DCE. E, Michaelis asserted, was a direct offspring of C, but as it in turn frequently coincided with A as against C, these divergences could only be explained on the hypothesis that it had been subsequently corrected out of A or some member of this family. Finally, Δ is brought into close relationship to C, both having been copied from a brother of D. Michaelis' stemma is therefore this: *Michaelis.*



Steuding, p. 4 (1878), while accepting these conclusions in the main, clearly showed that E cannot possibly have been an apographon of C, Michaelis himself furnishing the proof, for, on p. xvi *Steuding.*

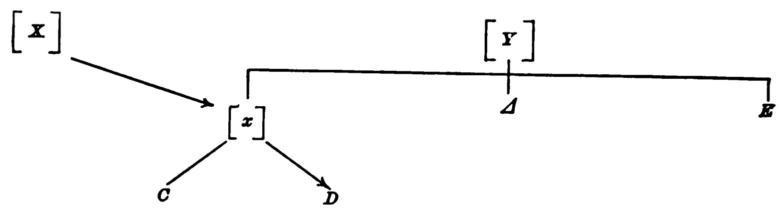
to Δ by Michaelis. D also reads 'stipulabatur,' not 'stimulabatur.' Cf. Michaelis' adnotatio and preface p. xvii note 19.

notes 16 and 17, he enumerates more than 70 readings of CΔ, or C alone, which flatly contradict his own assertion. Steuding therefore contended that CEΔ go back to a common source, their coincidences with D being, according to him, due to the lost codex *x*, postulated by Michaelis. But Steuding's view was in turn discarded by Binde (1884), who, so far as one can make out from his confused presentation, endeavors to establish a closer relationship between CΔDE, more particularly CΔD, the various discrepancies being the result of a series of peculiar cross-contaminations.[222] His investigation virtually resulted in proving what had never been denied, namely, that the MSS. of the Y class represented a tradition distinct from X, while the various members of the former group were in turn bound to another by ties more or less close.

Binde.

Baehrens.

Three years before Binde, E. Baehrens, in his edition of the Dialogus, had advanced still another theory as to the interrelationship of the Y class of MSS. (p. 45 f.), asserting, rather than actually proving, that Δ and E were directly derived from Y (designated by him, for no apparent reason, as M), the former occupying the same rank among the Y class, that A does in the X (N) family.[223] CD, on the other hand, Baehrens regarded as descendants of a lost MS. *x*, a brother of ΔE, C having been copied *before x* had been subjected to a revision, by which fact he would account for the coincidences of D with AB. His family tree is represented by the following diagram:



Scheuer.

It was reserved for *F. Scheuer*[224] to demonstrate that the conflicting theories which Michaelis, Steuding, Baehrens and Binde had propounded, are all alike untenable. But apart from the negative value of his dissertation, he has, by the introduction of a new witness, the cod. *Vindobonensis*, succeeded in discovering the

[222] See esp. p. 8 f.

[223] p. 46: universum autem libri Δ indolem aestimanti apparet eundem eum locum in M familia optinere atque A in N.

[224] *De Tacitei de orat. Dial. codicum nexu ac fide* (1891) pp. 7–32.

true solution of the intricate problem under discussion. Scheuer, herein following Steuding, in the first place shows by some *forty* readings peculiar to C (see above), that E cannot have been copied from it, a fact further substantiated by the variants of C vs. ω (or E) in the fragment of Suetonius.

Neither can E, as Michaelis thought, have been corrected out of AB, because, barring a few orthographical minutiae,[225] the Ottobonianus, in all cases of agreement with the X class, finds a companion in the hitherto neglected codex Vindobonensis, it being quite impossible that the scribes of E and V invariably borrowed the identical readings from X, often deserting at the same time the genuine readings of their own family.[226]

	ABEV	CDΔ
5 2	in his	*in iis*
9	*alius*	alium (studi*um*)
8 8	*omnibus*	hominibus
21	his	*iis*
12 7	*haec penetralia hoc*	haec (om. C.) p. haec
13	*admissa*	amissa
14	*augustior*	angustior
14 22	*plurium*	plurimum
15 27	*a Cicerone aut Asinio*	aut ab Asinio
17 6	*ipso*	ipse
23	*congiario*	cogiario
28	vocetis	*vocitetis*
18 21	*videretur*	videtur
21 18	*redolent*	reddent (redent — D)
22 19	suppellectile	*supellectili*
23 14	*consequuntur*	consequentur (consequentor — D)
17	*prope*	proprie (propie — Δ)
24 9	*insectatus*	modo insectatus
15	*collegerit*	colligitur
26 18	*contempto*	contento
25	*plurisque*	plerisque
29 13	*relinquit*	relinquitur

[225]

	ABE	ω
c. 5 2	moderati	*modesti*
12 17	ac — ac	et — ac
15 16	*concentus*cholasticorum	contentuscholasticorum
17 10	*statue*	statuae
19 12	*alte*	altae
26 34	diminuta, dimunuta (B)	*deminuta*

[226] Cp. Scheuer pp. 23–28.

33 9	ingressuri	ingressi
10	inscientia	*scientia*
35 2	*Ciceronis tempora*	Cicero tempore — C
		Ciceronis tempore — Δ
		Cice. extitisse tempore — D
37 11	Metello set et (-oset et)	*Metellos et*
18	expilatis	de expilatis (*aut exp.*)

Moreover, EV agree 63 times,[227] as against ABCDΔ. Of these variants, 20 are of an orthographical nature, and 10 give the *genuine* readings, as against 26 in which the other MSS. are correct; in the remaining all the MSS. are corrupt. EV is thus seen to be an independent group of the Y class, a conclusion which Scheuer places beyond all possible doubt by the following passages: [228]

	AB	EV	CDΔ
12 5	secedit sedit (secedit — B)	sedit	*secedit*
14 19	*ista*	illa	iam (i. e. I).
17 13	istum	*illum*	ipsum
21 4	quique alios	que alios	alios
30 11	ł quam quando	quam	quam quando

The coincidences of EV (y^1) with AB can therefore only be due to the original agreement of Y and X. A number of readings are also cited by Scheuer (p. 31), in which E has a solitary companion in B, which might seem to point to direct indebtedness of E to B,[229] but this inference is refuted by an examination of the following table (Scheuer p. 32):

[227] Scheuer pp. 12–14. Also c. 26 13, misplaced by Scheuer.

[228] The same conclusion is reached by an examination of the readings of the Germania, in which H (Hummelianus) occupies the same relation to V, as E does in the Dialogus. Cp. Scheuer pp. 15–17.

[229]

	BE	ACDΔV
11 15	irrumpunt	inruperunt
15 1	*non*	num
16 5	*si* — B, supra vers. E	(omis).
17 1	*Menenium* in marg.	me nimium
	Coelium B Calium E	alium
19 15	*videretur* B vide^re^tur E	videtur
20 3	*de* E supra vers. B	(omis).
28 8	*in*	(omis).
18	*dicere* E dixcere B	discere

	AB	CDΔEV
16 32	videtur AD vester B	*vester*
18 25	quidem autem	*autem*
28	venias A venia* B	*veniam*
20 5	dicentes (dicentem b corr.)	*dicentem*
26 7	auctores A a[υ]tores B	*actores*
16	post se A pos*se B	*posse*
23	vult (sed b corr.)	*velut*
23 2 25 7 30 22 ff.	*istud*, istorum, iste corr. B	illud *illorum ille.*

From this it appears, then, that the archetypon of the Ottobonianus was corrected by an unknown hand *after* the Vindobonensis had been copied from it, and in this emended state Pontanus or the scribe of the Leidensis used it, the readings adopted being all genuine.

There remains the question as to the interrelationship of CDΔ and the very frequent agreement of D with the X class. This problem has, in my judgment, also been solved by Scheuer. For a glance at the readings given on p. cxxxi f. will show that CΔD form still another independent group (designated by Scheuer as y^2) of Y. As for D, which Michaelis regarded as the best representative of the Y class, for the reasons given, its frequent agreement with AB[280] is now seen to be due to the fact that its immediate archetypon (y^2) had been corrected out of some member of the X family, after CΔ had already been copied. The clear proof of this is furnished by the following significant variants:

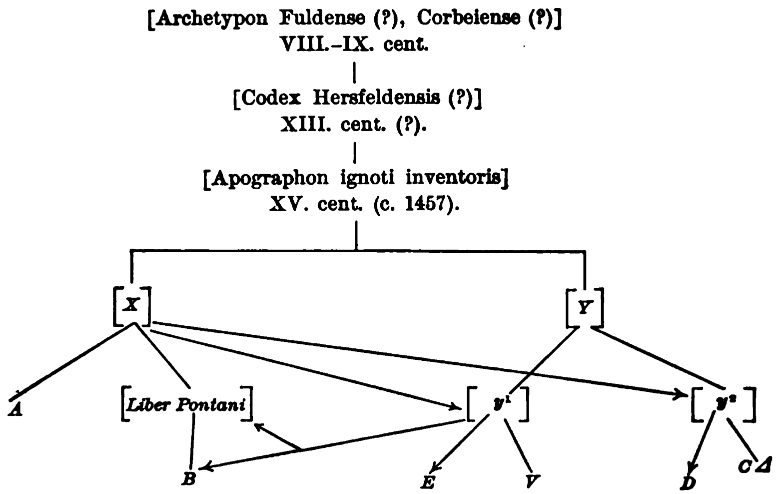
c. 30 5 vocatis (ꝉ vocant) AB vocantis D *vocant* EVCΔ

37 20 habendus est AB est habendus D *habendus* EVCΔ (i. e. habendus, with est above)

41 3 [281] quidem (ꝉ quis eni;) quod nemo A
quid enim quod nemo B
quis enim EVCΔ
quis enim quidem quod nemo D

The interdependence of our MSS., as finally determined, may be represented by the subjoined family-tree, the arrows indicating in what way the many coincidences between some of our MSS., though derived from different families, may be accounted for:

[280] See below.
[281] Cp. Binde p. 21 Scheuer p. 28 f.



c. *The Authenticity of X vs. Y.*

The false conception concerning the relationship of our MSS. is primarily responsible for the opinion of Michaelis, followed by all subsequent critics, with the solitary exception of Baehrens and Scheuer,[282] that AB, by reason of their more faithful reproduction of the archetypon, possess the greater validity. But this view is erroneous. We may readily admit that the common archetypon of AB was written by a less learned scribe than the parent MS. of Y; he certainly was far inferior to the copyist of the latter in resolving the many compendia, which unquestionably were a characteristic feature of their common prototype. It also goes without saying that a merely *numerical* preponderance of genuine readings in one or the other family does not in itself constitute a valid claim to superiority, unless the nature of the variants themselves warrants such an inference. On the other hand, it is no less true that a MS. which fails repeatedly to give what the author *must* have written, and in which the scribe, for the sake of slavish adherence to his copy, discards the genuine reading close at hand, ought not to be made the sole basis of the recension of the text. It is one thing, to interpolate or to introduce bold changes; it is quite another, to correct palpable slips of the copy. The problem, in

[282] To whom Peterson may now be added (pp. lxxxii ff.).

other words, is not, whether AB on the whole are more faithful representatives of X, than CDΔEV are of Y, which may be admitted, but whether the readings of X, more frequently than Y, furnish what Tacitus wrote. Now it is very remarkable to observe in how few instances AB or AB(D) have alone preserved the genuine reading as against evident corruptions in CDΔEV, for even in those instances where the context alone does not help us to decide confidently in favor of one or the other variant, we discover, on closer examination, that the stylistic usage of the author shows AB to be in the wrong. Many variants, again, in which X is pitted against Y, owe their origin solely to the false solution of compendia, or to orthographical vagaries, the scribes very naturally following the mode of spelling to which they were accustomed or which they believed to be correct, without regard to the MS. before them. Now all such divergences, be they never so minute and apparently insignificant, are of no little value, as will be seen from the above tables, in ascertaining the *interrelationship* between the MSS. themselves, but as far as the question of the respective *authenticity* of their archetypa is concerned, they are quite worthless.[238]

I first give the list of variants of AB (X) vs. CDΔEV (Y), then ABD vs. CΔEV, to which are added the few variants in which the genuine reading may be considered as doubtful:

[238] This applies especially to such variants as: his, hiis, iis; ille, iste, ipse. Thus AB show a decided preference for iste vs. ille in Y, and accordingly Michaelis, true to his exalted opinion of X, has everywhere, except c. 30 22, written 'iste,' even where this pronoun is utterly out of place. Binde devotes an entire chapter (pp. 23–28) to the discussion of these variants, his aim being to show that Y followed certain principles, whereas X simply reproduced the reading of its copy. But as these pronouns were abbreviated (I cf. c. 19 4 33 23), no inference as to the greater trustworthiness of the X class can be legitimately drawn. Cp. Scheuer p. 33 f. note 1. In like manner, we must eliminate all variants such as: non, nec, neque (ñ), per, pro (pr̄.); quĕ, quae, q̃; ę, ae; artis, artes; diminuta, deminuta, etc. Others, however, like: constat, constaret, videtur, videretur; fatebatur, fateretur, etc., although *originally* also due to compendia, may nevertheless have been already written out in X and Y, and they have, therefore, been included in the above table. Scheuer (pp. 34–37) admitted all these variants on a footing of equality! Many readings of X or Y, moreover, regarded by him as *genuine* are not so, while still others are unjustly relegated to the doubtful column.

	AB	CDΔEV
5 15	necessitates	*necessitudines*[234]
6 2	iocunditatis	*iucunditas*
17	quandocunque	*quemcunque*
	indueret	*induerit*
9 10	est	*eius*
10 3	[in] sequitur A insequitur B	*sequitur*
16	elegiorum	*elegorum* (elegarum V)
11 9	Neronē (= *Neronem*)	Nerone
12 8	et	*in* (also *b*)
14	ullus	*ullis*
13 3	et cent' A coetus B	*consulatus* (conventus D)
14 21 21 9 30 19	hercle	*hercule*
18 25	quidem autem	*autem* (also *b*)
28	venias A veniā* B	*veniam*
19 24	aut	*et*
25	expectantem	*expectandum* (expectando — D)
20 5	dicentes	*dicentem* (also *b*)
21 29	qui	*quia* (also *b*)
22 4	oratores aetatis eiusdem	*eiusdem aetatis oratores*
8	iam senior	*senior iam*
17	tantum eo	*eo tantum*
21	*et*	ut
23 1	Vetrinum	*Verrinum*
24 10	$\overline{\text{nrs}}$ (= nostris)	vestris (i. e. $\overline{\text{vrs}}$ = *veteribus*)
13	tantum	*in tantum*
26 7	auctores A a[u]tores B	*actores*
16	post se A pos*se B	*posse*
23	vult	*velut* (also *b*)
28 1	qui A $\overset{\text{tum}}{\text{[qui]}}$ B	*et*
15	educabitur	*educabatur*
26	militarem	rem militarem (i. e. $\overset{\text{rem}}{\text{militarem}}$ *militarem rem*)
29 13	invenires	*invenies*
30 21	ullius artis ingenuae[235]	ullius *ingenuae artis* (i. e. $\overset{\text{ingenuae}}{\text{artis}}$)
31 6	*haec enim est*	haec est enim
9	haec	*haec ipsa*
13	vitiis	*in vitiis*
36	haec	*haec quoque*
32 22	*ego*	ergo
34 35	hodie quoque	*hodieque*

[234] Genuine readings in *italics*. Orthographical minutiae are not noted.

[235] Or 'ullius artis' (see crit. note ad loc.). Tacitus, so far as my observation goes, *never* separates (*certainly* not in the Dialogus) two attributives by an intervening substantive, unless joined by a conjunction.

35 16	perfidie	*per fidem*
23	vel	*nihil* (nil)
37 15	curarum	*causarum* (also *b*)
38 6	hic	*haec*
12	aliquorum	*aliorum*
39 2	ridear	*rideatur*
41 9	inde (iñ)	tamen (tñ — *enim*)

	ABD	CΔEV
11 2	parant quid enim me	parant enim quid me[236] — CEV desperant Δ (*parantem inquit me*)
12 9	ex malis	*et ex malis*
16 32	videtur (*corr.* B *vel* b)	*vester*
19 10	*laudabat*	laudi dabatur
21 17	regule (i. e. *reliquae*)[237]	illae
25 4	*constat*	constaret
26 23	in Curato A in curato BD	*incusato*
27 2	haec	*hoc*
11	cum	*et cum*
28 15	erit	*erat*
30 5	⁊ vocant vocatis AB vocatis	*vocant*
31 1	haec	*hoc*
15	et	*ad*
33 7	*quid*	quod
37 20	habendus est AB est habendus D	*habendus*
39 9	*ipsam*	ipsa
41 12	*obscuriorque*	obscurior

In the following, finally, the reading is doubtful:

c. 9 5 deinceps — AB deinde — ω; 16 19 ac — AB et — ω; 27 8 perstringat — AB perstringit — ω; 31 20 postulabit — ABD postulaverit — ω; 35 23 cogitant — AB cogitare — ω.[238]

Now an examination of the foregoing table reveals the fact that AB has preserved the words of the author in but THREE (32 22 22 21 31 6) solitary passages, and curiously enough one of these

[236] i. e. paranteminquitme. The archetypon, as may be seen from this instance and others noticed in the Adnotatio and the Notes, was written 'scriptura continua.'

[237] *illae* has unintentionally been retained in the text. See crit. note ad loc.

[238] With the exception of the last, I have followed AB, but am unable to give any convincing reason for my choice. The origin of the variants is very transparent. I am now more inclined to favor 'perstringit' and 'postulaverit.'

has been universally, though unjustly, rejected by previous editors, still another pertains to two words habitually confused in our MSS., so that the correct reading in AB may well be accidental, while the third is perhaps due to scribal emendation. Out of *seventeen* examples in which AB find a companion in D of the Y class, the three MSS. furnish *six* correct readings, but only *one* of them is in any way noteworthy (c. 21 17). The Y class gives the genuine reading in *fifty-one*[289] instances out of a possible *sixty-two!!* The superstitious respect so generally entertained for the X family must, therefore, in the face of the evidence just presented, be abandoned. The Y family, albeit it has suffered at the hands of learned and unlearned scribes, represents *as a body* the purer tradition, although some of its individual members may be in a number of instances less trustworthy guides than A, for B itself, or its prototype, as we have seen, was not only subjected to the conjectural revision of the learned Pontanus, but was subsequently corrected out of the Y class. A does indeed faithfully reproduce its archetypon. But that archetypon must yield the palm to Y, which has proved itself to be more accurate in preserving what *Tacitus must have written.*

[289] c. 28 26 30 21 are included because these readings, though *probably* not genuine, are closer to the original, AB being *unquestionably corrupt.*

ABBREVIATIONS.

1. Text.

Ms.	= Michaelis
Np.	= Nipperdey — Schoell
Pt.	= Peter
Bs.	= Baehrens
Hm.	= Halm[4]
Ml.	= Joh. Müller
Wf.	= E. Wolff
And.	= Andresen[3]
Nk.	= Novák

2. Notes.

Dr. *H. S.*	= A. Draeger, Historische Syntax der Lateinischen Sprache, 2 vols. 1878–81[2].
Dr. *Stil*	= A. Draeger, Syntax und Stil des Tacitus, 1882[3].
R. V.	= Reisig-Haase, Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft, Vol. I (Grammatik by H. Hagen) II (Semasiologie by H. Heerdegen), III (*Syntax* by Schmalz p. 1–149. 390–506. 794–888, by Landgraf p. 150–389. 507–794), 1888.
Antib.	= Schmalz, Antibarbarus 2 vols. 1886–1888[6].
Archiv	= Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie I–VIII.
Neue	= Lateinische Formenlehre, I[2]. II[3] (by C. Wagener) III[2].
Kühner	= Lateinische Grammatik, 2 vols., 1877–78.
Friedländer	= Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms, 3 vols., 1888–1890[6].

Others are self-explanatory, or cited in full in the Bibliography.

P. CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS

DE ORATORIBUS.

Introduction.

1. Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos: horum autem temporum diserti, causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. cui percontationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus excipere, ut aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum *sit*, si idem adsequi non possumus aut de iudiciis, si nolumus, vix hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admodum audivi. ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut quae *e* praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter *ex*cepi, cum

CORNELI TACITI INCIPIT DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS—*A*. CORNELI · TACITI · DIALOGVS · DE · ORATORIBVS · INCIPIT—*B*. C. CORNELII TACITI DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS FOELICITER ĪCIPIT—*C*. C. Conelii Taciti dialogus de oratoribus—*D*. CORNELII. TACITI. DIALOGVS INCIPIT DE ORATORIBVS ET POETIS—*E*.

1. 1 cum—*om.* C. 3 nostra^{m}—D. deserta eloquentia et laude orbata—*Cornelissen.* 4 appellamus—E appellemus—*ω*. 6 *primum* et *om.* E. 9 sit—*ins. Lipsius.* 10* mea mihi—*Schurzfleisch.* 11 ut—*om. Put.* 15 dictam—D.

singuli diversas [vel easdem] sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine disputationis. neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet, ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret.

2. Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum Marcus Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri quos ego utrosque non modo in iudiciis studiose audiebam sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem, quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione

e — excepi — *correxi* a — accepi — ω. 16 singulis — E.* vel easdem (ω. *Philipp*) — *incl. Lipsius praeeunte Mureto* d. quidem s. p. — V *solus probante Helmreich* d. sed easdem p. — *Roth, Ms. Wf. And.* vel easdem vel ds. — *Moser* div. sed probab. . . afferrent, vel easdem dum — *transp. Doederlein* easdem [partes agerent] — *Peter, Goelzer* d. eas quidem p. — *Baehrens* [vel — prob.] — *incl. Halm, Novák.* rei eiusdem — *Ioh. Müller* non easdem — *Heller. pro* afferrent *aliud verbum habuit* V. 17 redderet — CD reddēnt — V reddent — E. 18 isdem *pro* iisdem (ω.) *cf. Sirker Formenl. p. 45.* persequar — *Put.* prosequar — ω. (*ex* pr *ortum cf.* $5_{,25}$ $6_{,19}$. 21 anteferrent — BD.

2. 2 tamquam non in — *Sauppe.* 4 habetur — C. 6* ego utrosque non modo in iud. — *scripsi, partim Schopen, partim Peter secutus.* non utrosque modo — ω verosque — D non in iud. modo utrosque — *Nipperdey And.* [utrosque] *del. Ritter, Hm. Novák* non modo in iud. utrosque — *Peter* in iud. non modo ut plerosque — *I. Müller.* 8 quadam — D. 9 semotae — *om.* EV. acciperem — EV. 11 Apium — D. 14* omni — CEVΔ cū — ABD (*cf.* $13_{,15}$

* See Notes ad locum.

imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam maiorem *quam* industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus, si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3. Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsum*que* quem pridie recitaverat librum int*er* manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus 'nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent, quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? an ideo librum istum adprehendisti, ut diligentius retractares, et sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem sed tamen securiorem?'

Tum ille 'leges' inquit 'quid Maternus sibi debuerit et adgnosces quae audisti. quod si qua omisit Cato sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi. atque ideo maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant,' inquit Aper 'quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas, cum te tot amicorum causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses, *ut* Domitium et Catonem, id est

26,31) communi — *Rhenanus*. *del.* *Novák* multa — *coni.* *Halm.* 16* quam — *ins.* *Vahlen* industria et labore — *Baehrens.* 17 inniti — CDΔ inniti (vel ad) — A inniti (ad) — B adniti — EV.

3. 2 que — *add.* *Anon.* *Lpz.* *Lit.* *Zeit.* *1833* p. 1898 (? = *Haupt*, *Op.* I. 194). ac quem — E et quem — *Lipsius*, *Nk.* quemque — *Schopen* inter — *Cuiacius* intra — ω. 7 quae — V b. 9* leges tu (*om.* C.) quid (quod D.) M. s. d. — ω l. tu quidem (*add.* *Seebode*) q. M. s. d. — *Vahlen* l. inquit q. M. s. d. — *Halm* intelleges — *A. Greef* l. inquit [Maternus] si libuerit — *Nipperdey*, *Ms.* *Ml.* *Nk.* *And.* l. quae audisti et agnosces q. M. s. d. — *transp.* *Baehrens.* 10 emisit — B misit — C (*ex* quae misit *ortum*). 11 et enim — D *cf.* 27,2. 12 ipsum — *Baehrens.* 13 meditationi — D. 18 causa — D. 19* sufficeres — *Put.* 20 imperasses

nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina Graeculorum fabulis adgregares.'

4. Et Maternus: 'perturbarer hac tua severitate nisi frequens et adsidua nobis contentio iam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum obicis, cotidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adversus te poeticae exerceo. quo laetor magis oblatum nobis iudicem qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat, ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam *solam*.'

5. 'Ego vero' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam quod probi et modesti iudices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus *se* excusent in quibus manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalere. quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.'

Aper's Speech. 'Defence of Oratory.'

'Securus sit' inquit Aper 'et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. ego enim, quatenus arbitrum litis huius *non* inveni, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum

vel imposuisses — *Acidalius.* ut — *add. Niebuhr.* [id. — nomina] — *del. idem.* 21 Graecorum — B. 22 aggregares — ABCD aggregarem — EV aggregare — *Muretus*, (*Pithoeus*) *Nk.* aggregans — *Orelli, Bs.*

4. 5 defendendae — *del. Novák.* 9 illam — CEV istam — ABD. 10 sŏlam — *add. Vahlen.*

5. 2* modesti — BCDV *Bs. Wf. And.* moderati — AE *Ms. Hm. Pt. Ml.* [ut — eos] — *om.* D. 3 cogitationibus — BC (*cf.* $16_{,5}$, $25_{,23}$ Quint. XI, 1, 1) se —
S
add. Pithoeus, edd. excepto Peter. 6 Salerum — A Galeriū — B (*corr.* b.) Seleium — E. 9 alium — CDΔ. 11 et* — *dell. Pithoeus, edd., defendit Iohn* et enim — *Orelli.* non — *inserui.* inveni — *Pithoeus, Ms. Np. Pt. Hm. Ml.*

apud *nos* arguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium, quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius *vel ad voluptatem dulcius* vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius excogitari potest. nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra derigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? cuius vis et utilitas rebus prospere fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, *quae est* praesidium simul ac telum quo propugnare pariter et incessere sive in iudicio vel in senatu sive apud principem possis. quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam

invenimus — *Vahlen, Nk.* inveniri — ω invenire — D quia (quando te — *Muretus*) te nunc. . . inveni — *Ruperti, Wf.* licet l. h. inveniri — *Steuding* l. h. licet i. — *Philipp* inveniri non puto — *Andresen* arbiter . . . inveniri non potuit — *Iohn* iuvat inveniri — *Ribbeck* et ego omnino . . . inveniri spero — *Hoerschelmann* nego enim alienum arbitrum inveniri, quatenus non patiar — *Baehrens.* 12 plurium — *Pithoeus* plurimum — ω. 13* nos — *Iohn* eos — ω *Pt.* ipsos — D vos — *Lipsius, Hm. Ml. Nk.* eum — *Spengel, Ms.* se — *Andresen, Bs.* 14 quae — BC. 15 necessitates — AB nationes — b. omittit — *Rhenanus* (*Muretus*) amitti — ω amittit — *Put.* 16 vel ad voluptatem — *ins. Schulting* (*Classen*). 17 dulcius — *add. Ritter, Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* iucundius — *Classen, Np. Pt.* honestius — *Schulting, Bs. Lacunam indicat Ms.* 18* imperii [famam] — D *fortasse* gloriam. 19 possit — D. factaque — BE fataque — ω. 20 per nostra — ACV. derigenda — *Baehrens. Cf. Munro, Lucr. VI, 823.* dirigenda — ω utilius — *Acidalius.* 21 opem clientibus — *Wolff.* 23 feras — *Lipsius, Hm. Ml. And.* ferat — ω *Wf.* quadam velut — B. 24 maiestate — *Steiner.* 25 profugio — AB praesidio — b. 26 increpuerit — D *fortasse recte* inrupit — *Weinkauff, Bs.* irrepat — b. lorica et — *Seebode* loricae gladius — ω (iorice — D) l. aut — *Rhenanus.* 27 munimentum — *del. Woelfflin.* et — *del. Acidalius* (*Haase*). quae est — *ins. Vahlen.* 28 sive (*ante* in iud.) *Muretus* vel — ω *Np.* 29 vel in senatu — *Nipperdey.* 30 Eprius — b

opposuit? qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem sed inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. plura de utilitate non dico cui parti minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

6. Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuius iucunditas non uno aliquo momento sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum? idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi sed sibi ipsi dari? ipsos quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes plerumque venire ad iuvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent. ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes, id quod optimum sit se non habere? iam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus! quae in publico species! quae in iudiciis veneratio! quod illud gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos! coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adfectum quemcumque orator induerit! vulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora

E prius
prius M. — ω M. prius — E (*ortum est ex* Marcellus). 31 qua — ***Ursinus*** qui — ω ***Peter.*** 32 in eius modi — D. 33 parti — BC partim — ADEV (partiminime).

6. 1 iocunditatis — AB. *prius* prope — *del. Andresen.* 3 locis — ***Baehrens*** foris — *Oberbreyer.* 6 idque scire non — *bis scripsit* D. neque — CDEV. 7 administrationi — B administrationis — ω. ipsos — E istos — ABD illos CV (*i. e.* i^os^). 8 plerumque venire — D v. plerumque — ω. 11 veteres — *del. Acidalius*, ***Np.*** divites et — *Heinsius* senatores et — *Haupt* honoribus veteres — *coni. Ioh. Müller.* urbis — *Pithoeus, Hm.* 15 quod illud — EV *Bs. Hm. Wf.* id (ω) — *om.* ***Put. Ms. Pt. Ml.*** quod ibi — *Ritter* quid? quod — *Andresen.* assurgendi consistendique — E. 17 coram — ω *Bs. Wf. And.* coronam — *Acidalius*, ***Ms. Pt. Hm. Ml.*** quemcunque — CDEV quandocunque — AB quacunque — b *in marg.* induerit — CDEV indueret — AB induxerit — b voluerit — *Andresen* imbuerit — *coni.*

sunt. sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati. sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est; nam *in* ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam *quae* [alia] diu ser*u*ntur atque elabor*a*ntur *grata*, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

7. Equidem, ut de me ipse fatear, non eum diem laetiorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi, quam eos quibus mihi pro mediocritate huius quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis aut *apud patres* reum prospere defendere aut apud centumviros causam aliquam feliciter orare aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum tueri et defendere datur. tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor, tum *h*ab*e*re quod, si non in al*v*o oritur, nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit.

Halm. vulgaria — *Orelli*, *Hm*. 19 procenseo — D parva censeo — *Beroaldus*. ipsi oranti — b. maiora sunt — *del. Acidalius*. 20 perfert (p̃fert) — CEV proferre — D proferunt — *Baehrens*. 22 animi — *Pithoeus* animus — *ω*. 23 attulit — *Nipp. ad Ann.* I³, 38, 8. 25 in — b. 26* quamquam quae diu seruntur a. elaborantur grata, gratiora — *emendavi* et illa quae . . . grata sint — *Nissen* quamq. grata sunt quae seruntur — *Novák* alia — *om.* CD utilia (utiliora) — *Ernesti* utiliora quae — *Andresen* u. q. studiose s. — *Ribbeck* solidiora ser. diuque — *Peerlkamp* dulcia quae industria — *Weinkauff* valida diu curantur — *Cornelissen* vitalia diu s. — *I. Hilberg* diurturna serantur — *Baehrens* quamquam quaedam serantur — *Bennett* — *Retinent traditam lectionem Pt. Ml. Wf.*, *corruptelam indicat Hm.*

7. 1 ipse — B ipso — *ω edd.* 4 eos (ago) — *ins. Vahlen*, *Bs. Nk. And.* 5 apud patres — *add. Michaelis*, *Bs. Hm. Wf. Ml. And.* apud iudices — *Nipperdey* (iudicem — *Spengel*) aut . . . orare aut a. p. r. p. defendere aut . . . tueri datur — *Ribbeck*. 7 ipsum — *Spengel*. 8 principis — *idem*, *Ms*. 9 praetura — CD. habere — *Pithoeus* abire — *ω*. 10* albo (*i. e.* alvo) — V *Pithoeus* alio — *ω* aliquo — *Ritter*, *Pt. Hm. Wf.* in animo — *Freinsheim*, *Haase*, *Ml.* quod in se non in alio — *Rutgersius* si non in ipso non in alio — *Nipperdey* in ipso — *Ernesti* in nobis — *Schopen* in ingenio — *Seebode* in natali oboritur — *Doederlein* natalibus paritur — *Andresen* naturale — *Baehrens* sola indole — *Ribbeck* numine alieno — *Sillig* intus — *Usener* in caelo — *Heller*. si — *del. Michaelis* scilicet — *Lipsius*

quid? fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? quid? non inlustres *sunt* in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes, quibus modo recta est indoles et bona spes sui? quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? advenae quoque et peregrini iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere concupiscunt.

8. Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et oblitteratis exemplis utor) non min*ores* esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. nec hoc illis alterius *bis*, *alterius* ter milies sestertium praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, *sed* ipsa eloquentia; cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint,

sic — *Spengel.* civium gratia — *Baehrens* cum — *del. Acidalius.* 12 quid? non illustres — *Roth* qui non — ω qui tam — *Boetticher, Ms.* quinam illustriores — *Orelli, Np. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* quidnam illustrius est — *Steiner, Pt.* qui magis sunt illustres — *Baehrens* qui enim illustriores — *Iohn* qui non [in urbe modo sed in orbe sunt] illustres et in urbe — *suppl. Vahlen* quinam ill. [et incliti] — *add. A. Greef* sunt — *ins. Schopen.* et *ante* non *dell. Haase, edd.* et noti — *Eckstein.* in urbe — *om.* D. 13* iuvenes vacuos — *scripsi Pro* iuvenes B *habet* vacuos *quod receperunt Np. Pt. Hm. Ml. And.* impuberes — *coni. Baehrens.* 14* modo recta est indoles et — *scripsi* m. r. et ind. — ACDV modo morum (b) et recta ind. — B. *And.* m. recta ind. — E est — ABCD *om.* EV sit — *Michaelis* r. i. est — *Halm* ind. recta — *Baehrens.* 18 in provinciis — *add. Nipperdey.* 19 vultus — *Acidalius* vultu — *Halm olim.*

8. 2 bibium — B Vibum — C iubium — V. 3* minores — *conieci praeeunte Haase.* minus — ω *Pt.* notos *post* minus *add. Ursinus, Np. Hm. Ml. Wf. post* esse *Lipsius* illustres *post* minus — *add. Ribbeck, Bs. And.* minoris — *Rutgersius.* dicuntur — *del. Sauppe.* 5 bis alterius — *ins. Pichena.* b *lacunam in margine indicavit* alterius bis milies — *Friedländer. Eadem verba post* sestertium *add. Lipsius* alterius ter milies, alt. bis milies — *Baehrens* alterutrius — *Philipp.* 6 quin ad — *Andresen olim* quoniam — *Baehrens.* 7 sed — *add. Lipsius.* ipsa eloquentia — *del. b. Ritter.* 9 ad quantum — EV quantam — *Acidalius.* perveni-

sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda sed oculis spectanda haberemus. nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et angustia *rerum* nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriora exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit [et] ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti, quae ab ipso acceperint quaeque *et* ipsis accumulare et in alios congerere promptum *sit*, Marcellum autem et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit. minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat. his igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus refertas domos eorum videmus, qui se ab ineunte aetate causis forensibus et oratorio studio dederunt.

rent — *malim.* 11 habemus — *b Put.* habeamus — *Dronke.* 12 quoque — B quosque — ω notabiliter — D. angustia rerum — *Put.* angustia ereptum — ω angustiae rerum — *Lipsius*, *edd.* angustia parentum — b *Agricola.* 14 nobilitatem — *Acidalius* dignitatem — *Spengel.* 15 abundantia fac. — *Peerlkamp.* 17 sunt — *om.* DP ac — *om.* C. 18 *alterum* principes *del. Helmreich* princeps — DV. geruntque — *Moser*, *Ms. Bs.* reguntque — *Peerlkamp* vertuntque — *Bursian.* 20* p. vir — P *edd. vett.* sapientissimus vir — *Acidalius*, *Pt.* potentissimus — *Urlichs* prudentissimus — *Mähly.* 21 et — *om. Put. coll. post* quaeque — *Peter*, *Wf.* et sentit cet. — *Knaut* et scit — *Baehrens.* ipsis — ω *Pt. Wf.* ipsi — *Lipsius.* aut in — *coni. Baehrens.* 23 congere — DV. sit — *Halm* est — ω. 24 alii principes — D. 25 inter haec tot — *Vahlen*, *Bs.* tanta praemia — *coni. Andresen* tot res ac tantas — *Nipperdey.* possint — DEV. 26 tam parum hercule — *Baehrens.* 29 eorum — *om.* D. 30 aetate — *C. Heraeus* aetate adulescentia
adulescentia
— C adulescentia — ω *edd.* (*ortum est ex* ineunte aetate).

9. Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est, si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit aut salutat aut prosequitur? nempe si amicus eius, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es, neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit. et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis ista laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore praecerpta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre. laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia

9. 3 addunt — *Gutmann* ut. alias — *Iohn* utilitatem solidam — ***Ribbeck*, *Bs.*** 4 et infructuosam — *om.* D. 5 deinceps — AB deinde — *ω*. 8 Caeleium — A Coeleium — B Saltium — D. 10 amicus est si — AB. 12 decurret — ***Gronovius.***
c
ut — *om.* D. 15 excudit — BCD extudit — AE extudit — EV. 18 B ***in margine adscripsit*** (Iuv. VII. 40): Maculonus commodat aedes ac longe **ferrata** domo servire iubetur et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo. **20 ista — ABE** illa — CDV. diem virens dein in — *Baehrens.* 21 **praecerpta — *Schele*, *Hm.* *Bs.*** *Nk.* praecepta — CDV percepta — ABE intercepta — ***Peerlkamp.*** **22 [poeta]**

Basso donasset. pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem! adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

10. Ne opinio quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum esse pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. quando enim *vel* rarissimarum recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat? nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat. quotus quisque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia, ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar, in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? atque adeo si quis requirit, *ut* semel vidit, transit et contentus est, ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo, tamquam eos quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit deterream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae. ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem

refert — *add. Novák.* 25 liberalitatem — E libertatem — ω. 26 intelligentiam — D. 27 si . . exigat — *post* quidem *coll. E. Wolff.* 28 genium — *Lipsius* ingenium — ω. 31 cetera — *om.* D. utque — AE ut quae — CV quae — D et ut — B. 32 [id — solitudinem] — *incl. Lange.* secedendum — *Schele* recedendum — ω. B *in margine adscripsit* Silva placet Musis.

10. 1 B *in margine adscripsit* (Ovid, A. A. III. 404): Quid quaeritur sacris nisi tantum fama poetis. 2 omnis — AEV omnes — C inquit omnes — D *om.* B. aeque — *Put.* atque — ω. 3 sequitur — CDEV [in] sequitur — A insequitur — B. 4* vel (t) — *add. Baehrens* clarissimarum — *Steiner* rarissima harum — *Andresen* harum — *Sedlmayer.* 5 nedum — b, *edit. Ald. 1534.* medium — ω metrum — *Put.* 7 Galliis — *Schulting.* Salerium — B Saltim — C. 8 [atque — requirit] — *om.* D. ut — *Acidalius* et — ω. transisse contentus est — *Stangl.* 9 antiquam — *coni. idem.* 11 sua — *del. Andresen, Wf.* criminibus — Δ. 15 solum — D. 16 et — *Acidalius.* 17 habet — *Heumann, Np. Hm. Ml.* habeat

et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem *et* epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habet, anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo. sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat, errare mavis et *mox* summa adeptus in levioribus subsistis. ut si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires di dedissent, non paterer inmanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et [ad causas et ad] vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium. effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. nec excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris [aut] elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. sentio quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes adsensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis praecipue laudari et mox omnium sermonibus ferri. tolle igitur quietis

— ω. 18 anteponenda — *Ritter*. *altiorum — *Andresen*, *Wf.* alienarum — *Ribbeck* leviorum — *Baehrens* liberalium — *coni. Halm* aliarum — *del. Steuding* (*L. Traube*). studiis artium — D *fortasse recte. Vide adn.* c. 12,8. 19 mihi tecum — E tecum minime — D. *te *ante* ferat *ins. Acidalius*, *Bs. ante* tua — *Halm*, *Np.* arcem — EV artem — ω. 20* mox — *addidi* adepturus — *Acidalius*, *edd.* declivioribus — *Ribbeck* inferioribus — *Cornelissen*. 23 illos — CEV istos — ABD *Ms. Np.* 24 vibratione — *coni. Baehrens* iactu — *del. Andresen*. 25* [ad causas et ad] — *inclusi*. et ad causas — *del. Knaut*, (*Mähly*) *Bs.* verba — D. 26 quod consurgere — DΔ. 27 plerisque [poetis] — *ins. Andresen*. offendere — ω *Np. Pt. Wf.* offensae — *Acidalius*, *rell. edd.* offensis — *Pithoeus*. 28 ius — C. effervescit . . . offendis — B effervescet . . . offendes ω. 31 ac fide — *Baehrens* ac subitae — B. 32* aut — (ω) *om. Put. Np. And.* tibi — *Halm olim*. ultro — *Schopen*, *Ms.* hanc *Haase*. *Pt.* etiam — *Halm*, (*Schoentag*) atque — *Baehrens*, *Wf.* et — *Iohn* ante — *E. Thomas* [formasse] aut — *ins. Ioh. Müller* v. el. pers. et not. — *Heller*. 33 sentio . . . 35 ferri — *del. Bernhardy*. 34* hinc — *Put.* hic — ω ex his — (ω) *del. Gesner* existere — *Muretus*, *edd.* excire *F. A. Wolf* excitari — *Schele* h. l.

et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiorem. nobis satis sit privatas *causas* et nostri saeculi controversias tueri in quibus, [expressis] si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.'

Answer of Maternus. 'Defence of Poetry.'

11. Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus 'paran*tem*' inquit 'me' non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent. ego autem, sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem in Neronem improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi, *et* hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam

clamores, ex his ad. — *Ritter* elici ing. ex his *Baehrens*. possit; hic: 'ex his . . .', hic '. . .' — *E. Thomas* hinc ing. concursus, ex his assensus — *Heller*. [et] in — *add. Andresen*. auditoriis [poetam] — *ins. Ritter*. omnium mox — E **Post* ferri *statuit lacunam F. A. Wolf quam supplevit Vahlen: ferri* [sed respondeo eo gravius recitantibus periculum af*ferri*] *Andresen*: [sed eo facilius ad aures principis permanabunt]. 37 causas — *add. edit. Bipont.* (*Knaut*). 38* expressis — ABD *om.* E, *dell. Heumann*, *Hm.* expressit — C et expressit pro — V expressit si quando necessitas — *Lipsius*, *Np.* expresse — *Mähly* exponendis — *Wagener* experiendis — *Philipp* ex re ipsa — *Baehrens* exercendis — *Inge*. 39 potentium — *coni. Baehrens*.

11. 2 parantem, inquit, me — *Walther* parant quid enim me — ABD parant enim quid me — CEV desperant. n. quid me — Δ parantem me inquit — *Bekker*, *Hm.* 3 laudavit — *Acidalius*. 4 detractare — D detractaret — *Lipsius*. 9* Neronē — AB *Bs.* Nerone — CDEV *Pt.*, imperante Nerone — *Haupt* (*L. Müller*), *Ms. Np. Ml. And.* in Neroniis — *Osann* sub Nerone — *Novák*. enormem et — *E. Wolff* cum quidem s. N. . . . fregi *post* possum *collocavit Heller*, *corruptelam indicavit Halm*. improbatam — *Pichena* importunam — *coni. Halm*. 10 Vatinii — *Gronovius* vaticinii — ω *Haackh* et — *add. Lipsius*. *in — *dell. Acidalius*, *Ms. Pt. Hm. Bs. Ml.* 11 nominis — b *Put.* numinis — ω. 12 patrum — D. diiungere

salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines quae etiam me nolente in domum meam inruperunt. nam statum cuiusque *ac* securitatem melius innocentia tue*tur* quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12. Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem, ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque, commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit: sic oracula loquebantur. nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et ex malis moribus natus atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. ceterum felix illud, et ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum, et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis et vatibus abundabat qui bene facta canerent non qui male admissa defenderent. nec ullis aut gloria maior *erat* aut augustior honor, primum apud deos quorum proferre responsa et interesse

— *Wölfflin, Bs.* 14 salutantium — *Schele* salutationum — ω *Ms.* 15 irrumpunt — BE. 16* cuiusque ac (ad — ω) — *Pichena, Ms.* hucusque — *Lipsius, edd.* hunc iusque — *Haase* quoque cuius Aper monuit — *Weinkauff* capitis — *Baehrens.* * tuetur — *Pichena* tueor — ω *edd.* 17 nisi — *om.* C.

12. 1 increpat — B. 3 strepitu [urbis] — *add. Schopen, Pt. Bs. Wf. And.* 4 ostium — B hostium — ω. 5 secedit — BCDΔ sedit (secedit) — A sedit — AEV [quod] secedit — *add. Novdk.* 7 penetralia hoc — *om.* C hoc — ABEV haec — DΔ. *commendata — *Muretus, Np. Hm. Ml.* commodata — *Lipsius.* 8 in — b CDEV et — AB. illa — CDEV ista — AB *Ms.* his — *Baehrens.* 9 lucresse — D. sanguinatis — D sangunantis — V saginantis — *ed. Iunt. 1527* sanguine manantis — *Schulting* sanguine inhiantis — *Bezzenberger.* *et ex — CEVΔ ex — ABD *edd.* 11 illud — *om.* D. 13 amissa — CDΔ. 14 ullus — AB. *more . . . A mor (t ore) — B more (in ore) — C in ore — D more . . . E *post* more — V *m.* 2 *in margine exhibet* maior. *Idem Lipsius.* illud clamore — b, *in marg. Put.* erat — *add. Ritter* [mortalibus]

epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos dis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidic*um*, sed Orphea ac Linum *et*, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem accepimus. vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui Vergilii detrectent: nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13. Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contubernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. licet illos certamina et pericula sua *vel ad* consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum in quo tamen neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia. testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum. ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent in hac sua fortuna con-

maior — *coni. Michaelis* maior erat eo tempore — *Ribbeck* maior contingebant — *Mähly.* 15 interesse oraculis — *Haupt.* 16 illos — b CDEV istos — AB *Ms.* quorum . . . ferebantur *post* reges *collocavit Baehrens.* 17* causidicum — *Heumann* causidicorum — ω *Ms. Np.* si — *om.* D. *ac . . . et — *scripsi.* ac — ac — ABE et — ac — CDV *Hm. Bs. Wf.* 18 velis vel — D vel — EV. 19 vide[a]ntur — B videantur — D. illud — ω istud — AB *Ms.* concedes — *Acidalius* concedis — ω *Ms.* 20 haberi *post* honorem *vel* tribui *post* Demostheni *ins. Mähly.* 21 apud. p. constare — *Baehrens.* 23 qui te — D quam per — C. 25 aut Varii *om.* C.

13. 1 illud — ω istud — AB *Ms.* 3 istos — AB illos — ω. *vel — *addidi.* ad — *corr. Lipsius* et — ω et ad sacerdotia (*vel* praeturas) et consulatus — *Vahlen* ad opes et consulatus — *Ritter* et cent' — A coetus — B conventus — D. 8 Virgilium — *del. Ernesti.* spectans — *Baehrens.* 14 aliquid — CD aliqui — ω

cupiscendum? quod timent an quod timentur? quod, cum cotidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus *non* praestant indignantur? quod adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? quae haec summa eorum potentia est? tantum posse liberti solent. me vero d u l c e s, ut Vergilius ait, M u s a e, remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant; nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar. non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere, quandoque [enim] fatalis et meus dies veniet, statuar[que] tumulo non maestus et atrox sed hilaris et coronatus et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

Interruption of the Discussion by the Entrance of Messalla.

14. Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum *Vipstanus* Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos

*[non] praestant — *add. Lipsius* vel ii (hi — EV in D) — ***ins. Andresen, Pt. Bs. Ml.*** quibus praestant perinde quibus non praestant — *coni. Michaelis* praestare negant — *Mühly*. 15* omni — *Walther, Ms. Wf.* cū ABE cum CDV Caesarum — *Schulze* civium — *Hand* communi — *Schneider* (*Greef, Iohn*) humili — *Schulting, Pt. Ml.* canum — *Haase* canina — *Halm* summa — *Meiser* adligata cum — *Baehrens* cum — *del. Andresen*. 19 illa . . . illos — ω ista . . . istos — AB *Ms.* *sacra [loca] — *add. Helmreich* secreta — *E. Wolff*. 20 illosque [ad] *ins. Ritter, Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* ad illa — illosque — *Baehrens* illasque frondes — *Haupt, Ms. Np.* montes — *Mühly*. 21 pallentem — b *Put. Np. Pt. Hm. Wf. And.* palantem — BDEV *Ms.* pallantem — AC fallantem — *Schurzfleisch* fallacem — *Boetticher, Bs. probante Michaelis* labantem — *Mühly* palmamque fallentem — *Ioh. Müller*. 24* relinquere, quandoque f. et . . . veniet, statuar — *emendavi* rel.: q. enim . . . veniat, statuar — *Hess*. rel.: q. enim . . . statuarque — *Vahlen* rel. (q. enim . . . veniet) statuarque — *Halm, Pt. And.* enim *atque* et — *dell. Nipperdey, Wf.* quandocunque mihi — *Doederlein* quandoque olim — *Steiner, Ms. at cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. olim*. veniet — b *Put.* veniat — ω *Np. Wf.* venerit — *Ernesti* quandoque cient fata, licet meus dies veniat — *Baehrens*.

14. 1 stinctus — C. 2 cum — EV tum — ω. Vipstanus — *Rupertus* Vibanius — ADEVΔ Libanius — B Uthanius — C Urbanus — b *Put.* Vipsanius — *Lipsius*.

esse sermonem, 'num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secretum consilium *aut* causae alicuius meditationem tractantibus?'

'Minime, minime' inquit Secundus, 'atque adeo vellem maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas defendi decebat, a*r*dentior et poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio.'

'Me vero' inquit '[et] sermo *ille* infinita voluptate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis qui ista disputatis adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures pervenerint. itaque hercule non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iuli *Africani* vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

[eius] *del. Ernesti.* est — *del. Acidalius, Bs.* 5 aut — *Halm* et — ω. 7 minime — *semel* ACEV. 10 exhortatus — b *Put.* et hortatus — ω. 11 utque — BCEV utriq̃; A ut'que — D. 12 defendi — *om.* D. d̊ecebat — C docebat — EV poetas defendi [poetas] — A. *ardentior — *Knaut, Bs.* audentior — ω. silior — A. 14 vero — B vere — ACDEV. et — *del. Halm.* *ille — *scripsi* ipse — ω iste — — *Halm, Np. Pt. Ml. Wf. And.* iste [et oratio] *add. Andresen, Wf.* 15 viri et . . . oratores optimi — *Acidalius* [optimi] temporum — *add. Muretus, Bs.* 16 oratores [summi] — *add. Halm olim, Ms. Pt.* et sumitis — D. 18 eruditionis — B eruditiones — ω eruditionem — *Rhenanus.* 19 cum — *om.* C ē — D (*an* č ?). illa — b ω ista — AB *Ms. Hm.* iam — D (*ortae sunt lectiones ex* ī). 21 hercule — ω hercle — AB. 22 Africani — *Nipperdey* Asiatici — ω. plurimum — CDΔ. 23* [improbari] quod — *ins. Andresen, Bs.* [damnari] quod — *add. Halm.*

15. Tum Aper: 'non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inridere atque contemnere. nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes [antiquis] eo*que*, credo, audacius, quod maligni*tatis* opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam quam tibi alii concedunt ipse tibi denegares.'

'Neque illius' inquit 'sermonis mei paenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum, ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro. et quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graecis accidisse ut longius absit *ab* Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste *Nicetes* et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessistis.'

15. 1 non — BE num — ω numquam — *Baehrens.* 5* antiquis — *dell. Acidalius, Np. Bs. Wf.* [prae] a. — *coni. Halm, Ms.* [parem] a. — *ins. Lipsius, Hm.* atque id eo — *coni. idem, Wf. And.* si conferretur aut. — *Ioh. Müller* ex antiquis — *E. Thomas.* eo[que] — *addidi.* 6 malignitatis — *Rhenanus* malig's (*fin. vers.*) ys — A malignis iis — B maligni in iis — C maligne I hiis — D maligni in his — EV maligni in opinionem — Δ malignius — b quo malignius — *Put.* maligni iudiciis — *Acidalius* maligni suspicionem — *Thomas* maligni ullius — *E. Thomas.* 7 ipse — B ipsi — ω ipsis tu — *Baehrens.* 8 neque neque — D. 9 M. nostrum — D. 10 in — *om.* B. quam interdum — D. 11 quod differentiae D. 12 conquiro — DEV *Bs. Wf. And.* conquiro (ŧ in) — A conquiro (in) — BC anquiro — *Ribbeck.* 13 solutio — *Acidalius.* 14* Graecis — *Dronke, Ms. Np. Pt. Nk.* gratis — ABCEV gratius — D. Graiis — *Put. Hm. Bs. Wf. And.* absit — ABEVΔ abiisset — CD abesset — *Wesenberg.* ab — *ed. Francof. 1542 in marg.* (*Wesenberg*). ut [vel] *add. Wagener.* sol. est idem etiam G. accidisse, mihi a. q. quia haud longe abiit — *Baehrens.* 15 sacerdos — *Orelli.* Nicetes — *Lipsius* enitet — ω. iste — ω ille — *Halm.* 16 concentu — *Orelli* concentus — ABE contentus — CDVΔ continuis . . . [et] cl. — *Freinsheim* contentionibus — *A. F. Nissen. Bs.* 17* nos . . . recessimus — *Andresen, Bs. Pt.* aut ab — CDVΔ *Bs.*

16. 'Magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movisti. sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

Et Messalla 'aperiam' inquit 'cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis.'

'Pro duobus' inquit Maternus 'promitto: nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

Aper's Second Speech. (a) Meaning of 'antiquus.'

'Non enim' inquit Aper 'inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari: sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis. ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres et olim natos intellego, et mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor quorum aetas mille fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit: vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut *huic* utrique superstites essent. ex quo apparet non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem. quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur; si ad naturam saeculorum ac respe-

16. 2 movisti — *Lipsius* movistis — ω explicavit — EV. 5 cognitiones — EV. si — om. ACDV (measillud) *supra v.* E. istud — AB *Ms.* 11 ipsum . . . manifestu — B. 15 ac — B. 17 ista — *om.* D. 18 et — *scripsi* ac — ω. 19 ac — AB et — ω Nestor — A Menestor — C Mnestor — V. (ł Mn) 20 antededit — D caedit — C. 21 Hypericlē — B. proferatis — B. 22* huic — *ins. Vahlen, Bs.* [ita — essent] — *del. Polle.* 23* trecentos — ω *Ms. Wf.* quadringentos — *Lipsius, rell. edd.* 25 inferas — D. 26 videtur — C. sed ad — *Baehrens.* 29 siderum —

ctum inmensi huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est. nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus quo eadem positio caeli siderumque, quae cum maxime est, rursus existet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum duodecim milia nongentos quinquaginta quattuor complectitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno quo nos sed *etiam* eodem mense extitisse.

17. Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere *v*oletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messallam: quos quid antiquis potius temporibus adscribatis quam nostris, non video. nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimo idus *Decembres* occisus est, quo anno Divus Augustus in locum Pansae et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. statue *sex* et quinquaginta annos quibus mox Divus Augustus rem publicam rexit; adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos,

Usener numerum saeculorum — *Baehrens** respectum — *ω Hm. Bs. Wf. And.* respectu — *Spengel, Ms. Np. Pt. Ml.* 27 totius aevi — *coni. Michaelis.* 28 animus — D. 30 rursus — *Wölfflin* rursum — *ω.* existit — *malim.* 31 XIIDCCCCLIIII — *Nic. Loensis.* $\text{XII}^{M}\text{VCC}^{tos}\text{LIIII}$ — A. $\text{XII}^{M}\text{VIII}^{C}\text{LIIII}$ — B. $\overset{m}{\text{XII}}\text{dCCC}^{tos}\text{LIIII}^{or}$ — C. $\overset{m}{\text{XII}}\text{d CCCLIIII}^{or}$ — D duodecim milia octingentos quinquaginta quattuor — EV. 32* princeps ille D. extitit — *Cornelissen* convincitur — *Baehrens* sequitur — *Novák.* vester — BCEVΔ videtur — AD [vester] *incl. Halm. Post* fingitis — B *add.* videturque. 33 etiam — *emend. Michaelis.* fama — AB (*corr.* fere) CD et fama sed — EV sed fere — *Put.* ferme — *Bekker* sed iam — *Baehrens.* modo — C. die — *Pithoeus.*

17. 1 sed — *del. Beck ap. Baehrens.* Menenium — b E *in marg.* me nimium — *ω.* 3* voletis — *Kleiber, Wf.* soletis — *ω.* 4 Coelium — B Calium — E alium — *ω.* 5 quid [ita] — *add. Baehrens.* potius t. — B *Wf. Ml. And.* t. potius — *ω.* adscribitis — CD. ipse — CDΔ. 7 scribit — *Andresen, Hm.* 8 Decembres — *add. Lipsius. lacunam indicant* b CDΔ. divus — *om.* C. 10 sex — *corr. Lipsius* novem — *ω* septem — *Steiner.* 12 Gay — V Cai — ACD Caii — BE. 13 illum

atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet. centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas. nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem, qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. ita si eum, qui armatus C. Caesari restitit, vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, aeque idem et Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes qui se a Divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse; [nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit,] ne dividatis saeculum et antiquos ac veteres vocitetis oratores quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.

EV ipsum CDΔ istum — AB *Ms.* unum et longum — *Baehrens* longum et durum — *Cornelissen.* 14* sex iam, tam — *Schele* sex iam — *Spengel* VIIII tam — *Sauppe* secutam iam — *Schulting* septimam — *Urlichs* sexennem iam — *Meiser* VII iam — *coni. Michaelis* sextum iam . . . [principatus] stationis — *scripsit Baehrens.* sextam iam — *delendum censuit Andresen* (*ad Nipp. Ann.*[9] *p.* 7). quo — *Steiner*, (*Weissenborn*) *Hm. Wf.* qua — *ω.* 15 centum et viginti — CD centum et decem — *ω.* 16 id est unius — *Schopen*, fortasse recte. 17* fatebatur — CEVΔ *Bs.* 18 ei — EV et — *ω.* *Britanni — *Ernesti*, *Hm. Wf. And.* Britannis — *ed. Bipont. Np. Ml.* Britanni et — *Baehrens.* 20 essent — *coni. Vahlen ap. Binde p. 12.* itaque — *Baehrens.* 21* aeque idem — *Nissen* (*Spengel*) *Ms. Np. Pt. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* et quidem — *ω* idem — *Rhenanus* ecce idem — *Steuding.* et C. quidem — *Meiser*, *Bs.* is quidem — *Vahlen ap. Binde p. 32.* et — *om.* B. ecquid idem — Iohn. 24 quoque — *del. Andresen.* 26* [nam — duravit] *inclusi.* Asinius . . Corvinus — *transp. Borghesi, edd.* extremum *pro* medium — *coni. Nipperdey, Nk.* 27 [itaque] ne — *add. Deiter* ne igitur — *Boetticher.* 28 ac recentes — *Eckstein*, *Ms. Np. Pt.* vocitetis — CDΔ *Bs. Hm. Ml.* vocetis — ABEV.

(*b.*) Criticism of the Republican orators.

18. Haec ideo praedixi, ut si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Carboni quosque alios merito antiquos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes et quos utinam nulla parte *miratus* esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo, si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. nec quaero quis disertissimus: hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque, quos vocatis antiquos, plures species deprehendi nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. num dubitamus inventos qui *Porcio* Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed super modum exsultans et superfluens et parum Atticus videretur. legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et

18. 1 nec ideo — D. 2 eam — *corr. Halm* eandem — ω. 3 Sergio — B. *aut C. [Laelio aut C.] Carboni — *ins. Ritter, edd. plerique* Galbae, Caio(!) Laelio et Carboni — *Schulting.* 5 nulla — ADV in nulla — Δ in ulla — BE in illa — C ne in illa — *Muretus* nulla a parte — *H. Schütz* non ulla parte — *Baehrens.* 6* miratus — *emendavi* imitatus — ω per te immitatus — D. Calvius — A. 7 illud — ω istud — AB *Ms.* 11 nitidior — *coni. Michaelis.* 14 in — *om.* ω *add. supra vers.* B in iis — *Baehrens.* 17* Porcio Catone — *ed. Bipont.* (*Helmreich*) pro — ω *Wf. del. Novák* prae — *Groslotius, Ms. Pt. Hm. Ml.* 18 magis — *del. Schurzfleisch, And.* probato iam Catone — *Baehrens.* 21* Atticus — *emend. Lipsius* (*Ursinus*) antiquus — ω. *Cf. eundem errorem in Varronis L. L. VI. 80, 1 ubi* atticum *pro* antiquum (*Victorius*) *legitur in libris.* videtur — CDΔ.

aridum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam f r a c t u m atque e l u m b e m. si me interrogas, omnes [mihi] videntur verum dixisse: sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

19. Nam quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut terminum antiquitatis constituere solent, qui usque ad Cassium *Severum* . . . . † quem reum faciunt, quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab ista vetere [atque directa] dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad *aliud* dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. vidit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. facile perferebat prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, impe*d*itissimarum orationum spatia atque id ipsum laudabat, si

24* aridum — *Schulting* attritum — ω *Np.* ocisum — D concisum — *Schele.* deiunctum — B divinctum — D disiunctum — Δ discinctum — *Rutgersius.* 25 "quidem a Calvo" — B. quidem autem — AB *sed* b quidem *delevit.* 27 et el. — E. interrogas — CD (*cf. Sen. Ep.* 100,$_4$) interroges — ω *edd.* mihi — *malim*
mihi
abesse omnes mihi — ω mihi omnes — V (*i. e.* omnes). 28 venias — A.
an
19. 1 unum velut — *coni. Ioh. Müller.* 2* qui usque — ω [qui] — B quem — *Put.* Severum — *Put.* quem reum — ω. Cassium [Severum eloquentiam aequali et uno tenore processisse statuunt Cassium] quem — *coni. Vahlen probante Halmio* [ut] usque ad [Cassium S. permansisse statuant eundem admirabilis eloquentiae tenorem equidem] Cassium quem — *Iohn* ad [extremum Tiberii principatum duravit] C. S. quem reum [novitatis] faciunt — *Novák* quod eam usque ad C. S. pertinere faciunt — *Haase.* qui usque ad *et* faciunt — *dell. Michaelis, Pt. Wf. And.* q. u. ad. *et* quem — *del. Baehrens* eam usque ad C. S. faciunt quem — *Ioh. Müller.* 4 ista — AB illa — CEV I — D. *[atque directa] — *inclusi.* directa dicendi — ω dicendi directa — B dicendi via directa — P *edd. vett.*
directa
Wopkens (*orta est v. l. ex* dicendi via) dicendi recta via — *Roth* derecta — *Baehrens.* 5 inscientia — *Baehrens.* *aliud — *Andresen, Np. Hm. Bs. Wf.* illud — ω. 7 cum *et* temporum — *om.* D. 8 ac — ω et — B. 9 iste — ω ille — CD. impeditissimarum — P (*Muretus*) imperitiss. — ω. 10 laudi dabatur — CEVΔ.

dicendo quis diem eximeret. iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narratio*num* alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus et quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur et ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur. nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. at hercule pervulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quisquam adsistat, quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure *et* legibus cognoscunt, nec accipiunt tempora sed constituunt, nec expectandum habent oratorem, dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

20. Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem? qualia sunt *omnia* fere principia Corvini. quis quinque in Verrem libros expectabit? quis de exceptione et formula perpetietur ista inmensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio

12 narrationum — *Spengel* narrationis — ω. repetitae — *Ritter* multorum — DΔ multa — *Spengel.* 14 aliud — *om.* D. Hermagore aredissis — D. et — *om.* C. percipitur — D. 15 erant — B odoratus — BEV adoratus — ω adortus — *Baeh-*
re
rens. videretur — B videtur — E videtur — ACDV. et — B atque — ω. 16 orationis — D. inserere — B. 17 ferebatur — BCD ferebantur — AEV. erant — B erat — ω erat [si] — D. 19 his iam — *Baehrens.* 20* cortina — ω *Hm. Np. Ml. And.* corona — *Ursinus* (*Muretus*) contione — *Helmreich.* vix *ante* quisquam *coll. Baehrens.* quin — *Muretus* qui — ω. 21 si non — *Acidalius.* et
iti
certe — C. 22 [ge] neribus — B. 23 vi — *om.* A. *sup. vers. add.* B. 24 et — CDEV *Bs.* aut — AB. 25 expectandum — CEV expectando — D expectantem AB. habet — D.

20. 2* omnia — *addidi.* 3 de — E *supra v.* B *om.* ω. expectabit — ABDE
b
expectavit — C expectavit — V. quibus — D. 4 perpetretur — D. ista — AB

aut Aulo Caecina legimus? praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem et nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum [in]vit*i*atus et corruptus est, aversatur [dicentem]. vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in iudiciis tristem et inpexam antiquitatem, quam si quis in scaena *Q.* Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid inlustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive *sensus* aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit, sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit. exig*i*tur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornatior extitit. neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae, quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. quid enim, si infirmiora horum temporum templa credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis extruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

Ms. illa — ω. 5 aut — ω et — B. dicentem — A b. 7* vitiatus — *emendavi vel* atque *pro* et. 8 adversatur — CDE. dicentem — *dell. Schele, edd. praeter Michaelem.* 9 "et vagus et" affluens — B. 11 scena — E $\overset{\text{t sc}}{\text{cena}}$ — A scenam — BCD caena — V coena — *Put.* *[Q.] Roscii — *ins. Boetticher, Ms. Bs.* aut *ante* Ambivii — *dell. Lipsius, edd.* [aut Ambivii] — *del. Ritter* aut Roscii — *Oberlin.* 13 et — *incl. Novák.* 14 nec — AB. audire — AB $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{adire}}$ — EV adire CD. 15 voluit — C. 16 et prov. — BC. 16 suis — *coni. Halm.* sensus — *Muretus* in suis — ω. 17 insignis effulsit locus sive exquisito — *Spengel* in subitis (*Markland*) color aliquis — *Baehrens.* effulxit — BD *sed* b *corr.* 18 exigitur — *Lipsius* $\overset{\text{t e}}{\text{exigetur}}$ — CΔ exercitur — AV exercetur — BDE exseritur — *Orelli.* enim — *om.* DΔ. 19 sermo — *Baehrens* Pacubii — B. inclinatus — Δ. 22 exficaces — A. 24 enim an — *Oberlin, Np.* nisi — *Osann* num — *Baehrens.* 25 lignis extr. — *Cornelissen.* 26 radiant — *Lat. Latinius.*

21. Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. nec unum de populo . . . † Canuti aut Atti de Furnio et Toranio *quosque* alios in eodem valetudinario *ob* haec ossa et hanc maciem probant: ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una *aut* altera oratiuncula satis facit. nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio video: quotus enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? at hercule in *omnium* studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinium *in*scribuntur ac praecipue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis, auribus iudicum adcommodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei, quo *minus* sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. quid? ex Caelianis

21. 1 fatebor — ω fateor — *Peter*. 2 anticorum — D. sonum — D. 3* *Locus corruptissimus nec adhuc probabiliter emendatus.* dicam — *ins. Michaelis* (*Steuding*), *Ml.* nominabo — *Nipperdey*, *Pt. Wf.* Atti memorabo nec dicam — *Haase And.* loquar uti — *Sillig* nec imo hi — *Ioh. Müller*. Canuti — b *Put.* Ganuti — ACEV sanuti — B f'anuti — D. Atti — ABCD Acti — E Arti — V Aride Furnio — b *Put.* Furnio et Coranio (Toranio B) — ω furno et coramoque alios — V Canutium aut Arrium (*vel* Atticum) vel Furnios et Toranios — *Nipperdey praeeunte Gronovio*, *Ms. Wf.* nec unus de p. Canuti aut Arrii et Furnii — *Ruperti* p. non Canutii aut Arrii deformitatemque memorabo — *Ritter* nec nunc Canuti aut Atti de Furnio . . . quosque habitos — *F. Schoentag* proferam neque imitari iudicia volo Canuti aut Atti de Furnio — *Vahlen* p. Canuti aut Arrii similem dico, ne quid loquar de Furnio et Toranio — *Iohn* populo comiti aut Atticum de foro et corona nominabo quique alios — *Philipp* Canutios aut Attios, Furnios et Toranios quique alios . . . exprobant — *Heller*. 4 quosque alios — *Acidalius*, *Np. Hm. Ml.* alios — CDΔ que alios — EV quique alios — AB *Put.* quique alii — *Lipsius*, *Pt. Wf. And.* quique alti — *Muretus* aliosque qui — *Michaelis* quos in — *Baehrens*. esse *ante* haec *vel post* alios — *coni. Halm* [ob] haec — *ins. Vahlen* haec macies — *Gronovius*, *Np. Bs. Hm.* produnt — *Acidalius*, *Ms. And.* praebent — *Ritter* praeferunt — *Wolff* locant — *Novák*. 6 aut — *Put. Bs. Wf.* et — ω. 8 ista — *post* Calvi *ins. Schulting*. accusationes *e versu* 9 *huc transposuit Brotier*. [libros] legit — *add. Ritter*. 9 hercule — CDEV hercle — AB. omnium — *Acidalius* hominum — ω. 10 inscribuntur — *Lipsius* scribuntur — C (-mscribuntur) conscribuntur — ω. iis — B. 11 [et] verbis — *add. Andresen fortasse recte.* 13 quo minus — *Halm*, *Ml. And.* quo — ω quin — *Put.* Coelianis — B Cella-

orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universa*e* *sive* parte*s* *earum* in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. sordes autem illae verborum et hians compositio et inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto, ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. concedamus sane C. Caesari, ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit, quam divinum eius ingenium postulabat, tam hercule quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus; nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores eius fatentur: nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse. Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam *in* orationibus suis expressit; adeo durus et siccus est. oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor com-

niis — D. 14 et vires — E. 15 nonne eae — *Heumann.* ea — V ex — D. sive universae sive partes earum — *Pithoeus* sive universa parte serum — *ω* si non universae at partes earum — *Acidalius.* 17* illae — CEVΔ reliquae — *Sorof, fortasse recte* regule — ABD *om. Put. Np.* rubigoque — *Ritter* reiculae — *Ribbeck* et maculae — *Meiser* hercule — *Ribbeck olim, And.* rerum et — *coni. Michaelis* foetidae *vel* putidae — *coni. Halm.* 18 reddent — CΔ redent — D (*i. e.* d=ol). 21 minus — *om.* C. eloquentiam — DΔ eloquentia iam — *coni. Baehrens.* 22 quae — C. pollebat — *Mähly.* hercule — CDEV hercle — AB. 24 minorem esse — *om.* D. sisi — C. nec fere — *Gronovius* si forte — *Bezzenberger* num f. — *Classen* nec ferme — *Baehrens* nec enim — *Novdk.* 26 teporis — *Lipsius* temporis — *ω* torporis — *Schele.* qui *del. Petersen.* 27 mirantur — B *Roth.* 29 qui — AB *corr.* b. illos — *ω* istos — AB *Ms.* 30 temporibus — *bis scripsit* A. *om* P. 31 Actium — C Appium (tt *above*) — D. 32* solum [in] — *add. Ritter, Hm.* etiam [in]

mendat. nolo Corvinum insequi, quia nec per ipsum stetit, quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret, *videmus enim* quam iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

(c) Of Cicero in particular.

22. Ad Ciceronem venio cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis eiusdem aetatis oratores praecurrit quam iudicio. primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus, quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. nam priores eius orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus *a*pte . . . . cum quodam lumine terminantur. nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries *est* et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem

addidi. 36 exuritoris — D. rubor — B rubore — ω. tingit — *Schulting.* decor (um) — D decore — *Lipsius.* 37 nec — AB non — ω (*i. e.* n̄.). stetit — *om.* D.

39* videmus enim (*Baehrens*) quam — *Iohn, Wf.* viderimus inquam quam (Iq̄ᵐ — ABCDΔ in quantum — EV quam — b) — ω. et videmus, in quantum — *Acidalius, Ms. Pt. Hm. Bs. Ml. And.* viderimus an — *Muretus* stetisse videmus in quantum suffecit — *Freinsheim* uberrimus in quantum suffecit — *Heumann, Np.* vis — *om.* C. *prius* aut — *om.* E.

22. 4* eiusdem aetatis oratores — ω *Bs.* orat. aet. eiusd. — AB *edd.* (*i. e.* eiusdem aetatis oratores). 5 ex verbis — B. dilectum — *Halm.* 6 locosque — B. lectiores — b Δ latiores — *Put. s. v. corr.* B *vel* b. 8* senior iam — ω *Haase, Bs.* iam senior — AB *edd.* 9 usu[que] — *incl. Knaut.* 10 esset — E est — ω. 13* apte et — *Acidalius* opt. et — A *Put.* opt. . . . et — B optet — CV opti et — D optet . . . E apte numeroseque — *Schurzfleisch* apte cadunt et — *Michaelis* apte et ut oportet — *Vahlen* apte cadunt et ut oportet cum — *conieci.* 14 est velut — *Baehrens.* 15 paries est et — *emendavi.* 16 splendidus — D. 17 laudatum

ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectili quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius li*b*eat. quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et *obsoleta*: nullum sit verbum vel*ut* rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23. Nolo inridere rotam Fortunae et ius verrinum et istud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum esse videatur. nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores voc*it*ant. neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus: sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt, oderunt, Calvi mirantur. quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non au-

— ω *corr. Lipsius.* tantum eo — AB 18 imbrem — *om.* D tectum — B *sed corr.* 19 supellectili — CDΔ supellectile — ABEV. 21 et — AB. ut — ω *Bs. fortasse recte.* libeat — *R. Agricola* liceat — ω. 22 arceantur — *Lipsius,* arcentur — ω arcentor — *Baehrens.* *obsoleta — *emendavi, Wf.* olentia — ω exoleta — *Acidalius* [antiquitatem] olentia — *add. Andresen* situm — *ins. Th. Vogel* sordentia — *coni. Baehrens* insolentia — *Cornelissen.* ut nullum — D. 23 vel — ω *corr. Rhenanus.* quod — B *sed corr.* vel sorde vel — *coni. Ritter.* 24 fugitet — ABEV fugiet — CD. 26 terminet — *Lipsius, Bs.*

23. 1 Vetrinum — AB. 2 istud — A *Ms.* illud — ω. 3 invitus — *corr.* B *ex* invitatus — ω. 4 imitantur — *Knaut* (*Cornelissen*). 5 vocitant — *Schurzfleisch* vocabant — ω vocant — *Lipsius, edd.* 7 illi — *Halm.* 8 Aufidi — E Aufidii — V (*corr. ex* tui *vel* cui fidi) tui fidi — ABC cui fidi — D. 10 oratorum nostrorum — *Valmaggi.* oderunt — *dell. Heumann, Np. Pt. Hm. Ml. And.* et oderunt — B *Bs. Wf.* L. Aeli — *coni. Nipperdey* Clodi et Aeli — *Urlichs* Valgi — *Baehrens.*

ditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti istam ipsam quam iactant sanitatem *non* firmitate, sed ieiunio consequuntur. porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae animi anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse: fortem et laetum et alacrem volo. prope abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur. vos vero, *viri* disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. nam et te, Messalla, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, *ea*, quotiens causa poscit, ubertas, ea, quotiens permittit, brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis, ut, etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri.'

Comments of Maternus on Aper's Speech.

24. Quae cum Aper dixisset, 'adgnoscitisne' inquit Maternus 'vim et ardorem Apri nostri? quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! ˙quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos incesseret! tuum tamen, Messalla, promissum inmutasse non debet. neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quem-

12 adit — *Baehrens.* vix etiam — D. 13 istam — AB *Ms.* illam — ω. 14 non firmitate — *Acidalius* infirmitatem — CDEV infirmitatemque — AB non firmitate quadam — *Ritter* non f. neque sanguine sed — *E. Thomas.* ieiuno — D. consequentur — C (-ter D) consequontur — *Ribbeck, Bs.* 15 a nimia — *Groslotius*, nimia — *Schulze, Hm. Bs.* cum — *coni. Michaelis.* 16 nonnisi — *Iohn.* 17 proprie — CD propie Δ. est ab — EV. solo — B. 18 viri — *add. Acidalius.* potestis ut facitis illustrare — *coni. Andresen.* 19 illustre — EV. 20 lectissima — b *Rhenanus.* 23 rerum et ω *corr. Wopkens.* postulat — D permittit — E permittitur — ω. 24 planitas (e above a) — B plenitas — D sanitas — *Lipsius* gravitas — *Schulting* claritas — *Cornelissen.* est — *om.* P *fortasse recte.*

24. 5 illis — *Halm.* 6 incessere tuum — DΔ. 8 nostrum — *Acidalius*

quam nostr*um*, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a ***veteribus*** philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit.'

Messalla's Answer to Aper's Criticisms.

25. Tum Messalla: 'sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur quos satis constat ante centum annos fuisse. mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est; sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisse; ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno, si cominus

nostrorum — ω nostrorum defensorum — D n. temporum — *coni. Halm.* laudati quos — *om.* CDΔ. 9 comperatus est Aper comparamus — D. 10* veteribus — *Nipperdey, Ms.* nr̃s (*i. e.* nostris) — AB *Pt. Hm. Ml. Wf.* vestris — CDEV *Bs. dell. Muretus, And.* vetere — *Ritter cf. Sirker, p. 36.* veteri — ω *Ms. Pt. Bs.* 12 illos — ω istos — AB *Ms.* sua fama — *Baehrens.* 13 in tantum — CDEV *Bs.* tantum — AB. recesserimus — DEV recessimus — C recessimus^{eri} — AB. 14 centum tantum et — *coni. Halm.* 15 effici — *del. Roersch* efficiat — *Baehrens.* ratione — *Schulting.* collegerit — ABEV colligitur — CDΔ *del. Baehrens.*

25. 1 praescriptum et — VΔ perscriptam et — C et perscriptam — E. 3 proprie parum proprie — D. 4 constaret — CEΔ constare — V. intra centum — *Muretus.* 5 illos — ω istos — AB *Ms.* 6 alio quo — C. 7 *ex* istorum *corr.* B. 8* cominus (comminus) fatetur — ω fatear — E quominus fatear — V quominus fatetur — b *Put.* quin omnes fatemur — *Acidalius* quominus fateamur — *Huet* quatenus fatetur — *Heumann* qua omnino fatetur — *Schulze* cominus si fatetur — *Pabst, Bs.* qua in commune — *Boetticher* si comminans — *Nissen probante Vahlen* qua non sine conviciis — *Haase* quominus faveatur — *Knaut* [si] quominus fatear — *Halm olim, Ms.* qua quasi convictus — *idem* qua scilicet cominus acturus — *R. Schöll* ubi si commeminimus — *Ribbeck* si cum omnibus fatetur — *Peter* eo minus si — *Steuding* qua quasi cominus nisus fatetur — *Ioh. Müller, Wf. And.* qua fatetur — *Novák* si invitus fatetur — *Heller.* 9 hisdem —

fatetur plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis extitisse. sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium *tamen* concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic *et* apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. nec refert quod inter se specie differ*unt*, cum genere consentiant. adstrictior Calvus, nervosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero: omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae *prae se* ferunt, ut, si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris, scias, quamvis in diversis ingeniis, esse quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. nam quod invicem se obtrectaverunt et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium sed hominum. nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo solitos et invidere et livore et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici: solum inter hos arbitror *Brutum* non malignitate nec invidia sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse. an ille Ciceroni

EV. 11 autem — *dell. Ritter, edd.* inde — *ins. Steuding.* 12 Hypericles — B. et Lysias — *incll. Usener, Np. Bs. at cf. Quint. X, 1, 76.* *tamen — *emendavi* autem — ω. 13 sic et — *Baehrens* sicut — ω sic — b *Put.* 14 disertos — *om.* D. 15 autem — *om.* D Coelius — B Caecilius — D. si iure — b (*i. e.* Brutusiure) si vere — ω (*cf.* $10,_{28}$). sic iure — *Put.* suo iure — *ed. Francof. 1542 (Lipsius), Ms.* et *post* iure — *om.* D. 17 differunt — *Halm* differant — ω. at strictior — ω *corr. Acidalius.* sit strictior — *Meiser, Bs.* 18* nũosior — A *i. e.* nervosior (*Meiser, Steuding, Wf.*) *vel* numerosior — ω venosior — *Baehrens.* Caesar et — D. Coelius — B. 19 valentior *et* . . . vehementior — *transp.* E. 20 sanctitatem — ω *corr. Rhenanus.* *prae se — *add. Andresen, Hm. Ml.* praeferunt — *Acidalius, Np. Pt. Wf. Nk.* servant — *Baehrens.* 21 scias — B sciam — ω scientia — V. 23 cogitationem — ω *corr. Beroaldus.* se — *dell. Nipperdey, Ms. Bs. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* 24 ex — *del. Acidalius.* 26 et invidere — *dell. Nipperdey, Ms. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* et invicem livere — *Baehrens.* 27* livore — *Ritter.* vitiis — *om.* D. virtus — V. 28 Brutum — *Put.* utrum — ω verum — B. 28 [detrectasse] sed —

invideret qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet et si quos alios antiquiorum *Aper* agitare non destitit, *id* non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26. Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orat*ionem* vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercule ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur, ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant. quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos. unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens sicut † his . . .

add. Ribbeck. 29 decessisse — C. 30 invidere — D in invideret — V. 31 Sergium — B. C. Caelium — C. *C. Carbonem — *add. Classen.* antiquiorum — *P. Voss* antiquorum — *ω Ms. Pt.* 32* Aper — *ins. idem. And. Wf.* desistit — *Beroaldus.* id — *hic vel post* exigit *excidisse coni. Huet* (*Ruperti*). exigo — *Heumann* exigunt — *Boetticher* (*Novák*). 33 nec — *om.* C.

26. 1 optimo — *Put.* opino — *ω.* 2 eligendi — D. hercule — EV hercle — *ω edd.* 3 duritatem — *Knaut.* 4 orationem — *Pichena* (*Andresen*), *Pt. Hm. Ml. Wf.* oratorem — *ω Ms.* 5 hirtam togam . . . insigniri — *Haupt, Np.* oratorem se . . . insignire — *F. Polle* (*Baehrens*). 7 quoquo — D. a[u]tores — B auctores — A oratores — *Ritter.* 8 utimur — D. lasciva — D. 10 debebat — *Muretus, Np.* debet — *Baehrens.* plerique — *del. Novák.* 12* *Locus corruptissimus et insanabilis* sicut his — ABCD hisdam . . . et — E hisdam et — V cla-et — ACDΔ clamet — B *Put.* dam. . . . et — E. sicut his clam-et — *del. Nipperdey* frequens quibusdam — *Rhenanus, Hm.* sicut scitis laus et — *Orelli* clausula et — *Dryander* sicut his placet — *Steuding* sicut scitis audientium clausula — *Teuffel* saeculi huius — *Haase* (*Ribbeck*) ut sic dixerim — *Schopen* sicut scitis clausula — *Michaelis* sicut histrionum clausula — *Peter* frequens si dis placet exclamatio — *Andresen* sicut quivis clamet, excl. — *Vahlen* singultibus clausula et excl. — *Knaut* si cui quis placet — *Gericke* sicut scitis faventium — *coni. Halm* si mollis clausula — *Baehrens* frequens circulis scholarum excl. — *Ioh. Müller Ex* ut illis sicut his histrionibus clametur *corruptelam*

cla . . . et ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus *bilis* habeat quam sanguinis. primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat sed rixatur. ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. ego autem expectabam, ut incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret, pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus. *nunc* detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi et in publicum et in commune, veritus credo, ne multos offenderet, si paucos excerpsisset. quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum? at ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis adpareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

ortam esse coni. Iohn frequentissima iam est, exclamatio — *Heller.* 13 nostri — *del. Novák.* temere — ω *corr. Lipsius.* 15 quemquem — D. nominare Aper noster — E. 16 posse — CDEV pos×se — B post se — A. 17* bilis — *Wopkens.* vis — ω *Pt.* ius — V puris — *Schurzfleisch* viri — *Lünemann, Ms.* fellis — *Peerlkamp* suci — *A. Schöne* carnis — *Meiser* salis — *Ribbeck.* 19 incompositis — D in compositiis — V. studio — E studiis — ω. 20* detectus — *Lipsius* (*Heller*) *fortasse recte* devectus — CD disiectus — *Ribbeck* devinctus — *Cornelissen* defectus — *coni. Baehrens, del. Novák.* 21 comparatus — *om.* D. 22 multum *ex* multos — *corr.* B. cunctos — *Baehrens.* 23 vult — AB *sed* b *corr.* 24 incusato — CEVΔ in Curato — A incurato — BD. 25 plerisque — CDΔ. 26 certo — A *post* Ciceroni *Spengel add.* alium Bruto. 27 denique — *F. Polle.* nunc — V (*Rhenanus*) non — ω. 29 in comune — DE in omne (*ortum est ex* cū) in — *del. Baehrens.* in publicum — *del. Novák.* veritum — ω *corr. Lipsius.* 30 laederet — B *fortasse recte.* excepisset — *Pithoeus.* 31 in hac — E. sua — *del. Novák.* 32* etsi plane — *R. Schöll, Hm.* etsi sit — *Baehrens.* 34 fracta — B freta — ω.

27. 'Parce' inquit Maternus 'et potius exsolve promissum. neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus, quas te solitum tractare *dixisti*, paulo ante plane mitior *et* eloquentiae temporum nostrorum *minus* iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiores tuos lacessendo.'

Maternus requests the speaker not to digress from the subject under discussion.

'Non sum' inquit 'offensus Apri *mei* disputatione nec vos offendi decebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre.'

'Perge' inquit Maternus 'et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, *a* qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.

28. Et Messalla 'non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam

Speech of Messalla on the Causes of the Decline of Oratory.

t aparte

27. 1 parce — *Andresen, Wf.* aparte — DΔ aperte — E apparate — AC apparate — B appareat — V appropera — *Put.* (*Ortum est mendum ex scriptura continua:* eloquentiaparce) appropera . . . et otius — *Acidalius* apparet sed — *Urlichs* at parce iis — *coni. Michaelis, Pt.* at paca te — *Jansen* a parce — *Usener, Bs.* at parce — *Halm* operae parce — *Ioh. Müller.* 2 et enim — C. haec — ABD. *cf.* $3,_{11}$. 3 quos — E. me quidem — B equidem — ω *Ms.* 4 dixisti — *e quodam libro* (?) *post* tractare — *ins. Lipsius, Hm.* ante dixisti, tum quidem plane — *Haase, Pt. Ml. And.* p. a. d. cum esses — *Schopen.* profitebaris — *Ribbeck* pollicitus es — *Baehrens* dicebas — *malim.* mitior et eloquentiae — *Schele* mitiore eloquentia et — ω placido dixisti ore eloquentiae — *Knaut* miti ore eloquentiaque — *Baehrens.* 5 minus iratus — *Nissen* (*Weissenborn*) miratus iratus — ω minime iratus — *Seebode, Bs.* non ita iratus — *Schopen* nec eloquentiae . . . iratus — *Novák.* 6 incessendo — *Heumann* (*Schulting*), *Bs.* istos — *Schulting.* 7* Apri mei — *Schurzfleisch, Bs. Wf.* a prima — ω Aprina — *Lipsius* A. nostri — *Gronovius, Pt. And.* A. illa — *Sillig, Ms. Np.* Apri disp. — *Orelli* (*Vahlen*), *Hm. Ml.* A. acerrima — *Knaut.* nec vos — *Put. Ms. Np. Hm. Wf.* nam nec — CEV *Pt.* nam et — ABD et vos . . . dedecebit — *Nolte* nec mea vos — *Andresen* nec iam — *coni. Halm, Bs.* nam et vos non — *Vahlen ap. Binde p. 15.* magis A. disp. quam et vos — *Ioh. Müller.* 8 perstringat — AB perstringit — ω *Bs.* perstringet — *Lipsius.* 10 cum affectu — *Mähly.* 11 et cum — ω cum — ABD *Ms.* 12 a — *add.* b.

tū (tum)

28. 1* Et — CDE *Ms. Pt. Bs.* [qui] — B *Np. Ml. Wf. And.* qui — A *om.* V. cui — *Halm.* 2 ignoras — D. *etiam si — ω et enim iam — *Acidalius, Np.* sed

si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab illa vetere gloria non inopia hominum, sed desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant. quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar quae natos statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero. *nam* pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cellula emptae nutricis sed *in* gremio ac sinu matris educabatur cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis. *Aut* eligebatur maior aliqua natu propinqua cuius probatis spectatisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. ac non studia modo curasque sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. sic Corneliam Grac-

On the Education of Children.

tamen dicam — *Ritschl, And.* et iam — *Ruperti* sed enim aperiam si — *Ribbeck* et enim . . . quis iam ignoret — *Knaut* sed iam mihi — *Baehrens* sed aperiam si mihi — *L. Traube.* 5* ingeniorum — *Fr. Jacob* temporum — *Steuding* nominum — *Ribbeck* praemiorum — *Helmreich, Wf.* honorum — *Baehrens* aptorum hominum — *Novák.* magistrorum — *conieci.* 6 ignorantia — D. 8 in — BE *om.* ω ad — *coni. Baehrens.* 9* his — ω iis — B huic — *Huet* huius — *Spengel, Ms. Bs. Hm.* eius — *Meiser, Np.* urbis — *Weinkauff* urbis huius — *Novák.* 11 de — b *Put.* a — ω. 12 contra — D. 13 nam — *Weissenborn* iam — ω iam primum — *Rhenanus* tum quidem — *Meiser.* suis — DV. 14 cella (*i. e.* cellula) — D *Bs. Wf. And.* cellam — ω cella — *Put.* in — *add. Andresen, Np. Bs.* 15 educabatur — b CDEV educabitur — AB. erat — ω erit — ABD. 16* aut elig. — *Meiser, Bs. Wf.* elig. autem — ω etiam — *R. Schöll* saltem — *Ribbeck.* *Post* liberis *Bernhardy transposuit* 19 ac . . . 23 accepimus. *Sauppe* 21 sic . . . 23 accepimus. Vulgo *vel saepe post* autem *excidisse putat Michaelis.* 18 qu[i]a — C quia — VΔ quibus — *Baehrens.* dicere — E *Put.* di×cere — B discere — ACDV. 19 aut facere — E facere — *om.* D. dictu *et* factu *transp. Peerlkamp fortasse recte. Ante* ac *lacunam statuit Bernhardy.* ac mater vero — *coni. Michaelis.* haec non — *Muretus.* 20 lusus — D (quepue) *[mater] puerorum — *add. Peter.*

chorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic A*ti*am Augusti [matrem] praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas, et sive ad militarem rem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

29. At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus. horum fabulis et erroribus [et] virides statim et teneri [rudes] animi imbuuntur; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet, quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. quin etiam ipsi parentes *non* probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt sed lasciviae et dicacitati per quae paulatim impudentia inrepit [et sui alienique contemptus]. iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam

21 temperabant — *Baehrens.* 22 Atiam — *Ernesti* Acciam — ω actiam — B matrem — *dell. Sauppe, Np. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* 25 et [in] — *del. Rhenanus.* 26 statim toto — D. arripere — V acciperet — *Nettleship.* *militarem rem —
rem
coni. Halm. rem militarem — ω rem — *om.* AB (*i. e.* militarem).

29. 1 ac — D atque — V. 4 et moribus — *discipulus quidam Classeni* amoribus — *Ritter* sermonibus — *Cornelissen.* *virides . . . et teneri — *scripsi* et virides teneri — AB et virides — *del.* b. *om. Put.* et viles C (ad vires — c) et vires — DΔ et vides — VE² *in lacuna* rudes — ω virides . . . et rudes — *Knaut, Wf.* et vitiis r. s. et t. — *Eckstein, Ms. Pt.* [et virides] — *dell. Halm dittographiam verborum* et rudes *statuens, Np. Bs. Ml.* 6 domino dicat — D ipsi quin etiam — *malim.* 7 non — *Vahlen, Hm. Bs. Wf. And.* nec — B *Pt. Ml.* nec [im]probitate — C
t nec nec
improbitati — A improbitati — D improbitati — EVΔ. 8 dicacitati — b. bibacitati — ω libertati — *Put.* vivacitati — *Rutgersius.* *[et . . contemptus] — *secludendum censeo.* 9 alienorumque — *Heumann, Bs.* ista vero — *coni. Michaelis.* pecularia — V. 11 histronalis — DΔ. quibus [si] — *add. Baehrens.* 13 relin-

aliud loquatur? quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? nec praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

On the Education of the Orator.

30. Transeo prima discentium elementa in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. sed expetuntur quos r h e t o r a s vocant; quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, [de curiis] . . . referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis

quitur — CDΔ. invenires — AB [iuvenum] invenies — *add. Andresen.* 15 nec — ω *Wf.* ne — E. 16 ullas quidem — B. ille crebris — D.

30. 3 notitia *corr.* BE *ex* notitiam — ω. 4 insumere — C. 5 vocant — t vocant CEVΔ vocatis — AB vocatis — D. 6 est quam — *Usener, Np. Pt. Bs.* 7* de curiis — ω (decurriens — E). *Reliquias esse glossematis* 'de curis antiquorum oratorum' *perspexit Helmreich, cf.* c. 30 *ad fin:* de officio oratoris — B *in marg. Germ.* 21,14. dicam prius — *Acidalius* statim dicturus (*Gronovius, And.*) prius — *Halm, Np. Wf.* decursurus — *Vahlen* satis declaraturus — *Peter* securus statim — *Meiser, Bs.* non latius dicturus — *Nipperdey olim* est alienum decurrere — *Knaut* iam non persecuturus — *coni. Michaelis* nunc ref. — *Ritter.* 8 qua usos — B quo ausos — ACEV anos — D [nros] eos — D. 10 exercitationes — EV b exercitationis — ABCD. 11 vobis — *Rhenanus* nobis — ω utique nobis — D. 14 refert — b referre — ω. sese — *Baehrens.* 15 Diodotum — CV Diodorum — ABDE. 16 his — CEV. 17 copiam — C (copiamurbe) in urbe — *om.* D.

doctoribus contentum quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet, non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius artis ingenuae scientiam ei defuisse. ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. ita est enim, optimi viri, ita *est:* ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque orat*io*nis vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31. Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut [in] iis artibus pectus implerent in quibus de bonis et malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta [ad dicendum] materia. nam in iudiciis fere de

19 hercule — CDEV hercle — AB. et in — EV. 20 licet *ex* dicet *corr.* D. geometrice — DV. 21 ingenuae — *abesse malim* ingenuae artis — CDEV artis ingenuae ingenuae — AB *edd.* (*i. e.* artis). 22 dialecticae — C (dialetice — BDEV dyaletice — A). iste — AB sed ll *in litura.* 23 iste rerum — AB (*sed* b *corr.*). ortus — *Peerlkamp.* cognoverit — D. 24 est — *addidi* (*cf. Cic. Verr.* II. 4, 52, 117). 25 ista — AB *Ms.* 26* orationis — *Goelzer, Wf.* oratoris — ω oratoria — *Ioh. Müller.* *sicut [scientia] — *ins. Knaut* sicut — *del. R. Schöll* sicut cet. rer. — *del. Steuding* certarum rerum — *Nipperdey* s. ceterae artes, certarum rerum — *Andresen* s. artificum ceterarum rerum — *Baehrens.* 27 angustiis — DΔ. clauditur — E. 28 ornate quid orator et — C. *In margine minio pictum* Quid sit oratoris proprium — C de officio oratoris — B *in marg.*

31. 1 hoc — CEV hec — ABD hec efficiẽda — D. 2 rhetoris scolis — D. 3 accidentibus — E. 4 exercerent — BEV exercent — ACDΔ. in — *om. Put.* iis — C his — ω (hiis—D). 5* implorent—C. et (*pro* ac)—D. honesti—D. 6 enim est—AB est enim—CDEV. 7* ad dicendum—*delendum censeo* subiecta ad

aequitate, in deliberationibus *de utilitate*, *in laudationibus* de honestate disserimus, *sed* ita ut plerumque haec ipsa in vicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit quid ira, *et* promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. in his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum et, prout cuiusque natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos. dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; nec

ad dicendum
dic. — ω ad dic. subi. — E (oratori subiecta). oratori — *del. Novák.* 8* *supplevit Ursinus.* 9 [sed] ita — *add. Acidalius, Np. Bs. Ml. vel* ita tamen — *idem, Hm. And.* plerumque — *om.* C. haec ipsa — CDEV *Bs. Wf.* ipsa — *om.* AB. 10 misceant — D. 12 intellectum [habet] — *add. Schopen. post* et *ins. Pt. Hm. Ml.* nec . . nec AB neque . . neque CDEV *cf.* $31,_{31}$. 13 in — *om.* AB. *post* vitiis B *ins.* [cōtinetr]. illa — bCDEV ista — AB *Ms.* 15 ira — D ire (ae) — ω *Ms. Pt.* et — *add. Fr. Jacob, Bs. Hm. Ml. Wf.* (*cf.* $5,_{26}$). sit ira — *Lipsius, And.* ira sit — *Pithoeus, Np.* ad — CEVΔ et — ABD. 16 motus — D. 17 versatus — EV versatur — ω. 18 videntes — D. 19 hūit (*i. e.* habuerit) — D. *20 [causae] cuiusque — *ins. Andresen* postulaverit — CEVΔ *fortasse recte.* 21 omnem orationem — AB *sed corr.* B rationem — *Baehrens.* 23 fidei — *Put.* fidem — ω fide — *Sirker.* 24 proficiscet — V. 25* aequabilis — *Andresen, Np. Bs. Wf.* (*at cf. Quint.* III, $8,_{60}$, $9,_{2}$). oratio — *om.* D. 26 permovendos — CEV promovendos — AB commovedos — D. mutuabimus — A. apertos — C. 28 nę (= nec) — Δ ne — ω.

Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit oratori. neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum *comitem*, sed eum qui quasdam artes *h*aur*i*re, omnes lib*are* debet. ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur. incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32. Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere, ut ad tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. primum *enim* aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat, atque ubi minime credas, eminet et excellit. idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non

30 poscet — *Pithoeus*. 31 neque . . neque — ABD nec — CEVΔ. *comitem — *Vahlen*, *Hm. Wf.* c̃item — A civitatem — bCDEV *Ms.* artem — B civem aliquem — *Haase* civem — *Doederlein* divitem — *Urlichs* sectatorem — *I. Fischer* ne quem Stoicorum incitem — *Röhl* neque *et* civitatem — *del. Haupt* e St. civitate — *Peter* principem — *Steuding* ex St. mente *vel* secundum St. arbitratum (*vel* severitatem) — *coni. Michaelis* dialecticum — *Baehrens* aliquem — *Andresen* antistitem — *Ioh. Müller* artificem — *Heller*. 32 haurire — *Lipsius* audire — ω haurire, scire — *Baehrens* libare — *Bekker praeeunte Acidalio* liberaliter — ω libare leviter — *Sillig*, *Ms.* quas dicebam . . . liberaliter debet — *Andresen*. 33 civilis — *om.* B. comprehenderunt — D. 34 grammatice, musice et geometrice — ω *corr. Rhenanus* et — *del. Wesenberg* et musica — *Ritter*. *incidunt . . 37 requiritur — *incl. Andresen*, *Np.* 35 [in] quibus — *add. Meiser*, *Hm. Wf.* pleraeque — b *Rhenanus* plerumque — ω *Bs.* 36 in quibus — *del. Baehrens.* haec quoque — ω haec — AB, *Ms. And.* harum — *Schurzfleisch* haec aut illa — *Meiser* illa quoque — *Nordk.*
quiritur
reperitur — B.

32. 1 sufficere — E sufficeret — ω. 2 informe — *Put.* usu facile — *Michaelis* et commune — *coni. Baehrens.* *enim — *Rhenanus*, *Np. Hm. Ml. And.* autem — ω. 4 quisq. — CE. 6 credas enim et — V. 8 ut leg. *ex* aut *corr.* B aut — ω. actorem *ante* ut leg. — *ins. Baehrens.* 9 isse — C isse et — ABD isset —

posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo, nisi eum, qui tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. quod adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis, ut in actionibus eorum *huius* quoque cotidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vitia deprehendantur; ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius *suae* civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident. in paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine adparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. ego hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror, cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? et Cicero his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non *ex* rhetorum *officinis*, sed *ex* Academiae spatiis consecutum. sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam

EV. 10* alium — *And. olim, Pt. Bs. Wf.* nisi cum tamquam — *coni. Ioh. Müller.* 11 armis *et* artibus — *transp. Baehrens.* 13* vis — ADb ius — BCEV vix — *Put. corr. Halm, cf.* 10,$_{28}$. quorumviscunque — *Haupt* vilissima quaeque — *Roth* usquequaque — *Bezzenberger* quaevis — *coni. Andresen* act. iudiciisque — *Knaut* ipsius — *coni. Michaelis* humilis quoque — *Cornelissen* vilis — *Baehrens.* 14 reprehendantur — D. 15 non — CEV nec — ABD *Ms.* *suae — *inserui* ius civile dictis ultro — *Ribbeck* ius civile autem — *Baehrens.* 19 utque — CEVΔ. 22 mancipiis destituatur — *Ribbeck* ancillis — *Stangl* artibus — *coni. Baehrens.* *ego — AB *Ms. Pt. Wf. And.* ergo — CDEV (*cf.* v. l. *in Quint.* X 1,30) hanc ego — *malim.* 23 arbitror — CD *Put.* arbitratur — AEV arbitratus — B. 24 recessimus — B recenserimus — D *sed corr.* 27* *post* est *lacunam statuit Baehrens.* et apud nos Ciceronem qui his — *coni. Andresen, Novák.* 28* non [ex] . . . sed [ex] — *addidi* officinis — *ins. Haase. cf. Cic. Orat. 3,12:* non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse. non [in] — *add. Acidalius, Np.* 30 a vobis — b *edd.* 32 quos — *Pithoeus* quøsi — D quod — ω *Ms.* qui — *Put.*

meum munus explevi, et quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

Maternus requests Messalla to continue.

33. Et Maternus 'mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeò peregisse nondum videris, ut incohasse tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. nam quibus *artibus* instrui veteres oratores soliti sint, dixisti differentiamque nostrae desidiae et *in*scientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera expecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici, quid aut illi sci*eri*nt aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. neque enim *s*olum arte et scientia sed longe magis facultate et *usu* eloquentia*m* contineri, nec tu, puto, abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.'

Messalla complying, deals with the forensic exercises of the young orator.

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot tam varias *ac* reconditas res

33. 3 ac — ω et — E. 4 artibus — *add. Schopen* (*Teuffel*). sint — AC *ex* sunt — *corr.* BV sunt — DE. drāmque (*i. e.* differentiamque) D. 5 scientiae — ω *corr. Rhenanus.* 7 et — D quid — ABD quod — CEVΔ. scirent — ω *corr. Schurzfleisch* scirint — *Heinrich ad Iuv. 15,168.* 8 resciamus — C. 9* et iam — *Ernesti.* et *om. Schulze.* ingressuri — ABEV ingressi — CDΔ *Bs. fortasse recte.* conformare — *Cornelissen fortasse recte.* 10* solum — *Dronke, Ms. Bs. Pt. And.* dum — ω (d *ortum est ex* ol) *om. Put.* tantum — *Ritter, Hm. Ml. Wf.* tam — *Steiner.* scientia — CD inscientia — ABEV. 11 usu — *ins. Tyrwhitt.* experientia — *Baehrens.* et — *del. Rhenanus.* eloquentia — ω *corr. Rhenanus.* 12 ii — ω *om. Put.* 13 et — *om.* EV (*ex script. contin.*). 15 videtur — ω *corr.* B. *cf.* c. 11,16. 16 persequor — ω *corr.* B. 17 nunc — *om.* D. in ipsis — *coni. Halm, fortasse recte* ipsi — D. 18 percipere — *om.* D. *tot tam var. ac recond. — *scripsi* aut rec. tam var. — ACDV aut rec. aut — B. et . . . aut rec. — E tot tam

potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati *usus* eloquentiae accedat. per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe *paratiorem* ad eas exercitationes venturum, quae propriae *esse oratorum* videntur.

34. Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciper*et* et iurgiis interesse*t*, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, quo minus et iudex respuat et adversarius exprobret, ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequerentur, tamen omnes eiusdem aetatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant;

r. tam v. — *Muretus, Ms. Pt. Ml. And.* tamque v. — *Halm, Wf.* tot r. aut v. — *Nipperdey* tot tam rec. aut v. — *Baehrens* tam v. aut rec — *Iohn.* 19 nisi sic — *coni. Baehrens.* ut — *del. Acidalius.* 20 usus — *emend. idem* vis — ABCE ius — D iis — V. eloquentiae — *incl. Sauppe fortasse recte* vis experientiae — *Baehrens.* tandem — D. 21 percipis — AB. 23 sepet — D videantur . . separet — *Baehrens.* illud — b CEV id — D istud — AB *Ms.* (*i. e.* i[d]). 24 paratiorem — *emend. Lipsius* parate — DEVΔ paratu — B aperte — C pate — A superantem — *Vahlen.* 25 esse oratorum — *R. Agricola* et ornaturum — ABDV et ornatorum — C ex ornaturum — E circa oratorium — b *in marg. et edit. pr.* circa oratorum — *Put.* oratorum — *Brotier* exornatrices oratorum — *coni. Baehrens.*

34. 2 praeparabatur — *Ritter* (*Novák*). 7 exciperet — *Bekker* excipere — ω. interesset — *idem* interesse — ω se inserere — *Orelli.* 8 magnus — B magnos — ω. multumque — B. 11 impune — *del. Novák.* 12 exprobret — ABC exprobet — DE exprobaret — V. 13 incorrupta *corr. ex* corrupta — B. 16 populi et — EV

habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam ex qua facile deprehenderent, quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. ita nec praeceptor deerat, optimus quidem et electissimus qui faciem eloquentiae non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non *r*udibus dimicantes, *sic* auditorium semper plenum, [semper novum] ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene *nec male* dicta dissimularentur. scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam *in* suis; inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus iuvenis ille, de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis cui cotidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt, quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus.

populi i (d *est*) — *Lipsius.* 17 quo — *Meiser.* 18 ille quidem — *Baehrens at cf. comment.* $3,_{8}$. 19 lectissimus — *Novák.* quisque — *Meiser* quique aciem — *Baehrens.* 20 rudibus — *corr. P. Faber* sudibus — ω (*cf. Liv. 40, 9 Dr.*). sic — *Michaelis* sed — ω nec — *Haase, editt. rell.* 21* semper novum — *inclusi* semper novum semper plenum — C. mixtum ex — *coni. olim Andresen* novum, ex — *idem* compositum ex — *Baehrens* constans ex — *Novák.* 22 nec breviter — C. nec male — *hic ins. Pithoeus, Np. Hm. post* ut — *Agricola, Ms. Pt.* nec bene nec secus — *Schopen, Wf.* nec [minus] bene — *add. Andresen* nec b. d. ignorarent, nec male d. diss. — *Sauppe* nec b. d. hi ignor. nec male d. illi diss. — *Baehrens.* dissimularentur — B dissimularent — ω *Ms.* 24 in — *add. Andresen, Bs. Hm.* *26* oratorum . . *27* iudiciorum *post* experimentis *collocavit Classen, incl. Baehrens.* 29 iudicii — D. 32* uno et vicensimo . . . 33 tertio — *corr. Nipperdey et Pichena, Ms. Pt. Bs.* nono decimo aet. an. [Q. Hortensius Africae causam defendit] L. C. C. C. uno et vicesimo, altero . . . Catonem, Caesar Dolabellam [tertio et vicesimo] non — *coni. I. Hilberg.* 35 hodieque — CDEV *Wf.* hodie quoque — AB.

35. At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in *scholas istorum* qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod *a* [M.] Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, l u d u m i m p u d e n t i a e iussi sunt. sed ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas *in* quibus non facile dixerim, utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferat. nam in loco nihil reverentiae *est* in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. ex his suasoriae quidem, etsi tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes, pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur, quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! sequitur autem, ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut quidquid *aliud* in schola cotidie agitur, in

35. 1* scholas (*Lipsius*) istorum — *Haupt*, *Np. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* seni scholasticorum — A sein — CE se in se — V sem — D scenā — B (cena — b *in litura*) in se in — Δ scenas — *Rhenanus* scenam scholasticorum — *Peter* seminaria — *Philipp* officinas — *Mühly* scholas scenicorum — *Baehrens.* 2 Cicero tempore exst. — C Cicero exst. tempore — D. 4 [M.] *del. Schurzfleisch*, [a] Cr. *ins. Michaelis* [L.] Dom. — *add. Pithoeus.* Claudio — A *in marg.* Cr. CLaudio — B. eludere — V claudere — DE. 6 scolam — DΔ in — *add. Schurzfleisch.* 8* adferant — *ω correxi.* nihil — *om.* D. *est — *add. Acidalius, Hm.* sed — *ω Np. Ml., om. Ernesti* scilicet — *Acidalius, Ms. Pt. And.* ut — *Iohn, Wf.* est eo — *Baehrens.* intret — *Nipperdey, Hm. Ml. And.* 11 audiantur et dicant — E. 13 rhetores — BD. 14* quidem etsi — C quid et si — ABEV quod etsi — D quidem sic — *Orelli, Bs.* quidem tamquam — *edd.* 15 delegantur — Vb deleguntur — *ω.* 16 perfidie — AB praestigiae — *Meiser.* 18 quoque [par *vel* talis] — *ins. Acidalius, Np.* similis — *Pithoeus, Ms. Pt.* vana — *Orelli, Nk.* eadem — *Spengel* ficta — *Woelfflin, Bs.* velut fit — *Michaelis* ex aequo — *Ritter.* 20 quidquid

foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum . . .

[*End of Messalla's and beginning of Secundus' speech lost.*]

. . . rem † cogitant. nihil humile, nihil abiectum eloqui poterat.

Eloquence as affected by Political Conditions.

36. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo c[l]a*l*escit. eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt, quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet, quantum erranti populo persuadere poterat. hinc leges adsiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et adsidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius

[aliud] — *Andresen olim*, *Nk.* 21 persequantur — *Put. Np. Pt. Hm. Ml. And.* persequuntur — C *Ms. Bs.* prosequuntur — ABEΔ prosequimur — D prosequantur — *Wolff.* 22 hic desunt sex pagelle — A *in marg.* Deerant in exemplari sex pagellae vetustate consumptae — B *in marg.* Multum deficit in exemplaribus quae reperiuntur — C (*aut* c). hic deest multum: in exemplari dicitur deesse sex paginas — E *in marg.* *In aversae paginae margine* hic ē defect 'uni' folii cum dimidio hic multum deficit — Δ hic deficiunt quatuor parvę pagelle — Venet. *in marg.* 12½ *versus in* D *vacui relicti sunt.* *Duae fere paginae in* V, *aliquot versus in* BCΔ. *Lacuna non est indicata in Put.* *cogitant — AB *Ms. Pt. Hm. Ml.* cogitare — CDEV *Bs.* cogitaret — *coni. Halm*, *Np. Wf. And.* cogitans — *Haase.* *nihil abiectum — CDE *Wf.* vel abi. — AB obiectum — V.

36. 1 mortibus *corr. ex* moribus — B. 2 calescit — *conieci praeeunte Mähly* clarescit — ω. 3 antiquorum — *del. Novák.* 5 fas non — *Schulting* nefas — *Andresen.* tribui — *incl .Novák.* illi — *Gutmann.* 6 [potuisse] videbuntur — *coni. Andresen.* valebant — *Baehrens.* 8 raperet — *Baehrens* caperet — *H. Schütz.* persuadere — *Heumann* persuaderi — ω *Ms.* hic — A. 11 reorum — Bc rerum — ω virorum — *Walther.* 14 cumulari — *Orelli* stimulare — *Cornelissen*, *cl.* c. *37 init.* 15 quanto — E. 16 assequebuntur — D. 18 *post* plebem *lacunam statuit*

honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. *qui* quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum. nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi qui ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in publicis *iudiciis* non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur. ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat, et *quo modo* disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

37. Ergo non minus rubore quam praemiis stimulabantur, ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a maioribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne

Baehrens. parabat — b *Pithoeus* probabat — *ω*. 20 m̃ratus — (*i. e.* magistratus) — D. hos[et] — *om.* D. 22 quidem qui — C. 23 cogerent — B. *qui quin — *coni. Iohn olim.* ipsi — *om.* B *Np.* omnes sibi — *coni. Halm, And.* ipsi proceres — *Baehrens.* 26 produceretur — D. cum parum esset — *bis scripsit* D. 27 breviter — *incl. Schöll.* qui — *ω Np. Bs.* quis — *Lipsius, Ms. Pt. Hm. Ml. Wf. And., del. Ernesti* qui [tulit] — *ins. Baehrens.* 28 tuerentur — B. censere [nec probaretur] nisi qui — *add. Ritschl.* 30 iudiciis — *add. Agricola, Ms. post* in — *Cuiacius* publ. causis — *ed. Bipont. Bs.* in iudiciis — *Heumann, Np. Pt. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* non [per] *om.* — A. quoram — D. 32 quo modo — *Acidalius* commoda — *ω om.* D. 33 sic — *idem* sed — *ω*.

37. 1 stimulabantur — *Rhenanus* stipulabantur — *ω*. 2 *post* patronorum — *exiguum spatium relictum est in* V. loco — *om.* EV. 3 transissent — *ω emend.*

tamquam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetrarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur, ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt. ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum. his accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. nam multum interest, utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas, an de ambitu comitiorum *aut* expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent, ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrem orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. nec, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant, quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quintius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt non quia tanti fu*e*rit rei publicae malos ferre cives, ut uberem

Lipsius. 4 honores — *Schopen*, *Np. Bs.* 5 in — *om.* BD. 6 antiquariorum — V (*Schurzfleisch*) antiquoriorum — C antiquorum — ABDE haec monumenta antiquorum quae in — *Baehrens.* 7 et nunc — b *Put.* 9 iis — C. 10 sed et — D. 11 Metellos et — bCD sed et — ABEV. 13 quamquam — D. 14 accedat — CDΔ. 15 r(o)erum — V. causarum — bCDEV curarum — AB. 16 praestabant — A (*puncta I. manu*). utrum aut de — Δ. 18* aut — *inserui* de expilatis — CDΔ. civibus — *Put.* comitibus — *ω*. 20* habendus — CEV h. est — AB est h. — D. 24 nec — *scripsi* non — *ω*. 26 Archia. Catili — D. 28* fuerit — *Nissen*

ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui, quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus ex*is*tit. quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. similis eloquentiae condicio. nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit quoque maio*res* adversari*os* acrior*es*qu*e* pugnas sibi ips*a* desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitat*a dis*criminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est, ut secura velint, ***periculosa extollant.***

Eloquence as affected by the Procedure in the Law-courts of the Republic.

38. Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum. quae etsi nunc aptior †*extiterit*, eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat in quo nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum

(*Madvig*) *edd.* fuit — ω. rei publicae — *Heumann* r. p. — B re pub^a. — A rem p. — CDE re p. — V. 30 nos — *om.* B. 31 existit — *Lipsius* exstitit — ω *Ms.* 34 eloquentis — *Schele.* 35 quo quis — *Michaelis*, *Np. Pt.* *Post* steterit *Schopen ins.* orator, *post* acie *Ritter.* plures [et] — *om.* C. *maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi — *emend. Boetticher*, *Bs. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* maior adversarius et (B ei — A eo — CDEV est et — *Ritter*) acriores qui (per — C quicum — *Latinius*, *Ms.*) pugnas sibi — ω et acriores pugnas — *Orelli*, *Np. Bs.* ipsa — *Orelli* ipsas — ω ipse — B *Pt.* pugna quam — *Peter* ipsa sola — *Baehrens.* 37 nobilitata — *Latinius*, *Bs. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* nobilitatus — ω (*ex* nobilitatis *corr.* B) *Ms. Np. Pt.* nobilitate — D et magis nobilitatus — *Mühly.* criminibus — ω *corr. Lipsius.* 38* velint [periculosa extollant] *supplevit Iohn* nolint — *Rhenanus*, *Pt.* elevent *Walther* ut dubia laudent, s. v. — *R. Agricola* secura sibi, aliis lubrica velint — *P. Voss* ut aliis dubia, sibi ut s. v. — *Ritter* ut secura sibi, aliis dubia (dura — *Heller*) velint — *Boissier* ut ancipitia non s. v. — *Schopen* securi (*vel* secura) spectare aliena pericula velint — *Vahlen* sec. ipsi aliorum cernere pericula velint — *Baehrens* securi ipsi spect. al. per. velint — *Hm. Wf.* ut sec. oderint, incerta velint — *Goelzer* ut dubiis interesse, s. v. — *Mühly* ut s. v. fortia laudent — *M. Schaefer* honesta laudent, s. v. — *E. Thomas.* *Lacunam indicant Ms. Np. Ml. And.*

38. 1 veterum — *del. olim And.* *ante* eloquentiam *ins. Baehrens*, *post* tamen *Cornelissen.* 2* extiterit — *Walther* e. fuerit — V est ita erit — ABC est ita [est] erit — D est . . . E est veritati — *Agricola*, *Np. Pt.* est civitati — *ed. Bipont.* existimatur — *Acidalius* aptiorem statueris — *M. Schmidt*, *And.* eloquentia — ω *corr. Agricola.* 3* p. horas — CΔ horas — *om.* ω (*supra vers.* A) p. perorare

in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur: apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur, ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii, quae pro heredibus Urbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis Divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxim*e* principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat.

39. Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen, vel ideo ut rideatur. quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae adtulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur? quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus iam fere plurimae causae explicantur? nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur, debilitatur ac frangitur

horas — *Halm, Bs.* h. perorare — *edd.* 5* in — *addidi* dicendo — ω (*etiam* A) dicendi — *Put. edd.* sumebant — D. 6 haec — CDEV hic — AB. 9 quanto (a *supra*) — V quanta — B (*sed. corr.* b.) D. 11 et nunc — D. 12 aliorum — CDEV aliquorum — AB illorum — *H. Meyer, Np.* 15 Urbiniae — *corr. Lipsius* urbine — B Uruie — AE urviae — CDV ironiae — *Put.* scribuntur — E. 16 a vieto tamen *coni. Baehrens.* 18* maxima — AB *Np.* maximi — CDE *Bs.* māxis — V maxime — *Haase, edd.* 19* omnia (onia — A) depacaverat — AB *Wf. And.* omnia alia pacaverat — CDV *Ms. Pt. Bs. Hm. Ml.* alia omnia p. — E omnia pac. — *Nipperdey.*

39. 1 videbitur — *Ursinus* (*Muretus*), *Ms. Np. Pt. Bs. And.* videtur — ω videatur — *Orelli, Hm. Ml. Wf.* 2* rideatur — CDEV *Pt. Bs.* ridear — AB. 3 pergulas — *Mähly.* 4 verum — C. 5 auditorie — EV. tabularia — ABD tabularie — CEV fabularie — A. credimus — *incl. Novák.* 7 et [partes] spatia

eloquentia. ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat iudex, quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius incipiendum est. frequenter probationibus et testibus silentium *praetor* indicit. unus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit et res velut in solitudine agitur. oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut quodam theatro; qualia cotidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. itaque hercule eius modi libri extant, ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.

40. Iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a Publio quidem Scipione aut *L.* Sulla

— D. 9 ipsa — CEΔV. 11 quando — *Put.* quando (ł quam) — AB quamquando (s. cām) — C quamquando (s. causam) — D quam — E quā — V causam quando — *Baehrens* incipias — A. 12* praetor — *Orelli (corruptela ex compendio PR male explicato orta est)* p̄ronus — B patronus — ω protinus — *Nolte (Halm)*, *Ms.* patronis — *Hess* patronatus — *Roth* indicit patronus — *Dronke* patrono indicitur — *Schulting* impatiens — *Haupt*, *Bs.* *Hm.* importunus — *Weissenborn* patrono invito — *Peter* patronus *post* alter *collocavit Wolff, dell. Ritter, Np. And.* arbitrio suo — *Ioh. Müller.* 16 nobiles [homines] — *add. Orelli* advocati — *add. Urlichs, And.* 17 tribus ac — B *Hm.* 18 adsistere — V adsisterent — *Rhenanus.* viciis — D. 20 indicarentur — D. 23 potuerunt — V. 24 hercle — CD. *egerunt *ex* egerint *corr.* B legerunt . . . accendantur — *Andresen, Wf.* libri quoque extant ut ipsi qui — *Baehrens* [infeliciter] egerunt — *add. Inge.* libri [eorum] . . . legerunt, delectati censeantur — *coni. Nordk.* 25 magis [rebus quam] — *coni. Mähly.* non actis magis orat. — *H. Buchholz* et ipsi . . . censentur — *Heller.*

40. 3 [L.] Sulla — *add. Ritter.* 4 incensendos — D. 5 *Locus nondum proba-*

aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent, et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque, † ut histriones, auribus uterentur, quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces admovebant! . . .

[End of Secundus' speech and beginning of Maternus' closing address lost.]

. . Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae quam stulti libertatem voc*it*ant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine *severitate*, contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus? quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur. nec Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit eloquentiam novimus. Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores extiterunt apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus

biliter emendatus. ut histr. aur. — *Halm, Pt.* et histriones — ω histr. quoque pop. aur. — *Acidalius, And.* pop. quoque ceu — *Schurzfleisch, Ms.* pulpiti q. ut hist. artibus — *Osann, Bs.* per hist. naribus — *Roth* ut hist. plausibus — *Haase* et plebis pronis auribus — *Weissenborn* ut est natura populi, invidiae q. et irrisionis artibus — *Bezzenberger* invidiae hist. q. pop. aur. — *Nipperdey* aur. adularentur *vel* blandirentur — *coni. Michaelis* popularibus et histrionalibus artibus — *Steuding* invidia populi quoque ut hist. aur. — *Mähly* pop. poetae quoque et hist. aur. — *Vahlen* pop. q. pronis aur. ut hist. uter. — *Helmreich* pop. q. pronis ut hist. aur. uter. — *Wolff* populique, et histr. — *Ioh. Müller.* 7* *Ante* non de otiosa *lacunam ind. Heumann, Np. And.* non [enim] — *add. Muretus* otiosa re et quieta — D. 10 vocitant — *Hess, Bs.* vocabant — ω *Ms. Pt.* vocant — *Heumann, Np. Hm. Ml. Wf. And.* fomes — *Acidalius.* 11* severitate — *Put.* (*Pithoeus*), *Pt. And.* (*Cf. ad Att. X. 4:* omne meum obsequium in illum fuit cum multa severitate) servitute — ω non sine servitute — *Doederlein* lenitate — *Peerlkamp* sanctitate — *Boetticher* sanitate — *Orelli* virtute — *Wittich* veritate — *Steiner* (*Nolte*), *Np. Bs. Hm. Ml. Wf.* suavitate — *Mähly* reverentia — *Peterson, del. Ritter.* 12 temerarius — EV. 14 accepimus — CD accipimus — ABEV *Ms.* sanctissima disc. — *Orelli* austerissima disc. — *Mähly.* 15 sanctissimae leges — *Schele.* nec — ω *Wf.* ne — D (?) *edd.* Macedonii — D. 16 personarum — D. ullius — E illius — ω. 18 'oratores Athenienses' — B. 23 metus — *Orelli*

et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratuum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas la*e*tiores. sed nec *tanti* rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut pateretur et leges nec bene *famam* eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41. Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emenda*tae* nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? quod municipium in *clientelam* nostram venit, nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari. quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. quo modo enim minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in iis gentibus quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum *honor* obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. quid enim opus est

fortasse recte. 24 sicut — *Ed. Ald. 1534* sicuti domitus — ω (*i. e.* sicutidomitus) indomitus — *Put.* 25 laetiores — *Rhenanus* latiores — ω. tuta — ω tanta — *cod.*
bene
Ven. corr. idem tam tuta — *Ritter.* Grecorum — EV. bene — ω bone — A bone — b *supra v.* 26 famam — *Muretus* formam — ω.

41. 1* antiqui — *Gronovius, Pt. Hm. Ml Wf.* antiquis — ω *Ms. Np.* [ex] ant. — *Brotier, And.* fori — *Spengel, Ms. Pt. Hm. Ml. Wf.* forum — ABD *Np.* horum — CEVΔ *dell. Ritter, And.* antiquorum oratoribus honorum — *Steuding* ex. ant. orat. rationibus — *Mähly* honor — *Helmreich* antiqui oratoribus horum temporum — *Baehrens.* 2 emendare — ω *corr. Lipsius.* 3 quis enim nos — CEV *Np.*
t quis en.
Pt. Bs. Hm. Ml. Wf. And. quid enim? quod nemo — B *Ms.* quidem quod nemo — A quis enim quidem quod nemo — D quidem quod — *Put.* quid quod — *Iohn.* 4 clientelam — *Pithoeus* civitatem — ω. 7 non fieri — *Muretus, Bs.* 9 sicut inter sanos — *bis scripsit* V. 10* enim — *Heumann, Hm. Ml.* tamen (τñ) CDEV *Pt. Wf. And.* inde (ıñ) — AB *Roth* deinde — *Haase* autem — *coni. Michaelis* igitur — *R. Schöll* videlicet — *Baehrens.* usu — DΔ. 12 sic — ABDC his — EV.

longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant? quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent sed sapientissimus et unus? quid voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, cum clementia cognoscentis obviam periclitantibus eat? credite, optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi viri, si aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi, quos miramur, his nati essent, ac deus aliquis vitas ac [vestra] tempora repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum defuisset: nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur.

42. Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: 'erant quibus contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem, nisi iam dies esset exactus.' 'fiet' inquit Maternus 'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus.' ac simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus 'ego' inquit 'te poetis, Messalla antiquariis criminabimur.' 'at ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit.

Cum adrisissent, discessimus.

honor — *Orelli* horum — ω nostrorum — *coni. Michaelis.* obscurior — CEVΔ. 14 in senatu longis — D. optima — ω *corr. Rhenanus.* 20 quantum potest — *Nipperdey olim, Ms.* et quantum in vobis est — *Cornelissen.* 21 illi — *Halm* isti — ω *Ms.* mirantur — D. aut deus — Δ *Bs. Ml.* aliquis *corr. ex* aliquid — D. 22 vitas et — E. *vestra — *del. Halm, Np. Bs.* vestra temp. — ω temp. vestra — *transp. Haase, Ms. Pt. Wf. And.* vitas vestras ac — *Bekker* (*Weinkauff*) utraque vestra temp. — *Ioh. Müller* [ac . . . mutasset] *ex recordatione Hor. Sat. I. 1, 15 adscriptum putat idem, incl. Novák* vetera — *And. olim.* 23 certaminibus *vel* turbis *post* temperamentum — *ins. Acidalius.*

42. 1 cum — ω tum — *Put.* cui — *Ritter.* 6* cum — *om. Put.* autem — *Weissenborn, edd.*

Ego tantum repperi et meliusculum feci. CORNELI TACITI DE ORATORIBVS EXPLICIT FELICITER — A. FINIT FINIT FINIT — B τελώσ C. — CORNELII TACITI. DE ORATOR. DIALOG^9 EXPL> — E. Cornelii taciti de oratoribus explicit — V.

NOTES.

Introduction (c. 1–2).—*Tacitus having been repeatedly requested by a friend to enumerate the causes of the evident decline of eloquence, at length complies by furnishing what purports to represent the faithful reproduction from memory of a debate on this very question, which he had heard on the occasion of a visit of his teachers to the house of the poet Maternus.*

1. 1 **Iuste Fabi**: This Fabius Iustus is very probably identical with the friend of the younger Pliny (Ep. I 5, 11 and VII 2) and with the L. Fabius Iustus who was cons. suffectus in 102 (cp. Mommsen, *Hermes* III 137).—The transposition of the 'cognomen' or 'praenomen' is rare in classical prose; the seemingly earliest instances are in Cicero (pro Mil. 3 Ahala Servilius, De orat. II 62, 253 Vespa Terentius, and some dozen examples in the laxer and colloquial style of the Epistles). Schmalz (*Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio, p. 52*) is, therefore, not altogether accurate in attributing the introduction of this usage to Varro (e. g. de R. R. praef. 6, 2 extr., de L. L. 5, 83). Sporadic examples are met with in Caesar (e. g. B. C. III 83) and Nepos (Att. 18); in Livy instances multiply and in post-Augustan authors, beginning with Velleius, this usage has become exceedingly common. Cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* I p. 41 ff. and especially Lahmeyer, *Philol.* XXII 476 ff. For Tacitus: R. Macke, *Die röm. Eigennamen bei T.*, who also notes the fact (I p. 12) that these transpositions occur in steadily decreasing ratio from the D. (25 %) to the 2. part of the Annals (only about 6 %). Similar inversions are found in Greek as early as Dionysius (e. g. Arch. I 6 'Αγρίππας Μενένιος 24 Βάρρων Τερέντιος), which seems to indicate very clearly that this usage must have been rather more common in his time than the rarity of its occurrence in the extant literature of the period would lead us to suppose.—

2 **saecula**: 'times, periods.' In this sense the word is post-Augustan. Cf. Walch, Tac. Ag. 3 p. 121. On the etymology, see

Woelfflin's *Archiv* IV 598 ff. VII 596. — **eminentium**: The figurative use of this participial adjective, though common in Silver Latin, esp. in Velleius (cf. Kleiber p. 51), seems not to occur in Cicero, the nearest approach to it being, perhaps, de orat. III 57, 216 de nat. deor. I 27, 75. — **ingeniis gloriaque** = *ingeniorum gloria*. On the hendiadys, cf. Draeger *H. S.* II 14–21 C. F. W. Müller, *Philol.* VII p. 297 ff., Laelius p. 209.

3 **potissimum**: On the position of the adverb between attributive and substantive, see note c. 17 5. — **deserta**: This word, partially suggested perhaps by 'floruerint,' is often used of a fallow field e. g. Cic. Cael. 18. Roman writers are characteristically fond of metaphors derived from the pursuits of agriculture and war. Cp. e. g. c. 6 ext. 9 2 40 25 and in general, A. Stitz, *Die Metapher bei T.*

4 **ipsum**: The great frequency of this pronoun in the Dial. (66 times in all) has been unjustly censured, but Tacitus seems to have been fond of it, for it occurs in proportionately still larger ratio in the Histories.

5 **diserti**: Cic. de orat. I 21, 94 disertos cognosse me (namely Antonius) nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem, quod eum statuebam *disertum* qui posset satis acute atque dilucide apud mediocres homines ex communi quadam opinione hominum dicere, *eloquentem* vero qui mirabilius et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare quae vellet omnesque omnium rerum quae ad dicendum pertinerent fontes animo atque memoria contineret (cf. also Orat. 5, 18 Quint. VIII prooem. 13). Quint. I 10, 8 'fuit aliquis sine iis (sc. artibus) disertus.' Sed ego oratorem volo. This distinction is, however, not always consistently observed, e. g. c. 27 2 disertiores esse antiquos. In the later writings, 'disertus' occurs only in Ann. IV 52, 'orator' taking its place, for 'eloquens' is found but once, in Ag. 10. — On the etymology of disertus, cf. Wilkins, Cic. de orat. l. c.

6 **causidici** 'pettifoggers.' The term is generally used in malam partem e. g. Cic. de orat. I 46, 202 non enim causidicum nescio quem neque clamatorem aut rabulam. Quint. XII 1, 25 non enim forensem quandam instituimus operam nec mercenariam vocem nec . . . non inutilem sane litium advocatum quem denique causidicum vulgo vocant. Petron. Sat. 46, 7. Iuv. VI 439 VII 113. 136. Without this accessory notion of contempt, the word is found in Lucret. IV 966 (quoted by Wilkins) and in Cic. Orat. 9, 30 nam qui Lysiam

secuntur, causidicum quendam secuntur non illum quidem amplum atque grandem, subtilem et elegantem tamen et qui in forensibus causis possit praeclare consistere. — **advocati et patroni**: Cf. Ps. Ascon. in Divinat. p. 104 Or. Qui defendit alterum in iudicio aut *patronus* dicitur si orator est, aut *advocatus* si aut ius suggerit aut praesentiam suam commodat amico. See Smith, *Dict. Antiq.*[3] I p. 30, II p. 356. — **quidvis potius** e. g. actor, cognitor, iuris peritus, iuris consultus, defensor, litigator, leguleius (Cic. de orat. I 56, 236). Cf. Ps. Cic. Synonyma (Fragm. IV p. 1063 Bt. Hm.) and in general Smith op. c. I 20 ff. 1037 II 513. — **oratores**: used a fortiori for the 'perfect orator' as distinguished from disertus. So e. g. c. 15 5 neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes, 25 13 26 16 30 27 32 9 ut denique oratorem esse fateatur 40 13 and Quint. cited above. In c. 17 1 the author, somewhat carelessly, it would seem, makes Aper say transeo ad Latinos *oratores* . . . nostrorum temporum *disertis* anteponere soletis, for these words imply Aper's acquiescence in an antithesis which he consistently repudiates. If we read voletis with Kleiber, Aper would then be merely imputing an easily refuted, because absurd, assertion of his opponents, and this interpretation appears preferable.

7 **tam magnae** = tantae is rare. Cf. G. 37 Ag. 18 Ann. XI 36 Sen. ap. Gell. XII 2, 11 Ep. 59, 10 Quint. II 17, 43 Plin. Ep. III 19, 4 tam magnam Suet. de gram. 3 pretia . . . tanta, mercedesque tam magnae. Twice in Cicero's speeches: Verr. II 3, 46, 111 tanto . . tanta . . tam m. and Phil. II 3, 7, where the MSS., however, read iam magnae.

8 **ingeniis** = 'mental capacity, aptitude.' l. 21 'talent, genius.' l. 13 'power of invention, cleverness, sagacity.' Peter is disposed to censure the author for repeating the word 'ingenium' five times in one short chapter. This dread of repetition is, however, merely a modern stylistic sentimentality, quite foreign to the ancients. See the sensible remarks of Quintilian X 1, 17. Thus diversus and excipere occur twice within this same chapter. Cf. also c. 2 7 7 6 8 18. 22 33 2 34 5. Tacitus in particular furnishes numerous instances. Cp. Ioh. Müller, *Beiträge* IV p. 11–18 (condensed into a note by Nipperdey, Ann. I 81). On similar repetitions in other authors, see Seyffert-Müller, Laelius p. 284, G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst* I[2] p. 389 f. and in general, R. V. II 29–32.

10 **iudiciis**: 'taste.' To refuse to imitate the superior models furnished by the eloquence of the ancients would prove us to be

poor judges of oratorical excellence. — **hercule** occurs in 11 other places in the D. (c. 5 26 8 26 14 21 19 19 21 8. 22 26 2. 6 30 19 34 25 39 23). Such exclamations are naturally employed more frequently in speeches and in animated discourse than in historical narrative. Gutmann's severe criticism and the inference which he draws concerning the Tacitean authorship of the D. are, therefore, wide of the mark, particularly in view of the following passages which escaped his notice. H. I 84 Ann. I 26 III 54 IV 40 XIV 43 (in speeches) I 3, 17 XII 43. For the non-syncopated form hercule (hercle only c. 14) cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV p. 104. — **auderem**: According to Woelfflin (l. c. p. 97), all subjunctives relating to the author Tacitus are in the singular (e. g. Ag. 1, Germ. 46 H. I 4, Ann. II 35 III 25 IV 11 XIII 49 XIV 14 XVI 16), while indicatives are generally found in the plural, except in the Annals, where the singular largely predominates. This last observation calls for a slight modification, for in the Histories, at all events, sing. and plur. indic. occur in equal proportion (19 : 21). Cp. E. Wolff, *Die Sprache d. T.* p. 3–6. Tacitus grew more reflective and subjective in his later works, hence the greater frequency of the sing. indic.

'mea mihi' like 'tuus tibi' 'suus sibi' is the invariable position (cp. R. V. III p. 144 note 387). The collocation of the poss. pronoun before or after its noun does not carry any additional emphasis in T., at least. Schurzfleisch's inversion of the MS. reading 'mihi mea' is, therefore, highly probable, for only thus will 'mea' receive the proper stress.

11 **ac non** for the less usual 'et non' after 'si' and 'quasi.' Cf. H. I 40. Ann. VI 2. Common in Cicero, see Draeger *H. S.* II² p. 8. — **ut,** 'considering the age we live in.' On this restrictive ut with an abl. see e. g. G. 45 30 H. I 31. 81 III 33 Ann. IV 62 VI 35 and Dr. *H. S.* II 638. Occasionally 'ut' is omitted, e. g. Ann. IV 20 ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem . . virum fuisse comperior (cf. G. Clemm, *De breviloq. T.* p. 111). On another similar use of 'ut,' cp. Reid, Cic. Acad. II 31, 99.

13 **admodum**: T. always says 'iuvenis admodum' (Ag. 7 H. II 78 IV 5) but 'admodum adulescens' (Ann. I 3 IV 44). The position of this intensifying adverb is, however, not determined by any fixed usage. E. g. G. 17 exceptis a. paucis, but Ann. V 2 paucis a. receptis. II 8 castellum munitum a., but III 29 plebi a. laetae. The same arbitrariness, unless we postulate euphonic reasons, prevails in Cicero. Cp. Seyffert-Müller, Laelius p. 97. — On the inter-

pretation of the phrase 'iuvenis admodum' by Andresen and others, see Proleg. pp. xxvii–xxx.

14 **memoria et recordatione** 'vivid recollection.' This collocation is common (e. g. Cic. de orat. I 53, 228 Brut. 2, 9 Tusc. V 31, 88) and the tautology only apparent, for memoria is the generic term denoting merely the power by which we are enabled to reproduce impressions. Quint. XI 2, 43 recordatio firmissima memoriae pars, hence Cic. de orat. I 2, 4 can say memoriae recordatio. Cp. Seyff. Müll. Laelius p. 555 and the interesting passage in Plut. Cat. Min. 1. So in Greek *μνήμη* and *ἀνάμνησις*.

Tacitean usage calls for 'e-excepi' in place of the MS. reading 'a-accepi,' as has been shown at length in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 327. The same scribal error is found e. g. in ch. 2 10 and in Quint. X 1, 86.

16 **singuli** etc.: A much disputed and generally misinterpreted passage. It will be admitted that 'formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent' is intended by the author to apply to all the interlocutors, but this necessitates the further inference that Aper is included among the singuli. If so, we cannot properly supply corruptae eloquentiae after causas, for Aper vehemently denies the very proposition. Andresen's explanation that, as far as Aper is concerned, 'der Begriff des Verfalls der Beredsamkeit zu dem der Veränderung erweitert wird' involves a kind of zeugma which cannot be accepted without parallel instances. This difficulty is avoided by supplying some such expression as 'immutatae eloquentiae.' On this point all the speakers are agreed. 'Diversas' has the meaning of 'various,' not 'opposite' (mit Rücksicht auf Apers Standpunkt, Andresen), for Aper's attitude is not made known till the end of the chapter. The reader so far naturally supposes that the various speakers endeavored, each in his own way, to give the reasons why the present age produced no real orator. This perfectly legitimate inference the author forthwith corrects by adding that such unanimity did not exist among those who took part in the debate 'for there was also one present, who, as I would have you know, took quite the opposite side' etc. In all the interpretations hitherto proposed this peculiar force of enim (cf. c. 5 4; 16 14) and so similarly nam (c. 2 13, where see note) is lost sight of. Cp. also Dr. *H. S.* II 169.

Roth's emendation sed easdem probabiles has met with great favor and unquestionably satisfies the sense. But if so intelligible a reading had

been the original, one is at a loss to understand the corruption in all our MSS. It seems, therefore, more methodical to explain vel easdem as an interlinear gloss which subsequently found its way into the text. The remark was due to some ancient reader who not unjustly regarded the arguments of the opponents of Aper as virtually identical, they being, indeed, quite of the same mind as to the actuality of the decline of eloquence. Cf. 16 12 nec aequo animo (sc. Aprum) perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam and l. 14: non enim . . . saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari.

17 **dum . . . redderent**: Another similar instance of a dum-clause subordinated to a clause with cum is found in Ann. XII 68 cum obtegeretur dum reliqua . . . componuntur. The parallel examples quoted by Hand, *Tursell.* II 310 ff. from poets and late writers are very doubtful, owing to the constant confusion of 'cum' and 'dum' in our MSS. (cf. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. I 697). — The irregular use of the imperf. subj. must be explained by assimilation. — On the syntactical use of 'dum' in general, see Dr. *H. S.* II 609, and the exhaustive discussion of E. Hoffmann, *Latein. Zeitpart.* p. 169 ff. For 'dum' with indicat. in indirect discourse esp. common in Tac., see note to c. 32 33. — **quisque**, with a plural predicate is mostly poetic and very rare in classical prose, the harshness of the construction being often lessened by a plural antecedent. So singuli here. Cf. Tac. H. II 44 III 33 IV 25 V 20 Ann. I 44 XII 43 XV 57. For examples in other writers, see R. V. III 30 note 337 Dr. *H. S.* I 170 ff. *Stil* p. 14 f. — On suus quisque, cp. the exhaustive treatment of Wex, Agricola p. 321—328. — **animi et ingenii**: A common collocation in Cic. (e. g. De orat. I 25, 113 III 2, 5 Orat. 38, 132 Brut. 24, 93 ad fam. IV 8, 1). In Tac. only here and again c. 21 30. Cf., however, G. 29 mente animoque, H. I 84 quem nobis animum, quas mentes. The distinction is well brought out by Quint. II 4, 20 *ingenium* exercetur multiplici variaque materia et *animus* contemplatione recti pravique formatur.

18 **numeris . . . rationibus**: 'Divisions, parts' . . 'arguments.' The other meanings of numeri are less suitable to the context. The passage is probably modelled upon Cic. de orat. III 4, 16 nos enim ipsi sermoni non interfuissemus et quibus C. Cotta tantummodo locos (=numeros) ac sententias (=rationes) huius disputationis tradidisset. See Peter ad loc. Andresen interprets numeri in the metaphorical sense of 'rounds' which it sometimes has in Quint., but in that case the clause servato . . . disputationis were

quite superfluous. Translate: 'I shall follow exactly the same lines of argument, retaining the order of the discussion.' — **servato,** for the Ciceronian conservare (only once in Tac.: Ann. XII 52) cf. pro Rosc. Am. 2, 6 ordinem conservare. This use of the simple for the compound verb is chiefly poetic and comparatively rare in pre-Tacitean prose. Cf. c. 17 19 pellere (=depellere) 19 4 flexisse (=deflexisse) 25 9 fatetur (=profitetur) 30 27 cluditur (=includitur), 34 2. 4 parabatur (=praeparabatur) sectari (=adsectari) 38 6 finire (=definire) See the long list given by Ruperti Tac. Vol. IV p. 840 Roth, Agric. p. 164 ff. and cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV 111 f. Dr. *H. S.* I 138 *Stil* pp. 9 f. On the compound verb for the simple, cp. note c. 7 17.

19 **neque (nec) . . ac:** In Tac. only here and Ag. 10 neque quaerere huius operis est ac multa rettulere. Cp. also Mart. XI 32, 4 Suet. Vesp. 12. — On nec . . et, see note c. 2 10.

21 **eloquentiam ingeniis:** This does not signify that the eloquence of the moderns, on the one hand, was contrasted with the genius of the ancients, on the other, but the achievements of the ancients and the moderns from both points of view are reciprocally compared. The slightly illogical and hence misleading antithesis was occasioned by that desire for formal symmetry and stylistic equipoise which frequently betrayed our author into inserting superfluous or dissimilar substantives e. g. c. 31 12 vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum. Agr. 21 ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre. The other illustrations given by John are less apposite. This prooemium, as indeed the entire D., clearly betrays the strong influence which Cicero's writings exercised over the youthful author. Cf. de orat. I 2, 4 ac mihi repetenda est veteris cuiusdam memoriae non sane satis explicata recordatio sed, ut arbitror, apta ad id quod requiris ut cognoscas quae viri omnium eloquentissimi clarissimique senserint. De rep. I 8, 13 nec vero nostra quaedam est instituenda nova et a nobis inventa ratio sed unius aetatis clarissimorum ac sapientissimorum nostrae civitatis virorum disputatio. de orat. III 4, 16 cited above. II, 1, 4 nostrorum hominum prudentiam Graecis, (*i. e.*, Graecorum prudentiae), anteferre. Tacitus, like Cicero in the Laelius and the de nat. deor., takes no part in the debate but remains a passive listener throughout.

2. 1 **nam:** Beginning a narrative, where *igitur* is more frequent. Cf. H. I 1 nam post conditam urbem and perhaps Ann. XVI 18. —

postero die: Far less common in Tac. than 'postera die,' although the masc. gender of 'dies' greatly predominates in other collocations, but without any distinctions of meaning. Postera die seems not to occur before the time of Livy. Cp. the exhaustive discussion in Neue, *Formenlehre*, I, p. 681–88 and also R. V., I. p. 212–214. — This opening paragraph is also modelled upon Cic. de orat. II 3, 12 postero igitur die quam illa erant acta . . . repente eo Q. Catulus senex cum C. Iulio fratre venit. — **Catonem**: a fabula praetexta dealing with the 'nobile letum' of Cato Uticensis. This sturdy opponent of Caesar was extravagantly praised in the early empire by poets and rhetoricians, being frequently made the mouthpiece of republican sentiments. Cf. Manilius I 793 ff. Lucan Bk. II and IX, and Seneca, to whom Cato represented the true Stoic ideal of civic virtue. Cf. e. g. Ep. 24, 6 ff. 71, 15 ff. 95, 69 ff. 104, 29 ff. Dial. I 2, 9 ff. — *Catonem* i. e. the tragedy Cato and so below ('Cato omisit, Thyestes dicet'). On this very common metonymy cf. Plut. de Isid. 379 A. *ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸν ὠνούμενον βιβλία Πλάτωνος, ὠνεῖσθαι φαμὲν Πλάτωνα καὶ Μένανδρον ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸν τὰ Μενάνδρου ποιήματα ὑποτιθέμενον.*

2 **offendisse potentium animos**: i. e. probably the Emperor and his all-powerful friends such as Crispus and Marcellus. Vespasian was a humane ruler and not easily provoked to harsh and unjust measures (cf. c. 8 20 patientissimus veri). Still, the banishment of Helvidius Priscus and the expulsion of the Stoic and Cynic philosophers (Cass. Dio 66, 13) were well calculated to arouse apprehensions for the safety of the bold poet who so frankly gave public expression to his liberal convictions. The sentiments put into Cato's mouth cannot, however, as is generally supposed, have been directed against monarchical institutions as such, but were doubtless levelled against the political evils which had grown up under them, for Maternus in c. 41 in perfect accord with similar utterances in the historical writings of Tacitus, (see Proleg. p. xxxvi), does not advocate a return to a republican form of government but, for reasons of expediency, sincerely acquiesces in the existing order of things, only deprecating the despotic abuse of monarchical power. Cf. Nipperdey, Ann. p. 21. 35 Jansen p. 50 f. — On the great risks incurred by freedom of speech under the Empire, see W. A. Schmidt, Gesch. d. Denk- u. Glaubensfreiheit etc. Berlin 1847 p. 23–108 and Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* III^6 406. — On substantived adjectives and

participles, cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 44 ff. — **tamquam** = ὡς introducing not the subjective reasons of the author but the opinions of others. On this Grecism, not rare in post-Aug. Latin but highly characteristic of Tacitus and Suetonius, cf. c. 2 extr. 18 26 Ag. 25. 38 G. 12 H. I 7 V 22 Ann. III 72, where Nipperdey quotes many other examples. See Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXIV 115–123, Schmalz *Lat. Synt.* (Iwan Müller's Handb. Vol. II p. 505), and Pfitzner, *Die Annalen des T. kritisch beleuchtet* 1869 p. 160–65, whose subtle distinctions between tamquam, quasi, velut cannot, however, be maintained without some modifications.

3 **eo tragoediae argumento** = eius trag., an instance of hypallage. Cf. Ag. 4 omnem honestarum artium cultum H. III 20 ignotae situm urbis II 5 vicinis provinciarum administrationibus, IV 81. Ann. III 3 diurna actorum scriptura IV 32 veteres pop. Romani res. IV 33 clari ducum exitus. Cf. R. V. III p. 549 ff. note 522, but this figure is by no means confined to Greek and Latin. See G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst* I² p. 535 ff. — *tragoedia* as a synonym for fabula praetexta is ἅπ. εἰρ. For a somewhat similarly loose use of the term, cf. Plaut. Amphit. Prol. 41. 93, Capt. 62. — **argumentum**: used not in its technical sense of ὑπόθεσις but here equivalent to 'contents, subject matter, plot.' Cf. Ann. VI 29 detulerat argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae. For the various other meanings attaching to this word, cp. Quint. V 10, 9: argumentum plura significat, nam et fabulae ad actum scaenicarum compositae argumenta dicuntur et orationum Ciceronis velut thema ipse exponens Pedianus, argumentum, inquit, tale est: quo apparet omnem ad scribendum destinatam materiam ita appellari. — **sui oblitus . . . cogitasset**: He had, as it were, merged his individuality so completely into that of his hero as to lose his own identity; he had, in other words, given a purely objective treatment of his theme. In this, Maternus proved himself to be a true artist, for, according to Arist. Poet. 17 πιθανώτατοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσίν εἰσι καὶ χειμαίνει ὁ χειμαζόμενος καὶ χαλεπαίνει ὁ ὀργιζόμενος ἀληθινώτατα, but his intense convictions made him forget that he was no longer living in an age 'ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.' — **cogitare**, with the acc., in place of the usual construction with de (not in Tac.), is more emphatic, signifying that the object of your thought takes complete possession of you. Cf. c. 36 1 rem cogitant. Ag. 32 maiores vestros et posteros cogitate. Pliny, Ep. IV 2, 2 Regulum

cogita Sen. de benef. IV 34, 5 sapiens utramque partem eius cogitat. Comparatively frequent in Cicero. Cp. Peter's note ad loc., and Stuerenburg, pro Arch. VI 14.

4 **sermo** 'talk of the town.' Cic. pro Mil. 12, 33 in . . . civitatis sermone versantur. On the subjects of Roman gossip, cp. Friedländer *S. G.* I p. 431 f.

5 **celeberrima tum ingenia fori**: *celebris* (celeber not in Tac.), as a synonym of 'clarus' is perhaps first found in Tibull. II 1, 33. (Neue II² 17). In classical prose it is not used of persons, excepting once in Livy XXVI 27, 16 (but see Weissenborn's note ad loc. and Kühner, Cic. Tusc. Disp. V 9). — *tum*, as well as defuit, contemnebat, nesciebat below, show that both Aper and Secundus were dead at the time the Dial. was written. Cp. Prol. p. xxvi. — **ingenia fori**, ought not to have been objected to, even if the expression were not exactly paralleled by Quint. X 1, 122 summa hodie quibus inlustratur forum ingenia, where Peterson might have cited this passage.

6 **quos . . utrosque**: for the classical quorum utrumque. The plural may here be due to a kind of attraction, but 'utrique' is also not infrequently used, where two individuals, although quite distinct, are regarded as belonging closely together. Exx. in Tac. are c. 16 22 G. 34 and in the second part of the Annals (XI 1 XV 55. 63 XVI 11. 21. 32). Cp. Schmalz in R. V. III p. 30 f. *Antibarb.* s. v. 'uterque,' *Lat. Synt.* II p. 548. No instances of the plural of 'uterque' seem to occur in the younger Pliny and only one in Quint: V 10, 43 quorum utrorumque ratio. — **non modo**: non (nec, neque) modo is not separated by an intervening word unless this is in turn joined by 'et' or 'que' to another word, e. g., c. 28 20 non studia modo curasque 32 6 non doctus modo et prudens 37 10 non viribus modo et armis. H I 50. Ag. 2 is the only exception. Unseparated non modo occurs G. 15. 45 H. I 15, Ann. I 77 II 45; III 19 XIII 20 XIV 1 XV 21. 44. Sed quoque is always separated: c. 37 10 Ag. 2 H. I 50. 57. Followed by sed etiam: c. 32 6 Ag. 3 G. 45 Ann. IV 35; by sed . . etiam: c. 28 20 Ann. II 45 XIV 1 XV 21. 44; by sed et: G. 15; by sed: Ag. 3 H. I 4; by etiam: Ann. I 77 III 19 IV 35. On non solum — sed etiam, cf. c. 7 13; on non tantum, cf. c. 14 16 and, in general, Nipp. Ann. I 60 Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV 110 Pöhlmann p. 31 ff.

The antithesis lies between 'in iudiciis . . . audiebam' and 'domi assectabar.' It is, therefore, evident that the MS. reading 'non utrosque modo'

cannot be right. We require either 'non in iudiciis modo' or 'non modo in iudiciis.' The position of 'utrosque' cannot be accurately determined, but the strong tendency of Latin writers to bring pronouns into juxtaposition, favors the reading given in the text or 'quos utrosque ego.' The word was probably accidentally omitted by the scribe and then replaced above the line, whence it was subsequently transferred to the text in the wrong place. Ritter, followed by Halm and Novák, solve the difficulty by deleting the utrosque, but this is wholly unjustifiable, no motive for interpolating this word being conceivable.

7 **in publico**: 'in public places.' Usually opposed to 'domi,' also to 'in privato,' e. g. *S. C. de Bacch.* neve in poplicod neve in preivatod. Heraeus' (H. I 19) distinction between 'in public places' and 'in the open street' is strained and unnecessary. For similar adverbial expressions of 'in' with abl., of which Tacitus seems especially fond, cp. A. Gerber, *De usu praep.* p. 11 f. — **adsectabar**: 'attended, waited upon.' So sectari c. 20 14 and 34 4 hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, and not rare in classic writers. Peter taking the word too strictly in the sense of 'to follow,' is in consequence compelled to assume a zeugma with domi, which, though slight in itself, is obviated by the interpretation just given. For similar expressions, such as se conferre, applicare, dicare, cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 9. It will be observed that T. here professes to have still followed the time-honored custom, the total extinction of which he, in a later chapter (34), deplores. Cf. also Quint. XII 11, 5: frequentabunt vero eius (sc. Domiti Afri) domum optimi iuvenes more veterum.

8 **cupiditas**: A good example, first pointed out by Woelfflin, to illustrate the genetic development in the style of Tacitus. 'Cupiditas' occurs in but three other places in the smaller works (Ag. 15 G. 19. 35), the shorter 'cupido' only once (Ag. 5). In the Histories we find 'cupiditas' 5 times (H. I 83 is doubtful) 'cupido' 31 times. In the Annals finally cupido has completely routed its competitor, occurring 47 times. We find the same partiality for the shorter form in Sallust (23:3). In Cicero, however, cupido is used only in personification, and Quint. has it only twice: VI pr. 13, X 7, 17. — **ardore iuvenili**: The same phrase again occurs in Ag. 37. Quint. VII 2, 24 says iuvenili cupiditate, Cic. de fin. I 13, 43 cupiditatum ardore, but Tacitus regards both words as synonyms. — **fabulas**: (1) 'ordinary conversation, small talk,' so here. (2) 'gossip' — c. 3 ext. (3) 'tales, Märchen' — c. 29 4. (4) 'legends, Sage' — c. 3 21 Ann. XII 58. (5) 'drama' — Ann. XIII 21.

9 **disputationes**: 'discussions, debates,' such as the Dialogus itself cf. c. 14 17. — **arcana**: probably identical with the rhetorical exercises designated by the elder Seneca as domesticae (Contr. I praef. 12, III praef. 1) or secretae (ibid. VII praef. 1.). From Contr. IV praef. 2: Pollio Asinius numquam admissa multitudine declamavit, it also appears that arcana semotae dictionis are opposed to public recitations. It seems, therefore, more than doubtful whether 'arcana' can properly be identified with the exercises alluded to in c. 14 17 as declamatorium studium, as is contended by some. See note ad loc. — On the use of neuter adjectives as nouns and as such joined with genitives, a construction more common in Tacitus than in any other writer, cp. c. 11 10 sacra studiorum and Dr. *H. S.* I 453, *Stil* p. 5. 30. Riemann, *Études* p. 102, R. V. III p. 553, note 524, where other literature is cited.

10 **quamvis**, denoting a fact is post-classic, comparatively rare in Tacitus and always used with a subjunctive. Cf. H. II 59 IV 11, Ann. I 68 XI 20 XIII 34 XV 11. 18. 51. 54 Gerber, *De coniunct. usu Tac.* p. 38 f. On the usage of 'quamvis' in other writers, see Dr. *H. S.* II 768 ff. and R. V. III p. 268 note 427 b. — **plerique**: Nipperdey's assertion (Ann. III 1), retained in the last edition (1892), that plerique and plerumque in Tacitus *always* signify 'very many, very often' is not confirmed by the Lex. Tac., for out of a total of 162 instances (omitting 10 doubtful cases), the superlative meaning occurs 48 times. In the Dial. c. 26 10 29 2 39 17.

10 **nec . . et**: Cp. c. 4 4 21 3 G. 7 and very frequent in the later works of Tacitus. See Dr. *H. S.* II 86.

11 **promptum**, 'ready.' So H. II 86 sermone promptus Ann. XIII 3 Augusto prompta ac profluens . . . eloquentia. Used in malam partem 'glib' in Ag. 27 prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Opp. to lentum.

12 **institutione et litteris**: The general followed by a more specific term. See note c. 9 1.

13 **consecutum** sc. esse. On this very common ellipsis cp. e. g. c. 4 6 5 34 12 20 16 26 18 17 25 26 32 29 33 25 37 14 39 21 and C. Wetzell, *De usu verbi subst. Tac.* **nam**: Like the Greek γάρ, implying an ellipsis. 'But these statements are false, for as a matter of fact, Secundus.' Cf. c. 9 1 25 23 Ag. 46 quidquid ex Agricola amavimus . . . manet mansurumque est, nam multos veterum velut

inglorios et ignobiles oblivio obruet. Ann. II, 63. So enim above. — **purus** 'idiomatic,' synonymous with Latinus, candidus, castus, emendatus. So καθαρός, ἑλληνίζειν. — **pressus** 'pruned of all rankness, concise, quiet, moderate, self-controlled, opposed to extravagance, heat, turgidity, redundance' (Mayor, Quint. X 1, 44). — **in quantum,** for the more usual quantum. Cp. c. 41 20 Ann. XIII 54 XIV 47. So 'in tantum,' c. 24 13 32 23. G. 45. Cf. A. Gerber, *Nonnulla de praep. . . . usu* p. 11 ff., for similar instances in other writers, see Kleiber p. 54.

14 **profluens**: 'fluent.' Synon.: fusus, tractus, εἰρομένη opp. to aridus, concisus, minutus. Cp. Sandys, Cic. Orat. 20, 66. The vast majority of these rhetorical terms had practically become termini technici even before Quintilian's time. Cp. Causeret, *Sur la langue de la rhétorique . . en Cicéron*, Paris 1886 p. 143–175. — On the alliteration (purus, pressus, profluens) of which Tacitus appears to have been more fond than any earlier or contemporary prose writer, see C. Boetticher, *De allit. apud Romanos vi et usu*, Berl. Diss. 1884 p. 39–60 Weinkauff, p. 48–78 (with numerous irrelevant instances) and in general, Woelfflin, *Die alliter. Verbindungen in der lat. Spr.*, München 1881, G. Gerber, op. c. II 163–170, Proleg. p. cxvii. Quintilian, it may be observed, studiously avoids alliterative combinations.

15 **tamquam** etc.: Aper, although equipped with all the learning of his day affected to despise it, believing that his orations would be more admired if attributed to great natural gifts than if they smelled of the lamp or suggested the study, a conviction virtually repeated or implied in c. 6 ext. The characterisation itself can hardly be historically accurate, for it is too unmistakably modelled upon a very similar passage in Cic. de orat. II 1, 4 sed fuit hoc in utroque eorum ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet didicisse quam illa despicere et nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Graecis anteferre; Antonius autem probabiliorem hoc populo orationem fore censebat suam, si omnino didicisse numquam putaretur; atque ita se uterque graviorem fore si alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Graecos videretur. Natural aptitude and painstaking diligence are also frequently contrasted e. g. Cic. Brut. 67, 237. P. Murena mediocri ingenio . . multae industriae et magni laboris fuit . . . L. Turius parvo ingenio sed multo labore.

There were some critics who asserted that Aper owed his oratorical success to happy natural endowments rather than to a wide erudition and

careful training. This criticism the author believes to be unjust (maligne) and he proceeds to refute it by telling us that Aper only affected to conceal these accomplishments, which he possessed in a very high degree, because of his conviction that natural gifts elicit a higher admiration than achievements won by dint of laborious study. Most commentators take industriae et laboris as an objective genitive, thus destroying what seems, in my judgment, the only psychologically admissible interpretation of Aper's attitude. I have, therefore, had no hesitation in adopting Vahlen's easy emendation. It were still simpler to take ind. et lab. as genit. of comparison, but this Grecism is very rare in Tacitus, e. g. Ann. IV 63 cui minor quadringentorum milium res (cp. Woelfflin, *Der genet. comparat.* in *Archiv* VII 119) and it may be doubted whether the construction is permissible in the earliest period of the historian's style. See Vahlen, *Hermes* 28, 358.

16 **habiturus**: A future participle in place of an entire clause, first found in Livy (Kühnast *Liv. Synt.* 267), is quite Tacitean and particularly frequent with tamquam, quasi e. g. H. I 48 Ann. XII 49 XIII 43. Cp. Dr. *Stil* § 215. Here it is perhaps preferable to assume the omission of the subj. esset, an ellipsis also very common in Tac., especially if a corresponding subj. follows which prevents any possible ambiguity, e. g., Ag. 24 idque . . . profuturum, si . . . tolleretur. Cf. Dr. *Stil* p. 17 f. Wetzell l. c. p. 50 ff., R. V. III p. 830 note 609, Heraeus, ad Hist. I 21 and Nipperdey ad Ann. I 7.

Ch. 3–4. *Maternus, so far from yielding to the proposal of Secundus to omit in the publication of his tragedy those passages which had recently given offence, states his determination to remain true to his convictions, and informs his friends that he is already preparing another tragedy in which similar utterances will be found. Aper deplores the precious time which the poet in his opinion is thus wasting upon undignified subjects and unprofitable pursuits, while his oratorical talents are in such demand. Maternus, however, more than ever resolved to abandon the irksome duties of the forum for the companionship of the Muses, suggests a renewed discussion of a question often debated between him and his friend, regarding the alleged superiority of eloquence over poetry.*

3. 1 **igitur**: Quint. I 5, 39 an sit 'igitur' initio sermonis positum dubitari potest, quia maximos auctores in diversa fuisse opinione video, cum apud alios sit etiam frequens (e. g. Cicero, Sallust, Quint. himself) apud alios numquam reperiatur (e. g. Caesar, the two Senecas). Cf. Woelfflin, *Archiv* III 560 f., Neue,

Formenl. II^3 p. 975. Out of 174 instances in T., *igitur* is postpositive only in c. 8 28 10 35 20 20 Ag. 16 G. 45 H. IV 15 Ann. I 47.— **intravimus**: Peter finds it somewhat surprising that the author should, by using the plural, include himself, although he had previously only spoken of the arrival of Aper and Secundus, but this apparent obtrusiveness is somewhat mitigated, we are assured, by adsectabar which had prepared the reader for finding T. in this company. An amusing instance of 'nodum in scirpo quaerere,' for the author had expressly told us in the opening lines that he intended to reproduce from memory a debate at which he was *present* as a young man. Cp. also note c. 42 ext.

2 **librum** = 'tragedy,' so also c. 3 6. = 'oratio,' e. g. c. 12 24 20 3 21 6. 26 25 21 26 17 38 14 39 23, and frequent in the younger Pliny. = 'written work,' c. 9 15. See the exhaustive discussion of H. Landwehr, *Studien über das antike Buchwesen* in Woelfflin's *Archiv* VI 219–253 (*liber* p. 223–235). — **inter manus**, for the classical in manibus. Cf. Ann. III 16 visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum (omitted in Lex. Tac. s. v. manus). Plin. Ep. II 5, 2 nihil enim adhuc inter manus habui Ep. V 5, 7 quae inter manus habes and Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 552.

3 **deprehendimus** implies surprise. The entire passage is modelled upon Cic. de nat. deor. I 6, 15: nam cum feriis Latinis ad eum . . (sc. Cottam) venissem, offendi eum sedentem in exhedra et cum C. Velleio senatore disputantem.

5 **quominus**, in place of *quin*. Common in Tacitus, e. g. H. I 40 II 41 (after verbs of fearing) c. 3 15 Ag. 20 Ann. I 21. See Nipperdey l. c. Dr. *H. S.* II 689. 692 *Stil* p. 75 and in general, the exhaustive treatment of R. V. III 457–476. — **offensas . . . ames**: Closely approaches the figure known as oxymoron. Cf. Gerber op. c. II 307 ff. *Offensa* is found only in the D. and Histories; in the Annals T. uses 'offensio' exclusively. — Poets are frequently said by the ancients to love their own works. Cp. Plato, Rep. I 330 c. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ αὑτῶν ποιήματα καὶ οἱ πατέρες τὰς παῖδας ἀγαπῶσι Arist. Nic. Eth. IV 2, 1120 a 13 καὶ πάντες ἀγαπῶσι μᾶλλον τὰ αὑτῶν ἔργα ὥσπερ οἱ γονεῖς καὶ οἱ ποιηταί. IX 7, 1168 a 2 ὑπεραγαπῶσι γὰρ οὗτοι (sc. οἱ ποιηταί) τὰ οἰκεῖα ποιήματα, στέργοντες ὥσπερ τέκνα. Cic. Tusc. V 22, 63 adhuc neminem cognovi poetam qui sibi non optimus videretur; sic se res habet: te tua, me delectant mea. Ovid, Trist. IV 1, 30 et carmen demens carmine laesus amo, l. 35 nos

quoque delectant quamvis nocuere libelli, IV 4 ut non debuerim, tamen hoc ego crimen amabo. Sen. Contr. II 2, 10 (de Ovidio) non ignoravit vitia sua sed amavit. Quint. X 1, 130 si non omnia sua amasset (sc. Seneca). 88 Ovidius . . . nimium amator ingenii sui 3, 12 nec promptum est dicere, utros peccare validius putem, quibus omnia placent an quibus nihil.

7 **pravae interpretationi**: '*Mis*interpretation.' In this sense 'pravus' (= perverse, *Germ.* schief) occurs in but one other passage in Tacitus: H. II 23 omnia ducum facta prave aestimantibus and apparently rarely elsewhere, e. g. Plin. N. H. XVII 9, 8, 57 id plerique prave intellegunt. The over-cautious Secundus assumes that the utterances of Maternus lent themselves readily to misconstruction on the part of those who were unacquainted with the truly loyal character of the poet (see c. 41). He is also half-inclined to regard what was only rumored (diceretur) as having a foundation in fact. Hence the indicative 'offenderunt,' the conditional in place of the relative clause being used to express this conviction less harshly. On the use of 'si qua' for 'si quae,' cf. Sirker, *Tacit. Formenlehre* p. 43 Neue, *Lat. Formenl.* II 438 f. — **materia** is the invariable form in the minor writings and in the Histories (except I 51); in the Annals, on the other hand, materies is used throughout, with but two exceptions (in the second part: XI 5 XVI 2). Cf. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV p. 101 Neue I 371. R. V. I 146 note 94.

8 **non quidem** for the classical 'non meliorem quidem' or 'non illum quidem meliorem.' Cf. c. 5 31 disertam (sc. illam) quidem 9 13 pulchri (sc. illi) quidem. 34 18 H. I 63. Ann. III 69 IV 7. 8 V 5 VI 50 XV 71 Sen. de ira III 38 Ep. 110, 1. Only once in Quint. IX 2, 57 non q. reticentia, but not rare in Pliny the Younger. — This prudent advice of Secundus admirably accords with his character as sketched by Quint. X 1, 120 and at the same time voices the historian's own sentiments, as is evident from many passages, e. g. Ann. XIV 12 sibi causam periculi fecit, (sc. Thrasea Paetus) ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit. Ag. 42 non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris et inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam . . . eo laudis escendere quo plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt. H. I 1 uberiorem *securiorem*que materiam senectuti seposui etc.

9 **Maternus**: The speaker uses his own name in place of a personal pronoun by way of strong emphasis. It is a kind of enallage and occurs as early as Homer, Iliad 16, 496 *ὄτρυνον Λυκίων ἄνδρας Σαρπήδονος ἀμφιμάχεσθαι*. Plut. Cat. Min. 993 c. Cf. also H. II 47 Othonem posteritas aestimet 77 ne Mucianum socium spreveris. Hor. Epod. XV 12 si quid in Flacco viri est. Verg. Aen. V 353 Niso digna dabis. Shakespeare, Jul. Caes. 'When Brutus grows so covetous,' 'Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius.' Sometimes the demonstrative pronoun is so used, e. g. Cic. pro Arch. 1 haec vox (= mea) Prop. II 7, 7 hoc caput. — The meaning of this much disputed passage is this : You will understand, when you read (leges = legendo intelleges, cf. Plin. Ep. VII 19, 7 illas [sc. feminas] quae leguntur, aptly cited by Peter) the published tragedy, what duty a man, such as I, owes to his convictions and you will recognise the sentiments which you heard me recite. In fact, my new tragedy Thyestes will supplement such utterances as my Cato may have omitted.

Nipperdey's emendation 'leges' inquit 'si libuerit,' accepted by most editors, lacks all palaeographical probability, as Halm, *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII p. 499 f. has shown, nor can any motive ever have induced a scribe to insert 'Maternus' which Nipperdey and his followers are forced to regard as an interpolation. The objection, moreover, that leges cannot be followed by an indirect question, for it was this that prompted the emendation, rests upon a wrong interpretation of this verb. Finally it may be added, that libuerit in any case decidedly weakens the force of the passage, at the same time implying the absurd idea that Maternus' friends might possibly not care to read the Cato when published (Halm l. c.). Greef's conjecture 'intelleges' is ingenious and palaeographically highly probable, but in view of the above explanation of leges not absolutely necessary.

10 **audisti**: On these shortened forms in T., see Sirker, *Tac. Formenlehre* p. 51.

11 **Thyestes**: Not the hero Thyestes but Agamemnon in the tragedy of that name, as appears clearly from c. 9 6 cui bono si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur. The Medea and Thyestes are the only Greek tragedies attributed to Maternus, who in c. 12 ext. significantly singles out the Thyestes of Varius and Ovid's Medea as the most admired dramas in Roman literature. This suggests the possibility that these two famous plays may have constituted the models of Maternus' own dramas. It should also be noticed, that inasmuch as Agamemnon played an impor-

tant part in the Thyestes of Maternus, the tragedy cannot have dealt exclusively with the celebrated cena Thyestea, but must have also included the later phase of the story in which Agamemnon and Menelaus, now grown to man's estate, capture Thyestes at Delphi, whence he is brought back to Argos and thrown into prison; Aegisthus sent in to murder the prisoner is recognised by him as his own son. There follows the suicide of Aerope and the subsequent assassination of Atreus while sacrificing at the altar. Cf. Hygin. Fab. 88. This story certainly offered ample opportunities for the eloquent harangues of Agamemnon unmistakably alluded to by Aper. It was dramatised by Euripides in the *Θυέστης*, by Sophocles probably in the *Θ. δεύτερος* and perhaps also by Accius in the Pelopidae. — In like manner, the Atreus of Scaurus contained covert attacks upon the emperor Tiberius. Cf. Tac. Ann. VI 29: nihil hunc (sc. Scaurum) amicitia Seiani sed labefecit haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium qui easdem artes occultius exercebat detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur. Dio Cass. 58, 24 *Ἀτρεὺς μὲν τὸ ποίημα ἦν παρῄνει δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἵνα τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀβουλίαν φέρῃ* (Phoen. 396) *τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών.* By way of contrast with the behaviour of Maternus, we may compare the story related by Sen. Contr. 10 praef. 8 of T. Labienus: memini aliquando, cum recitaret historiam, magnam partem illum libri convolvisse et dixisse 'haec quae transeo post mortem meam legentur.'

12 **intra me**: Cf. Ann. XIV 53 ut plerumque intra me ipse volvam IV 40 ipse quid intra animum volutaverim Quint. XI 3, 2 quae intra nosmet ipsos composuimus. — **ipse**: Tacitus invariably places ipse in the nominative when joined to an oblique case of the personal or possessive pronoun. Cf. c. 3 20 tibi ipse . . importasses 7 1 de me ipse fatear 15 7 ipse tibi denegares 12 mecum ipse conquiro 36 23 sibi ipsi persuaserant 37 36 sibi ipsa desumpserit. Ag. 1. 46 H. I 46. 85 II 44. 50. 76 III 16 IV 11. 20. 62. 70 V 8 Ann. I 48 III 24. 50. 66 IV 30. 66. 69 VI 1. 6. 14. 18 XIII 26 XIV 9. 37. Observe also that this pronoun is always *postpositive* with but one apparent exception in c. 15 7, where see note. On this much discussed idiom, cp. Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 91, 3 Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 448 Roby. § 2264 R. V. III 103 note 370 Schmalz, *Antib.* s. v. *Lat. Synt.* p. 545 Kühner II 462. —

maturare festino: This phrase is generally regarded as tautological, but, although similar examples are very numerous (see note to c. 11 8 ingredi auspicatus sum), it is by no means certain that this is one of them. *Maturare* may be equally well understood in its original meaning of 'bringing to completion, perfecting.' Cp. e. g. c. 26 3 maturitas Crassi 'perfection of C.' H. I 12 maturavit ea res consilium Galbae. Quint. VI prooem. 10 celerius occidere festinatam maturitatem, II 4, 9 ne maturitas quidem ipsa festinet. So maturesco, ibid. Ep. ad Tryph. 1 ipse eos (sc. libros) nondum opinabar satis maturuisse . . . ne praecipitetur editio. Translate: 'I hasten to put the finishing touches to my edition of the tragedy' i. e. bring it to completion for publication. — **editio**: Like our 'edition,' ἔκδοσις. In this concrete sense, the word is common in late Latin, but extremely rare in earlier writers. Cf. Quint. VII 41, 40 qui (sc. versus Homeri) tamen ipse in omni editione reperitur XII 10, 55 editio habebit omnia.

13 **cura**: By a kind of metonymy for literary composition generally, here the 'tragedy Cato.' This usage is poetic and apparently not found in Latin prose except in Tacitus. Cf. c. 6 22 recentem curam 28 20 studia curasque Ann. III 24 si . . plures ad curas vitam produxero. IV 11 quorum in manus cura nostra venerit. Ov. ex Ponto II 4, 16 hoc pretium curae dulce regentis erat. IV 16, 39 quod inedita cura est. Mart. I 107, 5 condere victuras temptem per saecula curas. — **cogitationi** = consilio, a meaning also peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. c. 21 21 Ag. 39 H. I 27 II 74 Ann. XV 54. — **toto pectore**: Cf. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. IX 274 est de proverbio. Cicero de leg. (I 18, 49) 'nisi toto pectore amatur, ut dicitur' cum enim dicit 'ut dicitur' ostendit proverbiale. It occurs again in c. 28 26 Ovid, Fast. VI 464 ex Pont. III 1, 39 Sen. Ep. 3, 2 and is especially frequent in Cicero. See Otto, *Die Sprichwörter etc. der Römer*, Leipzig 1890 p. 270.

14 **incumbam** with dat. seems to occur first in Rhet. ad. Her. I 11, 18 gladio incumbere. Cicero uses *in* or *ad* e. g. de invent. II 51, 154 in gladium incubuerat Ep. ad fam. X 10, 2 incumbe toto pectore ad laudem. It is common in Silver Latin and the invariable rule in Tacitus. Cf. also Quint. IX 3, 1 si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est ut 'hac re invidere,' non, ut omnes veteres et Cicero praecipue, 'hanc rem,' et 'incumbere illi,' non 'in illum' et 'plenum vino' non 'vini.'

15 **inquit**: Unusually far removed from the beginning of the sentence, in which it generally occupies the second or third place. We have a similar instance in c. 42 extr. 'at ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit, and in Cic. Acad. Post. I 4, 14. Iam vero . . . adsidamus, inquam. — **quominus**: = *quin*, see note to c. 3 5. It is here used as an epexegetic adversative conjunction. So c. 34 11 ubi nemo . . . contrarie dicit quominus iudex respuat ('but that'). Ann. V 5 nec ultra deliberatum quominus . . . decernerent. Cp. Dr. *Stil* § 187 and John's note ad loc. who also adduces an example from Cicero de Orat. I 16, 70 nullis ut terminis circumscribat aut definiat ius suum quominus ei liceat eadem illa facultate et copia vagari qua velit.

16 **modo-nunc** for modo-modo is quite Tacitean. Cf. H. II 51, III 85, but nunc-nunc (introduced into prose by Livy) occurs only once, Ann. IV 51. In Cic. pro Mur. 40, 86 nunc is widely separated from modo. On these collocations in general, see the exhaustive discussion of Woelfflin, *Archiv* II, p. 233–254.

17 **circa**: 'concerning, in regard to, in the case of.' This use of circa, which is chiefly post-Augustan, is first found in Hor. C. II 5, 5 circa virentes est animus. Cf. c. 22 12 28 12 G. 28 H. I 13 and in the second part of the Annals, XI 15. 29 XVI 8. Especially frequent in Quintilian (over 60 instances). For circa-circum (first in Cic. Verr. I 126) cp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* V p. 294–296. — **Medea**: Omitting the extant plays of Euripides and Seneca, the story of Medea was dramatised by Neophron, and in Latin by Ennius (Medea exul and Medea Atheniensis), by Ovid, and in the third century by one Hosidius Geta, who, according to Tertullian, 'Medeam tragoediam ex Vergilio plenissime exsuxit.' — **ecce**: In Tac. only here. It rarely emphasises a single word, as e. g. Plin. N. H. XXXVI 69, 203 Sen. Ep. 58, 7; 59, 7; 90, 2 Dial. XII 9, 8, nunc ecce. Ps. Quint. Decl. 3, 4 Florus 4, 2, 10 Pervig. Ven. 81. See Köhler, *Archiv* V 16–32 and Woelfflin, *ibid.* VI 2. On the etymology, which is very controversial, cp. Köhler, *Archiv* VIII 221–234. — *Ecce* shows that the announcement of still another tragedy from the pen of Maternus is news to Aper.

18 **coloniarum et municipiorum**: The want of precision with which these terms are used by Roman writers, makes it very difficult to arrive at a clear distinction between them. In the time of Gellius (XVI 13) these designations are apparently regarded as

synonyms, and so once even as early as Cic. Ep. ad fam. XIII 13. See on this whole question, Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* III p. 232 note 3, *Hermes*, XXVII p. 108 and Smith, *Dict. Ant.* II p. 483 ff. where a long list of other authorities is cited. — **clientelae:** Colonies and municipalities were wont to place themselves under the protection of some illustrious Roman citizen who thus became their patron and who acted as their legal representative in all matters that came under imperial jurisdiction. The precise relations of the patronus and his client are enveloped in much obscurity because ancient authorities usually leave us to guess the chronological periods to which their remarks on this subject are applicable. Cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* I p. 319 ff. *Röm. Staatsrecht* III p. 54–88 Friedländer, *S. G.* I. p. 379–391 Smith, *Dict.* I p. 456 ff. See also note to c. 36 19.

19 **suffeceris:** The perf. subj. is here used for the regular construction with the imperf. to express Aper's conviction more politely. There seems, therefore, no valid reason for regarding 'suffeceris' as independent of the conditional clause, the apodosis having to be supplied by some thought as 'to which you would not even prove equal if' ('und auch dann nicht gewachsen sein würdest, wenn' Andresen and similarly Peter), an interpretation which also completely loses sight of the force of *etiam si*.

20 **novum negotium** etc. refers to the poetic activity of Maternus in general. Aper contends that an advocate so much sought after as Maternus, can ill afford to devote his precious time to such unprofitable employment as writing dramas, if he at all desires conscientiously to do his full duty by his numerous clients. Vahlen *Prooem.* 1878–9 p. 4 ff. pointed out a slight inconsistency in the closing clause of this chapter. For the words, as they stand, clearly imply the absurd assumption that Maternus would find more time for the discharge of his forensic obligations, if his poetic Muse contented itself with the occasional production of tragedies based upon the hackneyed themes of Greek story, instead of writing praetextatae! Nevertheless, R. Schöll (*Comment. Woelfflin* p. 393–99) partially upholds this view, alleging that Aper, though he regards the composition of a Greek tragedy as sheer waste of time, would yet allow Maternus to dramatise Roman subjects because these, at least, call for higher intellectual effort and originality, and are as such not unworthy of the attention of a true Roman!

In support of this, Schöll seems to lay great stress upon the word 'importasses,' taking it in its usual sense of 'importing from a foreign locality,' but in that case 'novum' were quite out of place, for the 'importation of Greek fabulae' is as old as the Roman drama itself. Schöll's interpretation of *novum*, 'subjects treated for the first time as opposed to the hackneyed Greek fable' is also at variance with the facts and involves a petitio principii. Aper is uncompromisingly opposed to *all* poetic productions of Maternus, as is unmistakably indicated by c. 5 9 f. Securus sit . . . Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet cum *causas agere non possit.* Vahlen also observes that we should rather expect 'ecce Catonem' in place of 'Medeam' which play had not yet been mentioned, but this objection applies with equal force to the Domitius. The author simply desired to acquaint the reader with the titles of all of the dramas of Maternus and the antithesis in the last clause naturally suggested the symmetrical grouping of the Greek and the Roman titles. For other, more or less genuine instances of inconsistency, see Vahlen l. c. and notes to c. 12 6 15 14 16 27 18 3 19 11 25 31 26 26 32 27.

negotium = 'occupation, employment, business,' often with the accessory notion of something troublesome or disagreeable (so here and c. 9 11 where see note) and thus passing easily into the meaning of 'law case or judicial trial' in which technical sense the word is post-Aug., if we except a doubtful passage in Plaut. Aulul. III 4, 1 (v. 453) qui cum opulento pauper homine coepit rem habere aut negotium. Cf. 19 26 38 9 Ann. II 27 IV 15 XI 6 XIII 4 XVI 22. Negotium as an equivalent of res is colloquial. Cp. c. 18 29 mihi cum universis negotium est and c. 10 19 tecum mihi, Materne res est. See Woelfflin, *Phil.* XXXIV p. 147 and esp. Schmalz, *Antib.* II 129, where many more references are given. — **importasses** = imponere, iniungere. This verb in its figurative sense is invariably used of disagreeable things, and it is in this light that Aper regards the occupation to which Maternus proposes to devote himself. Cp. Hor. Ep. I 13, 5 odium libellis importes and the examples from Cicero cited by Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 107. — **Domitius**: Nearly all commentators agree in identifying the hero of this praetextata with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cons. 54 B.C.) the same whom Luc. VII 599 ff. glorified and of whom Cic. Brut. 77, 267 says nulla quidem arte sed Latine tamen et *multa*

cum libertate dicebat. R. Schöll l. c. has, however, satisfactorily shown that his son Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cons. 32 B.C.), the partisan of Antony is here meant, the same who appears in Shakespeare as Enobarbus.

21 **id est**: So again c. 9 ext. 22 8 and perhaps c. 17 16. In G. 40 = 'that is to say.' In other passages, Tacitus uses 'idque': Ann. IV 11. 39 XIII 45. — **historias** . . **fabulis**: The two terms are here clearly contrasted, but to the ancients the line of demarcation was generally very slight. Cp. besides the famous passage in Arist. Poet. c. 9 on the difference between poetry and history, Dionys. de Thucyd. 51 *ἐγὼ δ' οὔτ' αὐχμηρὰν καὶ ἀκόσμητον καὶ ἰδιωτικὴν τὴν ἱστορικὴν εἶναι πραγματείαν ἀξιώσαιμ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἔχουσάν τι καὶ ποιητικόν.* Cic. Brut. 11, 42 concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, repudiated in de orat. II 15, 62. Quint. X 1, 31 historia proxima poetis, but II 4, 2 fabulam quae versatur in tragoediis atque carminibus non a veritate modo sed etiam a forma veritatis remota . . . historiam in qua est gestae rei expositio Plin. Ep. VII 33, 10 nec historia debet egredi veritatem. In the Latin poets, historia is used as a synonym of fabula, e. g. Plaut. Bacch. 156 satis historiarum (On Hercules and Linus) Prop. IV (V) 1, 119 hactenus historiae (Trojan legends) Hor. C. III 7, 20. Ov. Am. II 4, 44. Cf. Dombart, *Archiv* III 230 f. and Woelfflin, *ibid.* 235. — **Graeculorum**: This diminutive generally, as here, expresses contempt. Cp. Cic. Pis. 29 de orat. I 11, 47 22, 102 Iuv. III 78 Graeculus esuriens VI 185 Plin. Paneg. 13 Macrob. II 4 Florus II 7, 9 and applied even to Cicero himself by Calenus ap. Cass. Dio 46, 9 *ὦ Κικέρων ἢ Κικεράκιε ἢ Κικέριθε ἢ Γραίκουλε.* — *nostras . . . adgregares*, shows that Maternus began his career as a dramatist with Greek tragedies. The play alluded to in c. 11 9 cannot, therefore, have been a praetextata. See note ad loc.

'aggregares' is the reading of our MSS., dependent upon 'ut,' which was accidentally omitted, for the insertion of this particle is far more methodical than to take the subjunctive as an appositional clause with an awkward change of tense or to write adgregare, the infinitive being equivalent to a gerund as in Tac. e. g. c. 27 6 Ann. I 56 VI 12. John's defence of the imperf. subj., without ut, is too forced to carry conviction.

4. 1 **Et**: At the beginning of a sentence *et* marks the transition to a new topic Cf. c. 28 1 with inquit also omitted. 16 5 et Messalla 'aperiam' inquit 33 1 et Maternus 'mihi quidem' inquit

H. I 35 Ann. I 22. For similar ellipses of the verbum dicendi, cf. Nep. Eum. 11, 5 huic Eumenes: utinam quidem istud evenisset Cic. Acad. Post. 4, 14 de Rep. III 44 and Madvig, de fin. I 3, 9 II 3, 9. — **hac tua**: This collocation is very common in the D. e. g. c. 10 9 hunc meum 21 7 42 4 15 3 hunc tuum 1 7 cui . . tuae = sed huic . . tuae 13 12 hac sua 16 12 hanc nostram 16 15 hac vestra and H. II 47 hanc virtutem vestram. It is apparently colloquial usage and therefore not unsuited to a conversational or epistolary style. Cicero has but one instance in the speeches (pro Lig. 35 hi tui). In Quint. it is very rare (e. g. I 3, 3 hic meus) but in Pliny's letters, as we are not surprised to observe, it is correspondingly frequent.

2 **frequens et adsidua**: John well remarks that the interposition of 'nobis' strongly favors the predicative meaning of these words rather than the usual interpretation which regards them as one of the very numerous instances of fullness or redundancy of expression in the D. This view is also in a measure confirmed by Cicero who (pro Planc. 8 ext.) has the phrase 'adsidua frequentia.' 'To dispute repeatedly and earnestly has almost become a habit with us.'

3 **vertisset** with the force of a middle is particularly frequent in Tac. e. g. Ag. 31 nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset G. 31 in consensum vertit H. IV 27 Ann. XIII 37 and other exx. cited by Boetticher *Lex. Tac.* s. v. Not uncommon in Livy e. g. I 53, 6 II 3, 3, where see Weissenborn. — On the dozen different significations which this verb has in T., cp. Gerber, *De usu praepos.* p. 17. — The imperf. in an unreal condition followed by a pluperfect (so again in c. 10 23 si . . dedissent . . non paterer) 'I should (now) be disturbed, had not our disputes (long ago) become' presents no departure from classical usage. Weinkauff's note p. 114 is, therefore, both superfluous and misleading. Cp. Roby II p. 224. — On nec-et, see c. 2 10. — **agitare et insequi**: Synonymic collocations are particularly abundant in Aper's speeches and may have been designed to give an individualistic color to his style. Nearly all of them can be paralleled from Cicero, where they are, however, very often found in the *inverse order*, a fact which in many instances betrays direct indebtedness on the part of Tacitus. Cf. c. 1 14 2 16 5 2. 22. 25. 32 6 3. 22 7 17 8 7 10 1. 33 11 7 12 4 26 18 28 16 29 12 32 6 35 22. Cf. Cic. de div. II 70, 144 insectans . . . et agitans pro Mur. 9, 21 agitat . . . insectatur. Observe also that while Cicero

uses *et*, *ac* or *atque* indifferently, Tacitus, in the D. combines two *synonymous* verbs by *et*, but if the *second stands in some causal relation to the first*, we find *atque* e. g. c. 7 8 8 22 9 16. 30 11 7 17 29 22 22 26 34 30 25 32 6 33 9 39 22 and also crit. note c. 20 7. — c. 6 27 15 2. 12 17 29 23 4 32 6. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII p. 342 f. — **desidiam advocationum**: *desidia*, as Wolff observes, is not found elsewhere with an obj. gen., but may have been used on the analogy of neglegentia alicuius. Cf. also Ann. XV 48 voluptatum parsimonia and Dr. *H. S.* I 468. — **cotidianum** = cotidie. A predicate adjective for the adverb is next to Livy, most frequent in Tacitus. Cf. e. g. c. 7 1 non eum diem laetiorem egi 13 21 trepidus experiar 23 2 invitus rettuli 33 24 paratiorem . . . venturum. Ag. 22 avidus intercepit 37 ni frequens Agr. . . . iussisset (also 12. 19. 20) G. 2 Oceanus raris . . . navibus aditur 6. 9. 43, H. II 40 rapidi equis forum inrumpunt, II 10. 40 III 7. 47 IV 14. 83 Ann. III 29 occulti preces illuderent XV 43 largior flueret aqua I 27 II 6. 21. 52. 57 III 11. 26. 40. 65 IV 12. 33. 35. 40. 68. 83 VI 10 XI 1. 21 XII 12. 28. 31. 63 XIV 10 XVI 11 et saep. For this usage in other Latin writers, cp. R. V. III p. 157 f. note 395 Dr. *H. S.* I 352 ff. Stil § 8 (who, however, omits the passages from the D.), Roby § 1069, 7. — So also in Greek, cp. Holden, note to Plutarch, Demosth. I 1, 6. On the orthography, see Quint. I 7, 6 frigidiora his alia ut . . . 'quotidie' non 'cotidie' ut sit quot diebus : verum haec iam inter ipsas ineptias evanuerunt. Cp. also Jordan, *Hermes* XVI 49 f.

5 **adversus**: This is, according to Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV 103 and Greef, *De praep. usu T.* p. 39 f., the invariable form in the minor writings, 'adversum' first occurring in H. I 51 and then especially common in the first six books of the Annals; in the second part, Tacitus seems to revert *as often* to his earlier usage. See note c. 16 30. — **oblatum**: On the ellipsis of esse, cf. c. 2 13.

6 **in futurum**: Also H. I 72 Ann. IV 37. — **vel-vel** like aut-aut is often, contrary to the teaching of many grammarians, used, where two statements mutually exclude each other and even where the choice is far from being a matter of indifference. In all these instances, the alternative is an imaginary, subjective proposition. So also 'vel,' where 'aut' is more usual. — H. I 21 Ann. XIII 41 XIV 35. 61. A second 'vel' in such cases has frequently the force of 'vel potius.' Examples are common in all periods. Cp. Hand,

Tursell. I 526 ff. Nipp. Ann. XIV 35 Dr. *H. S.* II 141 ff. Kühner II 711 and R. V. III 251 note 423[a], where other literature is cited.

8 **mihi** = a me. The so-called dativus subiectivus is far more common in Tac. than one would suppose from Nipperdey's note to Ann. II 50, for it occurs more than *thirty* times. D. 32 30 Ag. 2 G. 16. 34 H. I 11. 53. 60. 70 II 80 III 12. 70 IV 6 V 15 Ann. I 10. 17. 42 II 50. 57 III 3. 20 IV 6. 10 VI 31. 41 XI 27. 29 XII 1. 9. 18. 54 XIII 20 XIV 14. 18. 58 XV 3. 41. Occasionally in Cic. de off. III 9 de inv. I 86 de fin. I 4, 11, where see Madvig. Not found in Caesar, Velleius and Curtius, but quite frequent in Seneca, Pliny and Quint. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 428–31, *Stil* § 51.

9 **satis superque sudatum**: On the alliteration, cf. note to c. 2 13 and Proleg. p. cxvii.

10 **eloquentiam colam solam**: Cf. Cic. Orat. 7, 23 ad eam quam sentiam eloquentiam. Brut. 90, 309 illam iustam eloquentiam quam dialecticam dilatatam. Many similar instances of **ὁμοιοτέλευτα** and **ὁμοιόπτωτα** (cf. Cic. de orat. III 54, 206) in Tac. have been collected by Nipp. Ann. I 24. 59 and Weinkauff p. 77. See Proleg. p. cxvii. For Cicero, cp. Seyff.-Müll. Laelius p. 189 and esp. Ellendt de orat. III 6, 22 and in general R. V. III 865 note 619, and Volkmann *Rhet.* p. 483. The Roman ear took no offence at an accumulation of 'a' sounds; in the present instance, the alleged cacophony is, moreover, considerably lessened by difference of quantity. So Ann. I 24 ignis patulis magis urbis locis. 'Sanctus et augustus' is a favorite collocation of Cicero e. g. de nat. deor. I 42, 119 II 24, 62 III 21, 53 Tusc. Disp. V 13, 37.

solam inserted by Vahlen gives additional weight to the solemn asseveration of Maternus. The word was omitted as a dittography of colam.

(Ch. 5–10.) *After Secundus had begged to be excused from acting as umpire in the contemplated debate, because of settled convictions and prejudices which incapacitated him from giving an impartial decision, Aper (c. 5–10 ext.) begins his Defence of Oratory speaking 1. of the usefulness of eloquence (— c. 6) 2. of the pleasures derived from it (— c. 7) 3. of the dignity, the honors and glory to be won by it, in all of which poetry must be held incomparably inferior as affording but a transitory delight and an at best ephemeral reputation, often acquired at the expense of personal safety, comfort and tranquillity of mind (— c. 10 ext.).*

5. 1 **vero** occurs in constantly decreasing proportion in Tac., 'verum' is first used in the Annals. Cp. Spitta p. 150 Dr. *H. S.* II 131. On the original distinction between 'vero' as an asseverative particle, and 'verum' as an adversative conjunction, as we find it in Plautus, cp. Langen, *Beitr. zu Plaut.* 113 ff. and in general Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 197, 2. — **antequam**: With the present subj. also H. I 4, 1. Draeger's rule (*Stil* p. 69) that quam, if preceded by a negatived prius or ante, takes the indicative in T., except G. 13, is misleading and not confirmed by the Lex. Tac. s. v. The indicative occurs but twice in all.

Moderati is the reading of the X class, but this has justly been discarded by several editors for modesti of the other MSS. Modestus is the vox propria for a conscientious judge (cf. Tac. Ann. III 19 id solum Germanico super leges praestiterimus quod . . . cetera pari modestia tractentur) and hence modestia is repeatedly combined with probitas e. g. c. 29 7 40 9 G. 36, 4 modestia ac probitas, and also Ann. XIV 15 modestia aut quicquam probi moris.

2 **solent** sc. facere. Cf. Cic. Verr. IV 9, 21 fecisti ut praedones solent pro Cael. 9, 21 faciunt quod viri fortissimi solent. Cp. Anton, *Stud.* 100 ff.

The insertion of 'se' before excusent is palaeographically so easy that there is no reason, in deference to MS. authority, to assume a ἀπ. εἰρ. The passage which Peter cites, in support of an absolute use of this verb, from Ag. 42 audiit preces excusantis, is not analogous, for here excusare means 'to decline,' sc. provinciam. If T. had omitted se, he would probably have written cognitiones excusent. Wolff regards cognitionibus as a dative, retains the preposition before iis, omits se and quotes Cic. Brut. 26, 101 cui tamen Laelius se excusans as a parallel construction!

4 **praevalere** = plus valere. Post-Aug. and most frequent in Tacitus. E. g. Ann. XII 64 apud Neronem praevaleret H. III 8 Ann. I 58 XI 28. 32. Suet. Nero 28 gratiae praevaleret.

5 **usu amicitiae, etc.**: On similar pleonastic collocations, especially numerous in Aper's speeches, see Proleg. p. cxvii.Cic. de nat. deor. II 38, 96 says assiduitate cotidiana et consuetudine. — **contubernium** originally designated, as its etymology (from taberna) implies, 'tent companionship of soldiers,' and was then used of 'persons connected by ties of intimate friendship and often living under the same roof.' In this sense, the word does not occur elsewhere in Tac. For still another meaning, see c. 13 1. — **et-et** after a negative, which Spitta p. 142 denied to Tac. and to good Latinity generally, again occurs c. 34 11 Ag. 35.

6 **Saleius Bassus**: Highly extolled by Secundus and again by Aper c. 9 8, but not without a tinge of irony. Quintilian damns him with faint praise: X 1, 90 (among the epic poets) vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit nec ipsum senectute maturuit. The 'fuit' shows that the old poet was dead, when these words were written. He cannot, therefore, as is generally done, be identified with the Saleius designated by Iuv. VII 80 as *tenuis*, for this satire was written nearly fifty years after Saleius Bassus had been presented with a gift of 500,000 sestertia ($20,000) by Vespasian, as we learn from c. 9 25, and about thirty years after Quintilian's remark. Nor is there any reason for supposing that he is the same whose tragedies (Colchis, Thyestes, Niobe, Andromache) Martial, V 53, 3 (published 89 A.D.) ridicules: Materia est, mihi crede, tuis aptissima chartis Deucalion (i. e. water) vel, si non placet hic, Phaethon (fire). Cp. Teuffel § 318, 2. — **absolutissimum**: *absolutus* strictly speaking admits of no superlative, but similar exx. are numerous. E. g. ad Herenn. II 18, 28 Plin. N. H. XXXV 10, 36, 74, Plin. Ep. I 20, 10. Cp. Neue, *Formenl.* II[3] 220. So *perfectissimus*, on which see Neue l. c. 235 and Sandys' note to Orat. 1, 3. — In the sense of 'perfect' and applied to persons, 'absolutus' is extremely rare e. g. Cic. Tim. 4 animanti absoluto de div. II 72, 150 qui (sc. philosophi) prope iam absoluti et perfecti. Sen. Ep. 84, 3 Apul. Dogm. Plat. 230 artibus et prudentiae partibus absolutus. — On the ὁμοιοτέλευτον, cf. c. 14 19 litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum Ann. XV 37 superpositum convivium navium aliarum Liv. V 24 publicorum privatorumque tectorum ac locorum. XXIII 48 eum ipsum tributum conferentium numerum. — **cum-tum**: In Tac. only here, c. 14 19 and Ann. XV 48 cum odio Neronis tum favore in C. Pisonem. No satisfactory rule can be given for the use of cum-tum and tum-tum (common in Cicero and revived by Quintilian), owing to the constant confusion between these forms in our MSS., but tum when thus correlated with cum generally introduces a stronger (as here) or more important assertion. Cp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* II 240, R. V. III 215 note 414 Schmalz, *Antib.* II 425. 620 Kühner II 897 note 3. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 155. Wilkins, Cic. de orat. III 54, 206.

7 **porro** = atqui cf. c. 23 14 Ag. 15, 22 Ann. III 34. 58. 'Si accusatur' must be regarded, as John ad loc. has ingeniously shown, as a major premise of a hypothetical syllogism which furnishes the

logical connecting link between the two propositions: 'Bassus is a perfect poet' and 'no one is a more suitable culprit.' Again Secundus' friendship for Bassus and the latter's poetical renown, are two premises contained in the rhetorical question 'quis ... poetam,' of which the refusal of Secundus to act as judge forms the conclusion.

reum locupletiorem: *locuples* seems to be a legal term signifying 'weighty or trustworthy' (Quint. X 1, 67 XII 10, 78) and is usually joined with testis, auctor. With reus: Liv. IX 9, 18 nos sumus rei satis locupletes. Digest. XII 1, 41 reum locupletem offerre. Cf. Ann. IV 43 quod si vatum . . ad testimonia vocentur . . locupletiores esse. Secundus means to say, if poetry is to be accused, then I know of no more suitable culprit, no more weighty representative of that art than my friend Bassus. So much the more reason for my declining to sit in judgment upon a question in which poetry is involved. — In Aper's 'Defence of Oratory' which now follows the author has admirably succeeded in individualising the speaker both in style and sentiment. In his fondness for metaphors, fulness of expression, epigrammatic point, conspicuous throughout this speech, Aper stands out in bold relief as a true representative of the rhetorical eloquence of his time. That this effect is brought about notwithstanding the fact that the author has repeatedly appropriated Ciceronian 'motives' and phrases proves, on the one hand, that Aper's defence is not strictly historical, and on the other that Tacitus even in his youth was no servile imitator but an artist who breathed a new originality even into borrowed material.

9 **quisquis alius**: *alius* following a relative pronoun is a favorite expression of T. Cf. c. 19 14 et quidquid aliud 35 20 aut quidquid [aliud] c. 10 17 15 15 18 4 21 4 25 6 29 14 H. I 11. 23. 53. (bis) 63 II 4 III 34 IV 73 Ann. I 32. 35. 47 II 41. 56. 74 III 43 IV 9. 65 XI 3 XII 38 XIII 21. 49. 51. 57 XIV 3. 17. 31 XV 38 XVI 2. 19 and *once* in inverse order Ann. XIV 33 aliudve quod. In Quintilian this collocation occurs a dozen times, but aliud *precedes* the relative, except XII 9, 20 and I 10, 36 quandam aliam XI 2, 6 quibusdam aliis V prooem. 5 VIII 2, 7 IX 3, 21 nescio cui alii, none of which groupings is met with in T.

10 **gloriam**: Generally 'renown' won in the service of one's country, esp. on the field of battle. In the Dial., it is throughout used of 'literary fame' and so also Ann. XII 28 in quis carminum

gloria excellit. 58 studiis honestis et eloquentiae gloria enitesceret (Nero). Comparatively rare elsewhere. Cf. Quint. X 1, 104 Plin. Ep. I 16, 6 II 3, 8 Nep. Epam. 2, 1 Cic. Acad. II 23, 72 pro Arch. 3, 4; 5, 10. — **fovet**: A favorite word of T. and often used with abstract nouns, an occurrence apparently not earlier than Livy e. g. III 65, 1. Cf. c. 17 15 H. II 30, utilitatem f. V 8 superstitionem f. Ann. II 71. Fortunam VI 45 gratiam XI 6 iniurias XIV 55 iuventam XV 71 studia. Quint. II 8, 3. Suet. Octav. 89, Vesp. 18 ingenia.

11 **enim**: 'and I say this, for I shall not tolerate . . since.' On this brachylogical use of enim cp. c. 1 ext. (crit. note). — **quatenus**: Causal = quoniam. Earliest instance in Ep. Corneliae (cited by Nipp. Ann. III 16, but in the other example there quoted from Scipio ap. Fest. 258 M. quatenus is used in a rare local sense), then chiefly in the poets, first in Lucret. II 927, frequent in Horace, C. III 24 30 Sat. I 1, 64. 3, 76 II 4, 57 and in Ovid, Met. VIII 786. XIV 40 Trist. V 5, 21. Not in Cic., Caes., Sallust, Varro, the two Senecas nor in Vergil, Lucan or Statius, but again common in post-Aug. prose e. g. Val. Max. IX 11 Vell. II 68, 3 Plin. Ep. III 7, 14, five times in Quint. and in two other places in Tac. c. 19 1 Ann. III 16. Cp. the exhaustive discussion of Woelfflin, *Archiv* V 399–414. Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* p. 521 f.

12 **societate**: Tacitus often gives expression to a similar sentiment. Cf. H. II 52 nemo privatim expedito consilio inter multos societate culpae tutior IV 41 societate culpae invidiam declinavit Ann. XIV 49 plures numero tuti and so also Sall. Cat. 48, 7 quo facilius appellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. — **plurium**: clearly implies a *negative* form of the preceding sentence. See the critical note below. — **ipsum solum**: Perhaps also G. 38 in ipso solo vertice (v. l. solo ipso, i. e. solo ipso — del. Halm). So in Greek αὐτὸς μόνος e. g. Plat. Lys. 211 c Polit. 307 e Tim. 89 d. On this alleged pleonasm, cp. J. Gerike, *De abundanti dicendi genere Tac.* p. 69 f. — *solum* in contrast to 'societate plurium.'

13 **arguam**: Usually 'to accuse in a court of law.' It also occurs in the sense of accusare extra iudicium e. g. H. I 80 Ann. IV 10 XV 56. But Maternus is here supposed to be the judge trying a real case. For arguere with acc. of the person cf. Ann. III 16 IV 10.

Secundus had declined to act as umpire in terms which leave no doubt of his sincerity. Aper cannot, therefore, be made to ignore this refusal as Ribbeck *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII 502, Gilbert *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1886 p. 204 and Wolff ad loc. contend, a view which they themselves are unable to maintain without arbitrary changes in the text. The words 'securus . . . possit' are simply designed as John, *Correspbl.* I p. 1–3, has convincingly shown, to jeopardise the position of Maternus in the following debate, by depriving him of influential outside support. By the aforesaid refusal of Secundus, Aper feels at liberty to impose conditions which he under other circumstances had no right to suggest, he being as prejudiced a party on the one side as Secundus on the other. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that the clause 'quatenus . . inveniri' must contain a *negative* idea. The emendations of John and Andresen are prompted by a desire to retain 'inveniri' which, as it stands, is unintelligible. But their conjectures lack the palaeographical simplicity of the reading *non* inveni (ñinv.) given in the text. The infinitive inveniri was caused by the non patiar following. — Of the numerous emendations proposed in place of 'apud eos,' the reading of all our MSS., with the exception of D (ipsos), *te* is out of the question, for Secundus does *not* assume the rôle of arbiter; *vos* would include the author himself who throughout the entire treatise keeps studiously in the background, nor is it at all likely that Aper would have asked his young pupil to sit in judgment upon Maternus. The same objection applies to *eos*, *ipsos* or *hos* (Peterson). *Eum* is syntactically, *se coarguam* palaeographically inadmissible. *Nos* (John), however, is an easy correction and in perfect keeping with the context of the passage. Andresen objects to it because of the preceding 'ego.' Nos, however, is *not* the plur. maiestatis but includes Secundus. And even if it were, similar examples of inconcinnitas might easily be adduced from Tac. and other writers: e. g. H. IV 5 incidimus . . repetam. Ag. 43 nobis nihil comperti, adfirmare ausim. Ann. XIV 43 in nobis . . . existimabam. Cp. also Shakespeare, Jul. Caesar: If thou be'st not immortal, look about you. — *Et* finally has been defended by John l. c., but as it is quite superfluous, it is perhaps better to delete it as a dittography of the preceding syllable, a notoriously common error.

natus ad: So. c. 6 4 10 23 H. IV 64 viris ad arma natis. With dative only Ag. 31 nata servituti. On c. 12 10 see crit. note. Cp. Maué, *De praep. 'ad' ap. T. usu* p. 51. — **virilem et oratoriam:** Cf. Cic. de orat. I 54, 231 illam orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, fortem et virilem non videri. Andresen interprets 'virilem' as explanatory of 'oratoriam,' while Peter takes exactly the opposite view, assuming 'et' as an epexegetic conjunction, a very common use in Tac. (cf. Lex. Tac. p. 396[b] 397[a]). The Ciceronian model seems, however, sufficient to show that both terms have each an independent force. They were simply grouped together to distinguish the sanctior et augustior eloquentia (= poetry) of Maternus from what

Aper regards as the only true eloquence. This view is confirmed by the generic meaning of the word eloquentia in c. 10 13, where it is made to include poetry as well as oratory. In order, therefore, to restrict it to the latter only, distinguishing epithets such as virilis (cf. Cic. ad fam. I 9, 23 nam me iam ab orationibus diiungo fere referoque ad *mansuetiores* Musas) and oratoria were necessary. Cf. also c. 8 14 oratoriae eloquentiae.

14 **parere simul et tueri**: *Tueri* carries on the thought of 'parere' and we should, therefore, expect 'ac' or 'atque,' according to Tacitean usage pointed out c. 4 3. But here and again below, 'propugnare pariter et incessere,' the rule is only apparently violated, for the insertion of simul and pariter has the effect of making the action expressed by the two verbs appear simultaneous, coalescing, as it were, into one idea. T. uses 'simul et' more frequently than the classical 'simul ac' which is chiefly found in the minor writings. E. g. Ag. 10. 24. 35 G. 30. 34 H. I 75. II 100 Ann. IV 2 VI 51. Cf. Madvig, Cic. de fin. II 11, 33 Lex. Tac. p. 372[b] 382[a] 387[a] Spitta p. 95. — On the position of the adv. see note c. 12 19.

15 **complecti provincias**: sc. patrocinio. The insertion of this word would have destroyed the stylistic equilibrium. For a similar ellipsis, cf. Ag. 25 amplecti civitates (sc. bello). — **omittit studium quo**: John supplies 'eloquentiae,' to avoid the objection of Vahlen and Andresen that the same idea is here repeated in very similar language, whereas we expect Aper to speak of *two* occupations of Maternus, one of which he neglects, while devoting himself assiduously to the other. I see no reason for departing from the usual interpretation which supplies in thought an 'id' before studium. The alleged repetition is occasioned by the design of the author to depict Aper as a trained rhetorician who carefully enumerates the various subdivisions of his argument which he subsequently discusses in regular order. It is strange that John, who makes the same observation, did not see that it renders his own suggestion superfluous. — The passage from qua . . potest contains two climaxes, one asyndetic, the other polysyndetic. The last member of the second is moreover amplified to give a sonorous finish. For exx. of this peculiarly Tacitean device, see the long list in Weinkauff, p. 92–97.

17 **urbis** is best taken as a subjective genitive, for the analogous expressions which immediately follow are clearly not ob-

jective genitives, for these are theoretically always resolvable into a verb with an obj. or an adv. clause.

The inserted clause 'vel ad voluptatem iucundius' is rendered necessary by the context. The eye of the scribe glancing from one 'vel ad' to another occasioned the omission. While iucundius or honestius are not intrinsically objectionable, quid enim dulcius at the beginning of c. 6 strongly favors the reading adopted in the text. — The cod. D, which is singularly free from interpolations, has famam after imperii, but in parenthesis. This possibly points to a lacuna which was falsely supplied and afterwards bracketed, as it is not found in other MSS. The original reading may have been gloriam, cf. c. 11 12.

19 **ad utilitatem vitae**, etc.: For similar utilitarian sentiments cp. the debate in the senate which Tac., in a famous passage (Ann. XI 5–7), reports, touching the reënforcement of the lex Cincia 'qua cavetur antiquitus ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.' 7 quem illum tanta superbia esse ut aeternitatem famae spe praesumat? Usui et rebus subsidium parari... nihil a quoquam expeti nisi cuius fructus ante providerit. Cf. also Sen. de clem. I 3, 2 qui hominem voluptati donant, quorum omnia dicta factaque ad utilitates suas spectant. Ep. 48, 2 nec potest quisquam beate degere qui se tantum intuetur, qui omnia ad utilitates suas convertit. *Vitae* belongs to *consilia*. — The joining of an adjective with 'ad' to a kindred substantive is Ciceronian usage. Cp. Hand, *Turs.* I 106.

20 **derigenda**: On this orthography, cf. Munro, Lucret. VI 823 Heraeus, H. IV 16 Pfitzner l. c. p. 48. — On a similar chiasmus at the close of an enumeration cf. c. 26 22 varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore. The artistic balancing of groups of words and clauses is very conspicuous throughout the whole of Aper's speech and this design is the direct cause of the tautological or pleonastic collocations which critics have so often censured.

22 **metum et terrorem**: Same synonyms grouped together in Ag. 32 Plin. Paneg. 12. 66.

23 **ultro** = 'of one's own motion, or initiative.' In 9 16 19 26 32 16 = 'in addition to, moreover.' Cp. Ioh. Müller, *Beiträge* p. 16 Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVII 127 Heraeus, Tac. H. I 7, 8.

Examples are not wanting, where an indefinite subject must be supplied from the context. Cp. note c. 22 21. But as *s* and *t* are scarcely distinguishable in minuscles, there is no need for adopting the 'difficilior lectio' ferat for feras. So possis below in all MSS. (except D) which the advocates

of ferat, if they had been consistent and mindful of the symmetrical structure of these clauses, ought also to have changed into possit.

The entire passage beginning with 'quid est tutius' is directly based upon Cic. de orat. I 8, 30: neque vero mihi quidquam, inquit, praestabilius videtur quam posse dicendo tenere hominum mentes, adlicere voluntates, impellere quo velit, unde autem velit, deducere. 32 quid tam porro regium, tam liberale, tam munificum quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare adflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate? quid autem tam necessarium quam tenere semper arma quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare integer vel te ulcisci lacessitus. The divisions of the speech enumerated above are also very nearly identical with those given by Cic. l. c. I 41, 185 ff. in advocacy of the study of civil law. — **ipse securus** = cum sis securus. This use of an adjective (or substantive) for a subordinate clause is one of the most characteristic features of the style of Tacitus. Cf. c. 1 13 iuvenis (cum i. essem) 7 2 homo novus (quamquam) 8 16 egregius 27 4 mitior. In Ag. (12 exx.) G. (6) Hist. (121) Ann. (183). The combination of this elliptical construction and a subordinate clause is first met with in Ag. 39, curis exercitus quodque — statuit and thereafter with increasing frequency. Cp. Ihm, *Quaest. Synt.* p. 5 ff. where examples from other writers, especially Caesar and Horace (e. g. Sat. I 1, 35 II 1, 16) are also cited. For a somewhat analogous brachylogy, cf. Nipp. Ann. III 9 celebritate occultum. — **velut quadam**: Cf. c. 30 13 33 3 39 14 Ann. III 55. Cicero usually has quasi quidam (de orat. III 14, 53 Orat. 54, 181 Acad. Post. I 21 Lael. 13, 48). Here velut belongs properly to munitus. On the use of quasi and velut in general, see H. Hahn, *De usu velut et quasi Tac.* 'Quasi' according to Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXIV 123 is more frequent in the later writings of Tacitus, but see E. Wolff, *Die Sprache d. Tac.* l. c. The omission of such apologetic particles with metaphorical or unusual expressions is rare in classic Latin. Cf. Cic. de orat. III 41, 165 atque etiam, si vereare, ne paulo durior translatio esse videatur, mollienda est praeposito verbo. Περὶ ὕψους 32 Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ὁ Θεόφραστος μειλίγματά φασί τινα τῶν θρασειῶν εἶναι ταῦτα μεταφορῶν, τὰ 'ὡσπερεὶ φάναι' καὶ 'οἱονεί' . . ἡ γὰρ ὑποτίμησις, φασὶν, ἰᾶται τὰ τολμηρά. For the laxer Tacitean usage as compared to that of Cicero, see E. Wolff's *Introd.* to Dial. p. 14 f. In modern languages, apologies for metaphors are generally super-

fluous. — **potentia ac potestate**: *Potentia* (δύναμις) designates power as such, *potestas* (ἐξουσία) the power to exercise authority by virtue of some office, but this difference is not invariably observed. Cp. Tegge, *Stud. z. latein. Synonymik*, Berlin 1886 p. 272 Heraeus ad H. I 1, 1. Schmidt, *Handb. d. Syn.* p. 360 unsuccessfully endeavors to establish a metaphysical distinction. — On the alliteration, see Proleg. p. cxvii.

24 **rebus prospere fluentibus**: Cf. Ann. XV 5 nec praesentia prospere fluebant Cic. de off. I 26, 90 in rebus prosperis . . fluentibus. Sall. Fragm. 70 rebus supra vota fluentibus (imitated by Tac. H. IV 48 Iust. 23, 3).

25 **aliorum**: Subjective genit. with perfugio, objective with tutela. — 'vis et utilitas' belong closely together 'beneficent power,' as is shown by the sing. predicate.

26 **increpuit**: Danger is supposed to emit a noise of warning as it approaches. A bold figure and not quite paralleled by the passages usually quoted from Cic. Cat. I 7, 18 quidquid increpuerit Catilinam timeri. pro Mur. 10, 22 simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus and Livy IV 43 VI 37 XLIV 41. The perf. ind. (cod. D increpuerit) like G. 10. 39 H. II 76 Ann. IV 33. Cp. Klintberg, p. 27.

27 **reo et periclitanti** = reo in periculo eloquentia)(lorica et gladius [militi] in acie. The adjective 'periclitanti' is, therefore, not a superfluous addition but is necessary to bring out the antithesis. Translate: 'To the accused in a court of law.' Andresen regarding the expression as tautological, as do the rest of commentators, says that we expect 'in foro,' but that this is not the intended contrast to 'in acie,' is clearly shown by the words 'sive in iudicio . . in senatu . . apud principem.'

Vahlen's very simple emendation [quae est] praesidium admirably restores the force and symmetry of the simile which, if not destroyed, is decidedly weakened by the addition of praesidium . . telum, as a mere apposition of eloquentia.

28 **pariter et**: The classical 'pariter ac' also occurs a few times in Tacitus e. g. c. 39 15 Ag. 11 G. 19 H. IV 73 Ann. IV 50. See also note c. 5 14. — **sive . . vel . . sive**: On the use of 'sive,' see the exhaustive treatise of C. F. W. Müller, Progr. Ioachimsthal. Gymn. Berlin 1871 and note to c. 4 6.

The MSS. read vel-sive-sive, an unparalleled correlation. The suggestion of Muretus, so generally accepted, leaves the origin of the corruption un-

explained. Nipperdey *Rh. Mus.* XIX 271–277, prefers to change the first 'sive' into 'vel,' but his contention that 'in senatu' and 'apud principem' belong closely together is quite groundless. I can recognise only two members, vel and sive having accidentally changed places. 'Sive in iudicio vel in senatu' form the one (often combined by Cicero), 'sive apud principem,' the new judicial tribunal unknown to the Roman republic, the other. Cf. Tac. Ann. XIV 7 sive servitia armaret vel militem accenderet sive ad senatum et populum pervaderet. c. 28 2 aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro, with note. This interpretation derives weighty support from the change of the preposition (in-in-apud), for had T. intended a mere enumeration, he would probably have written sive (vel) apud iudicem (or centumviros) sive (vel) apud patres sive (vel) apud principem. See c. 7 5 f.

30 **Eprius Marcellus**: His full name and the principal offices which he held are given in an inscription from Capua, his probable birthplace. C. I. L. X 3853: T. Clodio, M. f. Pal(atina sc. tribu), Eprio Marcello cos. II (61 and 74 A. D.), auguri, curioni maximo, sodali Augustali pr(aetori) per(egrino) procos. Asiae III (70–73 A. D.) provincia Cypros. A notorious informer (under Nero) and a powerful friend of Vespasian (cf. c. 8) he, for reasons unknown to us, conspired against the emperor and was driven to suicide in 79 A. D. (cf. Cass. Dio 66, 16). Of the three encounters with Helvidius Priscus (cf. H. IV 6, 5. 6 10 — 9. 43.) the third (c. 70 A. D.) is undoubtedly the one here alluded to, *not* the *second*, as is shown by the terms nuper . . infestibus patribus . . minax . . elusit, none of which is applicable to the debate between Helvidius and Marcellus so vividly sketched by Tacitus H. IV 6 10–9, but they unmistakably refer to the last unsuccessful attempt of Helvidius to crush his old enemy. Cf. Tac. H. IV 43 Tanto cum adsensu senatus auditus est Montanus ut spem caperet Helvidius posse etiam Marcellum *prosterni* . . . crimine simul exemploque Eprium urguebat, *ardentibus patrum animis* (= infestis patribus) quod ubi sensit Marcellus: 'imus' inquit, 'Prisce, et relinquimus tibi senatum tuum: regna praesente Caesare.' sequebatur Vibius Priscus, ambo infensi, vultu diverso, Marcellus *minacibus* oculis, Crispus renidens . . . consumptus per discordiam dies. The character given to Marcellus, the tribute paid to his eloquence, both here and more fully c. 8 and 13 11 ff., are in perfect accord with the references to him found in the historical writings of Tacitus, even down to the epithet 'minax' (H. l. c. Ann. XVI 29). On the importance of this coincidence in determining the author of the Dialogus, see Prolegomena p. xliii f.

31 **disertam quidem** = disertam illam quidem, cf. c. 3 8. — **inexercitatam**: Common in Cicero, though not elsewhere in Tacitus, who uses 'inexpertus' instead.

32 **Helvidius Priscus**: Cf. Tac. H. IV 5 Helvidius Priscus † origine Caracina e municipio Cluviano . . . ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum dedit, non ut plerique quo nomine magnifico segne otium velaret sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rem publicam capesseret. Doctores *sapientiae* (i. e. the Stoics) secutus est . . . quaestorius adhuc (of Achaia in the reign of Nero) a Paeto Thrasea gener delectus, e moribus soceri nihil aeque ac libertatem hausit. . . . cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus. 6 Erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur, ruina soceri in exilium pulsus (66 A. D. According to Schol. Iuv. V 36 he betook himself to Apollonia) ut Galbae principatu (68 A. D.) rediit, Marcellum Eprium delatorem Thraseae accusare adgreditur (68–69) . . . Primo minax *certamen* et *egregiis* utriusque orationibus testatum mox dubia voluntate Galbae multis senatorum deprecantibus omisit Priscus (1). Ceterum eo senatus die quo de imperio Vespasiani censebant, placuerat mitti ad principem legatos. Hinc (2) inter Helvidium et Eprium acre iurgium . . . Marcellus urnam postulabat quae consulis designati sententia fuerat . . 8 Vicit pars quae sortiri legatos malebat. The discrepancy which Heraeus points out between this account and our passage, does not exist and was only occasioned by his erroneous assumption that the last mentioned quarrel is the one referred to in the Dialogus. Helvidius was praetor in 70. Owing to his contumacious and exasperating conduct toward the emperor (see Epictet. Diss. I 2) he was eventually again expelled and subsequently executed (probably after 75). The Emperor, repenting of his order, is said to have sent messengers to recall the executioners, but they returned upon the false report that the imperial decree had already been carried out. Cf. Suet. Vesp. 15 Dio Cass. 68, 12. The life of Priscus was written by Herennius Senecio for which work he was afterwards executed by Domitian. Cp. Furneaux and Nipperdey ad Ann. XVI 28. — **sapientiam** used in place of philosophia which the purist Tacitus seems to have avoided, for it occurs only c. 19 15 21 23 30 16 32 33 Ag. 4 H. III 81. The same is true of philosophi, found only c. 19 19 24 10 and Ann. XIII 42 qua sapientia

quibus philosophorum placita, where the preceding noun probably prevented the use of sapientium. Cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVI 141. On the spare use of Greek words in Tac., cf. Nipp., Ann. XIV 16. — Observe the remarkable accumulation of military phrases throughout this chapter (armatus, praesidium, munitus, lorica et gladius — incessere, accinctus, inexercitatam, certaminum; elusit — from fencing). Cicero and Quintilian and above all Tacitus are extremely fond of this class of metaphors. Cp. D. Wollner., Progr. Landau 1886 and Mayor, Iuv. VII 173 (vol. I p. 314. 454 f.). — **dicturum:** On the ellipsis of esse, cf. c. 2 13.

6. 1 **voluptatem cuius iucunditas:** Although 'iucunditas' is often used as a synonym of 'voluptas,' we find the poets occasionally employing 'iucundus' as an epithet of the latter. Cf. Munro to Lucret. II 3 who cites Prop. I 10, 3 Aetna 251.

2 **non uno aliquo momento:** *unus aliquis* serves as a kind of substitute for the singular of 'singuli' which was not in use. Cf. Tac. H. I 6. 13 Sen. de vit. beat. III 2 and so also Cic. in Caec. 7, 9 in Verr. II 1, 24, 62 de orat. II 72, 292 de off. II 12, 41. — **omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis:** The unusual position of the second 'prope' (see c. 17 5) imparts special emphasis. For the collocation of dies and hora, cf. Catull. XXXVIII 3 in dies et horas Hor. Sat. II 6, 47 in diem et horam Sen. Ep. 101, 1 omnis dies, omnis hora. Oratory, Aper contends, affords a perpetual delight, while poetry is at best but a gaudium volucre (c. 9 14 ff.).

3 **libero et ingenuo:** Also combined in Cic. Brut. 67, 236, but as usual in inverse order. Cf. note c. 4 3.

4 **plenam semper et frequentem:** Cf. Sen. de ira II 8, 1 cum videris forum multitudine refertum et septa concursu omnis frequentiae plena.

6 **idque:** *Que* joins a whole sentence, as in c. 14 3 suspicatusque Ag. 33 H. I 39 II 49 Ann. III 13 and so quite regularly with 'id.' Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 701 f. — **pecuniae:** The profession of law was an extremely lucrative one during the early empire, the lex Cincia having become quite a dead letter, until the time of Claudius, who according to Tac. Ann. XI 7 capiendis pecuniis posuit modum usque ad dena sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur. — On the wealth of Marcellus and Crispus cf. c. 8 5 and in general, Friedländer I[6] 326 ff. — **orbitati:** On the notoriously common practice of legacy-hunting among the Romans, cf. Hor. Sat. II 5, 28 ff.

Sen. ad Marc. 19, 2 Mart. I 49, 34 Petron. 116 Iuv. II 129 V 137 XII 99 Amm. Marcell. XIV 6 nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romae. Ps. Longin. **Περὶ ὕψους** c. 44. Plut. De amore prol. p. 497 Lucian, Dial. Mort. 5, 1 Epictet. IV 1, 148 and Tacitus: G. 20 nec ulla orbitatis pretia H. I 73 potens *pecunia* et *orbitate* quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent Ann. III 22 ff. XIII 19. ne opibus et orbitate 42. 52 valuitque *pecuniosa orbitate* XIV 40 simul orbitate et pecunia insidiis obnoxius XV 19. In general: Mayor ad Iuv. ll. cc. Friedländer, I^6 413–419. — **officii**: 'office.' In this sense the word is post-Augustan. Cf. Ag. 14. 19 officiis et administrationibus . . . praeponere 25 H. I 20 IV 48 Ann. III 12 XVI 5.

7 **non . . . alicuius**: *aliquis*, with a negative or 'sine' in the place of 'quisquam' or 'ullus,' is rare in Tac. e. g. c. 10 29 H. II 45 nec quisquam . . . ut non aliquam, but quite common in Cicero. Cp. Schmalz, *Antib.* s. v. aliquis, Kühner, II 468 Dr. *H. S.* I 90 R. V. III 53 ff. notes 352 f. — **sibi ipsi**: 'one's self.' On this indefinite use of 'sibi,' see Nipp. Ann. II 38 and Madvig, de fin. I 20, 67 who cites numerous instances from Cicero. It seems to be especially frequent in Sen., e. g. Dial. XI 1, 3 de benef. II 17, 6 Ep. 6, 2. 52, 14. — **dari** = tribui. Quite common in Tac., e. g. H. I 77 Ann. I 7 III 72. — **quin immo,** postpositive as in c. 34 24 39 9 36 23 (by conjecture) G. 14 pigrum q. i. On the anastrophe of conjunctions, see Nipp. Ann. XV 39, Dr. *H. S.* I 129 and note c. 19 6. It may be also remarked that the collocation of immo and ipsos disposes of Ribbeck's etymology of the word from ipsimo (*Lat. Zeitpart.* p. 6).

8 **orbos et locupletes et potentes**: Observe the climax. 'Rich by reason of their childlessness and powerful in consequence of their wealth. Plin. Ep. V 1, 3 also has locupleti et orbo and Sen. de benef. VI 3, 4 divitem et potentem.

plerumque in a non-superlative sense is with two exceptions out of 22 **exx.** (G. 13 Ann. VI 15) always prepositive. I, therefore, accept the **reading in** cod. D in place of venire plerumque of the other MSS. On these '**trans**position variants,' due to interlinear glosses, ($\overset{\text{plerumque}}{\text{venire}}$) cp. ***Am. Jour. Phil.*** XII p. 444–452.

10 **tanta . . . quam** for tanta-quanta. Cf. c. 37 34 quo saepius . . tanto altior. It is found as early as Ter. Hecyr. III 4, 3 (v. 416) non hercle verbis dici potest tantum, quam re ipsa. Verg. Aen. VI 352, frequent in Livy e. g. XXVI 1 XXXVII 51. Also in Stat. Silv. V

3, 211 Pliny, Ep. III 9, 16 Quint. X 2, 3. 28 and VIII 3, 85 (in a quotation from Cic. pro Ligar. 5, 15, but here our MSS. read quantum). Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 521 f. — **ingentium opum** · · **magnae**: In the later writings, probably under Virgilian influence, T. develops an increasing fondness for the more emphatic forms, such as ingens, inmensum, inmanis and the like. In the Dial. 'ingens' occurs again c. 37 20. Cf. also Ag. 25 magno paratu but H. II 95 ingenti p. H. I 49 magnae opes but H. III 72 V 8 Ann. XII 22 immensae opes. H. II 61 viri magni, thereafter regularly viri insignes or inlustres. See Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVII, 124 f. Here both ingens and magnus are used side by side for the sake of variety.

11 **voluptas spectare**: Abstract substantives are often used as the predicates of an infinitive. *voluptas* c. inf. is found, e. g. in Prop. I 10, 3 meminisse mihi iucunda voluptas. Ov. Heroid. XII 21 but not elsewhere in prose. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II § 431. On the substantival infinitive, cp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* pp. II 70–91.— **homines veteres et senes**: homines 'people, *Germ.* Leute.' Cp. *Archiv.*, VI 340 ff. — 'vetus' rarely designates time of life as in Livy V 54, 5 Tac. Ann. II 2. 43 VI 31, but it is generally used in the sense of vetustus, of one who has gained ripe experience by length of service in the army, for instance. Cf. H. I 23 Ann. XI 25 and hence some commentators translate veteres et senes 'old and experienced men,' thus doing away with the tautology. The tendency of both Greek and Romans, however, to group words like veteres, antiqui, prisci together (cf. note c. 15 1) and expressions, such as we find in Ter. Eun. IV 4, 21 vietus, vetus veternosus senex and Tibull. I 8, 50: in veteres esto dura, puella, senes make it at least doubtful, whether such distinctions were more than vaguely felt, for the best and most careful writers often use these words without any appreciable difference of meaning. Peter's interpretation of 'homines veteres' as the counterpart of 'homines novi' is unsupported by actual usage. He leaves us the alternative of accepting this ἅπ. εἰρ. or of banishing 'veteres' from the text, but its deletion necessarily draws that of homines with it! How a scribe ever came to hit upon the unfortunate interpolation of veteres, Peter also forgets to tell us. On the synonymic character of the words, a much disputed question, cp. Landgraf, Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 17 Mayor ad Iuv. XV 33 and Schmidt, *Handb. der Synonymik* p. 479–86. — **totius orbis** = orbis terrarum is chiefly poetic (e. g. Ovid) and post-Augustan. In Tac.: Ag. 17. 30

H. I 16, 50 II 38, 4 III 49 totius orbis V 25 totius orbis. The fuller and classic form also occurs e. g. Ag. 31 G. 45 H. I 4, toto orbe t. III 60 IV 3. 58 Ann. XV 13 toto t. orbe.

urbis, the emendation of Pithoeus, has nothing in its favor, for the exaggeration implied in orbis is especially appropriate to Aper's character, as drawn by the author. Cf. e. g. c. 5 18 totius imperi . . notitiam c. 8 4 non minores in extremis partibus terrarum. Totius, moreover, suits orbis better than urbis. See the examples just given and H. I 73 totius civitatis gratiam obtinuit.

12 **gratia subnixos**: Cf. Ann. XIII 6 g. subnixum. T. seems to have been fond of this word. Cf. H. I 73 Ann. I 11. 47 IV 12. XI 1. XII 25. 54. It is not found in Quintilian. — **in summa rerum omnium abundantia**: Aper again exaggerates in order to make his point more effective. In Cicero, we find omnium rerum ab. (copia), e. g. Brut. 93, 320 Lael. 23, 87 de leg. ag. II 97. Cf. also August. de cogn. ver. 9 omnimoda omnium deliciarum abundantia. — Observe the concessive force of the preposition. So G. 19. 24 Ann. II 37 III 76 XV 57.

13 **togatorum comitatus et egressus**: *Togati* the better classes as opposed to the 'tiers état' called tunicatus populus in c. 7 16. John takes the word in the sense of clientes, quoting Ann. XVI 27, but this restricted meaning of the term is not in keeping with the context. — comitatus et egressus (repeated in Maternus' reply c. 11 13) must not be taken as hendiadys. Andresen well observes that egressus, strictly speaking, refers to the orator himself and only secondarily to the retinue of his admiring followers. Cf. Ann. XV 53 multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus adhaerescere, and Iuv. VII 141 with Mayor's notes.

15 **consurgendi** = surgendi. Cic. Rosc. Am. 1, 1 de orat. II 78, 316. The compound is used by Cic. only of a multitude de sen. 18, 63 de rep. I 2. Of one individual, as here, apparently first in Livy: III 71 XLV 7 and not uncommon in Silver Latin e. g. Sen. Suas. VI 27 Quint. XI 3, 156 Plin. Ep. IV 9, 18. — **adsistendi** is perhaps best understood in the military sense, very frequent in Tacitus, of taking one's position in the ranks ready for action; = adstare, in c. 19 20 20 8; = auxilio adesse e. g. c. 39 18 and H. III 31 orant ut causae suae deprecator adsistat.

16 **in unum**: Cf. Heraeus, H. I 68. Very common in the younger Seneca. — **coire**: An acc. with inf. as the subject, with an

abstract noun as predicate (quod gaudium). Dr. *H. S.* II p. 425 ff. omits this example.

17 **coram** = in conspectum (sc. oratoris), according to its original meaning (Hand, *Tursell.* II 126) e. g. Hor. Sat. I 6, 56 ut veni coram (Maecenatis). The hearers crowd close up to the speaker to catch every word; proximity makes them the more easily susceptible of the emotions which the orator assumes.

There is, therefore, no reason for deserting the MS. reading in favor of coronam, an emendation of Acidalius which is, moreover, open to the objection raised by John in his excellent discussion of this passage (*Würtemb. Correspbl.* I p. 4 f.), that it would be a mere repetition of populus which, according to a common usage in the Dial. and elsewhere, signifies the 'listening public' in the law court or the theatre and the like. Cf. note c. 19 9.

accipere adfectum . . induerit: *Adfectum* 'emotion.' The word often has to do duty for the Greek πάθος as well as ἦθος for which latter the Latin language had no exact equivalent. See the elaborate discussion in Quint. VI 2, 1–29. — The underlying figure is that of a dress which one can put on or off at pleasure. The metaphor is common in Tacitus e. g. c. 26 5 Ann. IV 12 habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione magis quam libens induebat XI 7 facile Asinium et Messallam . . magnum animum induisse. Cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. induere and John ad loc. — The sentiment itself is very characteristic of Aper. Cicero, de Orat. II 45, 189, Orat. 38, 132 (with Sandys' note) Quint. VI 2, 26 summa . . . circa movendos adfectus in hoc posita est ut moveamur ipsi XI 3, 58 and Hor. A. P. 101 si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi, all insist that the orator must actually feel, not merely simulate for the occasion the emotions which he wishes to excite in his hearers. Cf. note c. 2 3. The entire passage beginning with 'iam vero' is again largely modelled upon Cic.: de orat. I 8, 31 quid enim est aut tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine hominum existere unum. 25, 116 magnum quoddam est onus atque munus suscipere atque profiteri se esse omnibus silentibus unum, maximis de rebus, magno in conventu hominum audiendum. 19, 87 et uti ei qui audirent sic adficerentur animis ut eos adfici vellet orator. Brut. 49, 185 ut ii qui audiunt ita afficiuntur, ut orator velit. For a similar eulogy of the lawyer's profession, see Iuv. VIII 47 ff. The construction 'adfectum induere' finds a perfect analogue in the

non-figurative phrases — **adfectum exprimere** (D. 23 25) **adsumere** Quint. VI 2, 36) and **adsimulare** (ibid. XI 1, 41).

Andresen (Emend. 1870, p. 108 f.) conjectured voluerit and this reading is found in the text of his latest edition (1891). This emendation, easy and suitable as it is, has nothing better in its favor than the fortuitous occurrence of the same verb in a similar connection in Cic.; but this is not sufficient to supplant an unobjectionable reading.

18 **et—quoque**: First found in Plaut. Men. 757 et illi quoque seldom, if ever, in Cicero (cf. edd. to pro dom. 47 de invent. II 16, 50 Verr. II 1, 11) not in Caesar or Sallust, more frequent in Livy and in Pliny the elder, rare in the younger Pliny, but common in Quintilian and particularly so in Tacitus e. g. c. 11 9 19 7 Ag. 24 H. I 30 Ann. IV 7 XV 48 (14 times in all). Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 33 f. *Stil* p. 48.

19 **vulgata · · percenseo illa**: 'Vulgata' and its opposite 'secretiora' are each symmetrically amplified by explanatory clauses and joined paratactically, the adversative particle being omitted. On this epexegetic use of *et* cf. c. 7 16 and for this ellipsis extraordinarily frequent in T. and usually with a preceding negative, cf. c. 10 32 [sed] meditatus 21 5 [sed] ipse Calvus 37 26 [sed] Catilina. To the many examples from the historical works of T. given by Nipp. Ann. IV 35, add H. I 8 pacis artibus [sc. expertus sed] bellis inexpertus II 76 [sed] Galbae odio Ann. XI 27 nihil compositum, verum audita . . tradam XVI 26 et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet. With an implied negative: G. 4 minimeque . . [sed] frigora; without negative: c. 2 89 quamquam . . . notiora sunt [sed] ego. On the not unusual occurrence of this socalled adversative asyndeton in other authors, see the references in R. V. III 825 f. — **orantibus**: = oratoribus only here, although orare is frequently used absolutely. Cf. H. I 90, Ann. III 67 IV 21 and Peterson, ad Quint. X 1, 16.

20 **accuratam meditatamque orationem**: Cic. de orat. I 60, 257 accuratae ac meditatae commentationes. *accuratus* 'elaborate' not 'accurate,' cf. Wilkins, De orat. I 9, 38. *meditatus* 'well prepared.' Frequent in Tacitus as a passive participle e. g. H. IV 68, 27 is meditata oratione cuncta . . effudit Ann. XIV 55 meditatae orationi tuae statim occurram. Active in c. 10 32 where see note. 'Meditor' occurs but *once* in Quint. X 3, 30 and then in the sense of 'to

practice.' — **perfert:** The author passes from the plural (orantibus) to the singular. So also: Cic. Acad. Prior. II 11, 35 ex hoc illud eis usu venire solet ut quidquid *dixerint* a quibusdam interrogentur: 'ergo istuc quidem *percipis*.'

21 **gaudii pondus et constantia:** *pondus* belongs exclusively to 'dictionis,' as is clearly shown by 'quoddam' i. e. Sicut quoddam d. p. est ita quaedam gaudii constantia. On the use of the singular predicate cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 175 ff. R. V. III 23 ff. note 334 and c. 5 25 7 12 20 9 22 20 38 19 39 17. For Tacitean usage, when the subjects are proper names, see Andresen, Appendix to Nipp. Ann. Vol. II extr.

22 **sive . . profert—sive . . attulerit** etc.: *attulerit* is fut. perf., for Tac. does not use the subjunctive with sive-sive. Cf. Nipp. Ann. II 38 Dr. *H. S.* II 147. In Ann. IV 60 it denotes repeated action, and Ann. IV 56 the subj. is due to indirect discourse. See note c. 28 27. — For the change of tense, cf. c. 37 35 ff. quo saepius steterit — tanto altius agit. Quint. VII 7, 15 si habuerit, convertit 16 si vicerit, habet IX 2, 1 cui placuerit, habet. There is, therefore, no need for writing 'attulit' with Nipperdey l. c. (8. edit.), nor for interpreting a future idea into the phrase 'commendat eventum.' The subject of profert and attulerit is orator, to be supplied from orantibus. — *adferre* is often used of speeches prepared at home as opposed to ex tempore efforts. Cf. Sen. Cont. III Praef. 4 Vir (sc. Cassius Severus) enim praesentis animi et maioris ingenii quam studii magis placebat in iis quae inveniebat quam in iis quae *attulerat*. Quint. X 6, 6 in a very similar passage: neque enim tantum habent curae ut non sit dandus et fortunae locus, cum saepe etiam scriptis ea quae subito nata sunt inserantur . . nam ut primum est domo adferre paratam dicendi copiam et certam, ita refutare temporis munera longe stultissimum est . . . alioqui vel extemporalem temeritatem malo quam male cohaerentem cogitationem. Also Cic. Orat. 26, 89 quaesita nec ex tempore ficta sed domo allata. — **novam et recentem:** The usual distinction between *novus* 'something that did not exist previously' and *recens* 'what has not existed for a long time,' cannot be strictly maintained. Cf. Iuv. II 102 novis annalibus atque recenti historia, Tac. H. V. 13 apud veteres aut novis ingeniis and some of the passages cited by Schmidt, *Handb. d. Synonymik* p. 486 ff. The two synonyms are frequently combined. Cf. c. 8 2 H. IV 65 nova et recentia iura vetustate in consue-

tudinem vertantur H. I 50. Cic. ad fam. XI 21, 2 recentem novam pro Flacco 6 lege hac recenti ac nova, in *inverse* order, on which see c. 4 3. Liv. XXXV 10 in Quinctio nova ac recentia omnia ad gratiam erant. — *curam* 'oration,' cf. c. 3 13. — **non sine aliqua trepidatione**: This was especially true of Cicero who tells us repeatedly that he never rose to speak without a touch of 'stage fright.' Cf. de orat. I 26, 121 exalbescam in principiis dicendi etc. pro Deiot. 1, 1 cum in omnibus causis gravioribus . . initio commoveri vehementius soleam. pro Cluent. 18, 57 semper equidem magno cum metu incipio dicere, Div. in Caec. 13, 41 Acad. II 20, 64. To these exx. quoted by Wilkins, De orat. l. c., we may add the testimony of Plut. Cic. 35 *τῷ λέγειν μετὰ φόβου προσῄει καὶ μόλις ἐπαύσατο παλλόμενος καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀκμὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατάστασιν λαβόντος.*

24 **sollicitudo commendat eventum**: Tacitus is here in perfect agreement with his teacher Quintilian XII 5, 4 neque ego rursus nolo eum qui sit dicturus et sollicitum surgere et colorem mutare et periculum intellegere, quae si non accident, etiam simulanda erunt. — **lenocinatur**: 'adds to the joy of success.' So again G. 43 insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. But in other writers of the Silver age, it is used in the sense of 'to promote, advance' e. g. Sen. Rhet. Contr. I 1, 18 Sen. de benef. VII 1, 2 Quint. IV 2, 118 V 12, 17 XII 1, 30 Plin. Ep. I 8, 6 II 19, 7. In pre-Augustan Latin the word is not found with this weakened meaning.

25 **extemporalis** etc.: A post-Augustan word for the classical subitus, fortuitus, ex tempore (Brut. 61, 219). It is doubtless only accidental that the word occurs first in this passage. The enthusiastic praise here accorded to extemporaneous efforts in oratory makes it not improbable that the young author himself possessed this accomplishment in a high degree. In later life, he seems to have thought less favorably of it, preferring the carefully prepared speech, as insuring a less ephemeral reputation. Cf. Ann. IV 61 Q. Haterius . . . eloquentiae quoad vixit celebratae. Monimenta ingenii eius haud perinde retinentur. Scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profluens (Sen. Exc. Contr. IV pr. 7 Tanta erat illi velocitas orationis ut vitium fieret . . . Haterius noster sufflaminandus est) cum ipso simul extinctum. The ancient teachers of eloquence, though they sincerely admire the gift of

extemporaneous speech, invariably assign to it an inferior place. The subject is treated at length by Quint. X 6, 6 ff. with his usual discernment and good sense. Cf. also Cic. de orat. I 33, 150 etsi utile est etiam subito saepe dicere, tamen illud utilius, sumpto spatio ad cogitandum paratius atque accuratius dicere . . . subitam et fortuitam orationem commentatio et cogitatio facile vincit. Ps. Plut. περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς p. 6 C–D. and in general, Friedländer III 461 f.

26 **vel praecipua iucunditas est**: Observe the attributive position of the predicate. So also Tac. H. IV 7 nullum boni imperii maius instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse (i. e. amicos esse bonos). — **in ingenio . . . sicut in agro** etc.: A common metaphor. Cf. Plat. Resp. IX p. 429 E Cic. de orat. II 30, 131 subacto mihi ingenio opus est ut agro non semel arato sed iterato quo meliores fetus possit et grandiores edere. Orat. 15, 48 Hortens. Fragm. 10 and elaborately worked out in Tusc. Disp. II 5, 13 and esp. by Plut. De sera num. p. 552 C de vitioso pud. p. 528.

27 **diu** = iam diu, as frequently in Tacitus e. g. G. 5. 36 H. III 7, Ann. IV 57 V 11 XIII 37 XIV 1 XV 19. 64. The present tense is also unobjectionable. Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 39, 85 iam diu comparantur de off. I 1, 1 annum iam audis Cratippum. ad fam VII 9 iam diu ignoro quid agas. And so analogously with iam pridem (Cic. ad Att. II 5, 1) iamdudum (esp. in Plautus) olim (Hor. Sat. I 1, 25) quondam (Ov. Met. VIII 191) and the like. Cp. Kühner, II 88 f. Dr. *H. S.* I p. 229 R. V. III 334 note 448.

Following G. Jacob ap. Dronke p. 245, Vahlen (Comm. Momms. p. 663) and John (*Correspbl.* p. 5 f.) explain alia in the sense of τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, equivalent to 'quae non sua sponte nascuntur'! The instances of this Grecism adduced by John (Tac. Ann. I 30 XIII 43) are not even remotely analogous, and such a construction would, in any case, not be permissible in a style so free from Grecisms as the Dialogus admittedly is. The majority of editors have, therefore, justly regarded *alia* as corrupt, but the proposed remedies either involve too violent changes or ignore the sense of the passage. Andresen adopts Ernesti's emendation 'utiliora,' quoting Cic. Phil. XIII 19, 44 quamquam enim prima praesidia utiliora rei publicae sunt, tamen extrema sunt gratiora. My objections to this reading are: (1) The conjecture lacks all palaeographical probability and displaces diu which is unquestionably genuine, although its meaning has always been misinterpreted. (2) Utiliora is quite out of place, for Aper had already disposed of the argument drawn from the usefulness of oratory in the preceding chapter (plura de utilitate non dico) and it is not again referred to throughout his speech, except once incidentally in c. 8 7 in quite a different connection (see

note ad loc.). (3) The passage from Cicero is totally irrelevant and could at best but prove, very superfluously at that, that the useful and the pleasurable *may be* contrasted. One might with some greater show of justice have adduced Cic. de orat. 1 33, 150, cited above, to prove that the genuine reading must have been 'quamquam utilia . . utiliora tamen,' for this passage at least deals with one and the same topic. The present chapter treats exclusively de voluptate oratoria. I have no doubt that Tacitus wrote: quamquam quae diu seruntur atque elaborantur grata, gratiora tamen 'Although those things which have been sown and cultivated for a long time are pleasing (because of their maturity) yet more pleasing are' etc. The changes called for are of the easiest description. *quae* (q̃) was accidentally omitted after quamquam (i. e. quamq̃. cf. c. 18 26 tamq̃. 32 4 quisq̃. 18 utq̃). So c. 3 2 ipsum quem for ipsumque quem 39 24 quoque qui — ω quoque D, see also Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* XI, 512 f. *Grata* dropped out owing to the following gratiora. As for *alia*, omitted, be it observed, in two MSS., it is clearly the corruption of a dittography of *diu*, the d being mistaken for al, just as in analogous instances d stands for ol e. g. c. 21 = reddent (CD) = redolent. In Hor. Ep. I 10, 37, Haupt (Opusc. III 47) conjectured victo ridens for victor violens. The change finally of 'a' and 'e' into 'u' and 'a' in the verbs can hardly be called a correction. Perhaps we ought also to read laborantur for elaborantur, cf. c. 30 2 and note to c. 9 29, but this is not absolutely necessary. — On the comparative following closely upon the positive, see Cic. de orat. l. c. and c. 9 26 pulchrum id quidem . . quanto tamen pulchrius.

7. 1 **laetiorem**: Predicate adjective for adverb. Cf. H. III 38 laetos dies ageret II 22 laetam . . adulescentiam egit. Ann. XIV 61 laeti Capitolium scanderent and note to c. 4 4. The cod. Leidensis (B) has alone preserved 'ipse' for the less idiomatic 'ipso' of the other MSS. See note to c. 3 12.

2 **latus clavus oblatus**: Senatorial rank and the ius honorum were first granted to Gaul in 48 A. D. by the emperor Claudius. See his speech, preserved in a bronze inscription found at Lyons, ap. Nipp., Ann. Vol. II p. 314–318 and Furneaux, Vol. II p. 208–214 and the account of Tacitus, Ann. XI 23 ff. Thereafter, in the words of Tacitus (Ann. III 55), used in connection with Tiberius' policy 'novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti' (especially common in the reign of Vespasian. Cp. Hirschfeld, *Röm. Verfassungsgesch.* p. 245, 3). The election of a novus homo to a curule office was a memorable event, (cf. Epictet. Diss. 1, 19, 24), hence laetiorem. — On the ὁμοιοτέλευτον here mitigated by an intervening word cf. note to c. 4 10.

3 **civitate minime favorabili natus**: Gaul, the native state of Aper, of Secundus and perhaps of Maternus (see Prolegomena p. lxix) is properly called 'minime favorabilis' because one born in this province had great difficulties and prejudices to overcome, if he desired to attain high official positions in the city of Rome. Cf. Tac. Ann. XI 23 studiis diversis apud principem (sc. Claudium) certabatur, asseverantium non adeo aegram Italiam ut senatum suppeditare urbi suae nequiret . . . quem ultra honorem residuis nobilium aut si quis pauper e Latio senator foret? oppleturos omnia divites illos quorum avi proavique hostilium nationum duces exercitus nostros ferro vique ceciderint, divur, Iulium apud Alesiam obsederint. This disposes of the otherwise possible interpretation of civitas as a tribe (Peter) or canton (John). *Favorabilis* is a post-Augustan word, first found in Vell. II 34, 2. Here it is used in a passive sense 'favored, popular.' Nipp. Ann. II 36 insists that favorabilis always signifies 'was Beifall erregt.' However true this may be for the majority of instances, such a translation is utterly inapplicable to 'civitas' in any of the possible meanings of the word.

4 **eos** sc. ago. Such ellipses are common in Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 2 et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute (sc. sit, videmus), G. 41 quomodo paulo ante Rhenum (sc. secutus sum) sic nunc Danuvium sequar. H. I 52 III 77 IV 42 Ann. III 29. Cp. Woelfflin *Bursian Jahresb.* (1879) II 226. Dr. *H. S.* I 216 f. and especially G. Clemm, *De breviloquentiae T. quibusdam generibus* p. 103. See also note c. 16 32. — **mediocritate**: Also Ann. XIV 60. In this sense first in Vell. II 111 m. nostrae but frequent in late Latin.

apud patres, though not essential to the context, is a necessary emendation to restore the stylistic equilibrium of clauses. John ad loc. to quote his own words, says: 'Die Anordnung ist übrigens hier nicht wie 5 29 eine ansteigende mit Rücksicht auf die Bedeutung des Gerichts sondern eine absteigende nach Massgabe des Grads der Befriedigung, den ein glücklicher Erfolg dem Redner gewährt (!) Darum folgen den kriminellen die civilrechtlichen Fälle und diesen wieder die Processe der verrufenen kaiserlichen Freigelassenen. Selbst diese zu retten, eine sehr unpopuläre (!) und wenig Ruhm (!) einbringende Thätigkeit macht den Aper glücklich! Nur bei dieser Deutung des vorangestellten Pronomens ipse erklärt sich zugleich ipsos . . procuratores ungezwungen.' But this interpretation is throughout open to the gravest objections. (1) There is nothing to indicate that the enumeration of the three juridical tribunals here or in c. 5 contains a gra-

datio either in maius or in minus. Again, it is not easy to see why criminal cases, which are mentioned first, should afford a livelier satisfaction than civil suits (apud centumviros); the contrary rather might be inferred from D. 38 10 Quint. V 10, 115 Plin. Ep. V 13, 3. (2) John seems to forget that Aper is the speaker who, so far from regarding the friends of the emperor as 'verrufen,' lauds them to the skies and praises their happy lot. Aper nowhere, like Helvidius Priscus, displays the faintest indignation at the imperial régime, under which he, indeed, though a novus homo, had attained to the praetorship. (3) We fail to learn, why an able advocate should be incapable of acquiring a great reputation by undertaking the defence of a libertus principis. (4) If the defence of the friends of an emperor had really been less willingly undertaken, because of any fancied opprobrium attaching to it, we should scarcely find the last member of the alleged anti-climax emphasised by an accumulation of two synonyms, and illos should be changed to istos. Ribbeck, *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII p. 503, endeavors to establish a climax by a violent transposition, which defies palaeographical explanation, and is in any case superfluous and therefore false.

6 **Centumviri:** Cp. Fest. Epit. 54 cum essent Romae XXXV tribus . . terni ex singulis tribubus sunt electi ad iudicandum qui . . licet V amplius quam C fuerint, tamen, quo facilius nominarentur, Cviri sunt dicti. In Pliny's day (Ep. VI 33) the number had risen to 180. On the cases that came within the jurisdiction of this court, cf. Quint. IV 2, 5 cum de re constat, de iure quaeritur ut apud centumviros. Esp. Cic. de orat. I 38, 173 with Wilkins' note and Smith, *Dict. Ant.* I p. 404 f.

7 **Libertos, procuratores:** On the position and the great power wielded by freedmen under the various emperors, cp. Friedländer I 82–104 (Vespasian p. 93). 'Procuratores' were officers in the imperial household and generally freedmen. Cp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.* II 496–99. If the statement of Sueton. Vesp. 16 'creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere quo locupletiores mox condemnaret' be true, they must have had frequent occasions to avail themselves of the eloquence of great orators.

8 **tueri et defendere.** The same synonyms combined in G. 14 illum defendere, tueri and frequently in Cicero e. g. de orat. I 38, 172 de fin. II 4, 11 ad fam. 13, 64. Caes. B. C. III 94. — **datur:** The passive of dare with inf. in Tac. only here and in the Annals: III 67 (where see Draeger), IV 60 (defendere daretur) VI 5. 19 XII 23. Cp. E. Opitz, Progr. Naumburg 1852 p. 15, Dr. *H. S.* II 367 f. *Stil.* p. 59. The active form with inf. is poetic, in prose

only Vitruv. 180, 23 dabit imitari. — **tribunatus praeturas**: On these plurals, see Draeger's lists *H. S.* I p. 11 ff. 19.

10 **in alvo oritur**: Cf. c. 29 10 vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur. Alvus = uterus (Cf. Paulus-Festus: venter feminae). Tacitus even uses uterus for alveus in Ann. II 6 lato utero, a ἀπ. εἰρ.

All our MSS. read *alio* with the exception of the cod. Vindob. which has albo (i. e. alvo and so Pithoeus). Few passages in the Dialogus have been burdened with more conjectures, of which those given in the adnotatio critica are but a selection (For earlier attempts to emend the unintelligible alio, see Schulze, in Exc. II p. 168–171 of his edition, Walther, Tac. Vol. IV p. 245–47). Andresen in despair writes natalibus paritur. This emendation and numerous others depart too far from the MSS. reading to merit serious attention. The conjecture which has met with most favor is Ritter's 'in aliquo' and yet this reading has nothing in its favor, save its palaeographical simplicity. For (1) aliquo is quite out of place being too vague and indefinite. (2) The meaning which Ritter and his followers attribute to the phrase in aliquo is made possible only by investing the preposition with an emphasis which it never has or can have.

10 **codicillis**: 'Cabinet order, letters patent.' So Ag. 40 codicillos quibus ei (sc. Agricolae) Suria dabatur tulisse. Ann. XIII 20 scriptos esse ad Caecinam Tuscum codicillos, mandata ei praetoriarum cohortium cura. — **cum gratia venit**: 'comes with influence.' Cf. 20 23 cum voluptate perveniunt, Ann. XIV 53 quibus (sc. studiis) claritudo venit . . . gratiam immensam circumdedisti. 52 amor carminum venisset Cic. Verr. II 2, 7, 19 and Caec. 26, 74 hereditas venit Sall. Iug. 8 (cited from Cic. by Georges!) ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum. Livy XXXIV, 30 cum qua fama venerunt Hor. A. P. 400 honor . . vatibus venit. Cf. also Curt. 8, 13, 15 cum gloria abire.

13 **non solum — sed etiam**: Always undivided e. g. c. 16 33 20 14 21 32 24 4 Ann. IV 35 except c. 22 19, where, however, non ea solum is followed by sed without etiam. Cf. note to c. 2 6. — *Vacuus* is generally opposed to occupatus, cf. Tac. H. IV 17 arriperent vacui occupatos and Peterson, ad Quint. X 1, 32.

Iuvenes et adulescentes, as all our MSS. with the exception of B have it, destroys the contrast intended by the author (non solum — sed etiam). Nor is the generally accepted reading vacuos et adulescentes more satisfactory, for here again adulescentes are unwarrantably identified with vacui. The proper antithesis is brought about by reading 'iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes.' Vacuos, as its position shows, belongs to both nouns (cf. note

c. 12 19). For an explanation of the corruption, see *Am. Jour. Phil.* l. c. p. 452. John's distinction between vacui 'die nicht thätig sein *wollen*' and adulescentes 'die nicht thätig sein *können*' is quite gratuitous. Tacitus says that the busy no less than those at leisure will look up to great orators with admiration si modo . . . sui. John in his interpretation unfortunately overlooked this important proviso. It may be added that this qualifying clause also favors the reading quid? non illustres which at the same time is closer to the MSS. than the other emendations that have been suggested.

14 **quorum nomina prius parentes liberis ingerunt**: On the use of liberi, cp. Funk, *Archiv* VII 76–85 and note c. 29 1. *Ingerunt* 'din into the ears,' cf. H. IV 78 vera erant et a tribunis . . . ingerebantur Ann. II 79 magnitudinem imperatoris identidem ingerens. On the thought, cf. Sen. de brev. vit. 2, 4 interroga de istis, quorum nomina ediscuntur and esp. Hor. Sat. I 4, 120 sic me formabat puerum dictis et sive iubebat | ut facerem quid, 'habes auctorem quo facias hoc,' | unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat.

16 **et tunicatus hic populus**: *Tunicatus* opp. to togatus (c. 6 13). Cf. Hor. Ep. I 7, 65 Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello. 'Vulgus, populus, plebs' are not infrequently grouped together by Tacitus, e. g. Ag. 43 vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus H. I 89, 1 vulgus et . . . populus 35 non populus tantum et imperita plebs. *Hic* = noster, Romanus. Cf. c. 20 20 horum 28 9 his propriis 29 10 Ag. l. c. H. I 84 Ann. XV 38. — The *et* is epexegetic, hence the singular predicate. Cf. e. g. c. 6 19 20 13 33 9 Ag. 5. 6. 43 H. II 34 IV 26 Ann. I 1. For examples in other writers, see Hand, *Tursell.* II 477. — **nomine vocat**: The same phrase also G. 28 H. I 23.

17 **digito demonstrat**: To be pointed at with the finger was, with but comparatively few exceptions, a sign of admiration or respect among the ancients. The earliest occurrence of the phrase seems to be in Aesch. Agam. 1285 K. *δακτυλοδείκτων*. Cf. Hor. C. IV 3, 22 monstror digito praetereuntium, Pers. I 28 At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est (where see Jahn and the scholiast who refers to the story of Demosthenes, related by Cic. Tusc. V 36, 103 Pliny Ep. IX 23, 5 Aelian V. H. 9, 17 Diog. Laert. VI 2, 6), Martial IX 97, 4 turba semper omni monstramur digito and esp. frequent in Lucian, e. g. Somn. 11 *δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ οὗτος ἐκεῖνος λέγων*, Herod. 2 *καὶ εἴ πού γε φανείη μόνον ἐδείκνυτο ἂν τῷ δακτύλῳ Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος Ἡρόδοτός ἐστιν*. Dial. Meret. 6, 4. Anarch. 36 Harmon. 1. As a gesture of reproach or derision, e. g. Dem. XXV, 67 Lucian

Rhet. Praec. 25 Ovid, Am. III 1, 19. 6, 77. Cp. K. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen u. Römer*, Lpz. 1891 p. 51 f. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer, etc.*, Lpz. 1890 p. 116. Mallery, *Report of the Amer. Bureau of Ethnology* 1879–80 p. 269 ff. — **demonstrare** = monstrare digito. So Cic. de rep. VI, 24 ext. de orat. II 66, 266 Nepos, Datam. 11, 5 Quint. VI 3, 38 Suet. Oct. 45 Gell. XIX, 10. Other instances of compound for simple verbs in the Dial. are c. 6 15 consurgendi 9 10 prosequitur 12 recurret, 10 11 denegavit 17 21 pertraxisset 22 26 determinet 37 36 desumpserit 38 19 depacaverat. Also common in the other writings of Tac. Cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXXIV 137 ff., *Archiv* VI 89–91. — The fondness for such superfluous compounds is characteristic of the decline, the force of the preposition being no longer or but vaguely felt. In Latin it may be said to assume noticeable proportions with Asinius Pollio and in Greek during the Alexandrian period. The Romans themselves seem, with the solitary exception of Seneca (see Ep. 58, 3 f.), to have been unconscious of this peculiarity of post-Augustan Latin. Cp. also Plut. Plat. Quaest. X 3. — **advenae et peregrini**: Cf. Cic. de leg. agr. II 34, 94 de orat. I 58, 249, in inverse order.

18 **auditos** = auditu cognitos. More frequent in Tacitus than in other writers. E. g. Ag. 43 G. 37. 41 H. 1 30 II 63 IV 54 Ann. I 42 II 64 XIV 4 (thirty-eight instances in all. See Lex. Tac. p. 116[b].) and note c. 16 17. To the examples from Cic. de nat. deor. II 2, 6 Livy VI 2, 9 XXXI 18 XLII 52 Plin. Paneg. 75, 1 quoted by Nipp. Ann. IV 23, add Caes. B. G. VII 59 iam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur Cic. pro Pomp., 11 quos aut vidimus aut audivimus (sc. de quibus) Cat. I 10 Verg. Aen. VII 196 Ovid, Metam. VI 170.

19 **adgnoscere** '= recognise.' Velut is added, because these strangers had not previously seen the orators themselves, but could only know them from the descriptions of others.

8. 1 **Marcellum hunc Eprium**: Cf. c. 5 30. — **Crispum Vibium**: Q. (acc. to C. I. A. III 1, 619) Vibius Crispus, like Marcellus, with whom he is again associated by Tacitus in H. IV 42. 43, a notorious informer, was born at Vercellae (cf. C. I. L. V 2, 6590. 6660. 6711). He was cons. suff. about 57 A. D., curator aquarum 68–71, proconsul of Africa, acc. to Nipp. Ann. XIV 28 in the last mentioned year. Consul for the second time probably in 83. He died at the age of eighty (Iuv. IV 92), shortly before 93, for Quintilian whose

work was published in that year speaks of him (X 1, 119) as one recently deceased. He remained on intimate terms with Domitian, as has been justly inferred from an anecdote in Suet. Domit. 3. His wealth was proverbial (Mart. IV 54, 7 divitior Crispo) and estimated at 200,000,000 sesterces, acc. to the schol. Iuv. l. c. or 300,000,000 according to Tacitus. The scholiast may, however, have mistaken Vibius Crispus for Crispus Pasienus. Tac. H. II 10 characterises him as 'pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos,' in perfect agreement with the statements in the Dial. c. 8 and 13. Juvenal, writing some *thirty* years after his death, is more favorably disposed toward him 'Venit et Crispi iucunda (= iucundi) senectus | Cuius erant mores qualis facundia mite | ingenium. Regarding the power of his eloquence, there seems to have been no difference of opinion. Quint. V 13, 48 X 1, 119 XII 10, 11 gives it the complimentary epithet of *iucundus*, also applied to him by Iuv. l. c. Cf. Nipp. Ann. XIV 28 Mayor, ad Iuv. IV 81–93 and in Addenda Vol. I p. 407 f. 414. On the transposition of the cognomen cf. c. 1 1.

3 **oblitteratis**: Very rare in Cic. (Vatin. 6, 15) and in pre-Augustan Latin (Attius ap. Non. 146, 30), more frequent in Livy and in the Silver Age, particularly common in Tacitus. In the Dial. again c. 22 22. See Lex. Tac. s. v.

minus has justly been regarded as corrupt, Peter alone defending it by an interpretation of esse which is quite untenable. Minus arose out of a wrong solution of a compendium (mñ.). On *minor* in the sense of 'inferior in rank, renown, intellect,' cf. c. 21 24 Ann. I 13 Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem XVI 8 mox Neronem . . . quasi minores evasere XVI 20. Especially frequent in Quint. e. g. I 2, 10 minores . . . praeceptores II 3, 1 pueros non continuo tradendos *eminentissimo* credunt sed apud *minores* aliquamdiu detinent II 5, 19 illos minores (sc. scriptores), quia facilius eorum intellectus videbatur, probaverunt. VI 3, 67 X 1, 60. 74. See also Hor. Ep. I 1, 106 II 1, 183.

5 **ubi nati dicuntur**: Aper does not wish to be understood as saying that the birthplace of Marcellus and of Crispus was at all uncertain, for it was not, but that their world-wide fame made it a matter of indifference, where they might happen to have been born. Cp. the famous remark of Pericles in Thucyd. II 43, 15 ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος. — **ter milies**: The phrase from Martial, quoted above, as well as the fact that Capua refers to Marcellus, whose name precedes that of Crispus in the beginning of

the chapter, makes it highly probable that the first named sum here also pertains to the first mentioned individual. The wealthiest Romans, so far as known to us, were the augur Cn. Lentulus (under Augustus) and Narcissus (under Nero), who are said to have been worth 400,000,000 sesterces (about $17,000,000). Cp. Friedländer I 245 ff. III 12 ff.

6 **quamquam**: The subj. with 'quamquam' is not found in prose before Nepos, for, wherever the subj. is still retained in modern texts of Cicero, it is either potential or used in a dependent clause. Once in Verg. Aen. VI 394. Frequent in Horace and Livy. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 766 Riemann, *Études* p. 300 R. V. III 394 note 466 Schmalz *Lat. Synt.* p. 507. In Tacitus the subj. largely preponderates, the indicative being used but twenty times (out of eighty instances) viz. c. 24 8 Ag. 18. 35. 36 G. 5. 46 H. I 68 II 30. 92 IV 57 Ann. I 3. 55. 76 II 35. 80 IV 57 XII 11. 31 XIII 36. Cp. A. Gerber, *De coniunct. temp. usu Tac.* p. 32–38 Pöhlmann, l. c. p. 16 Dr., *Stil* p. 81 Nipp. Ann. I 3.

7 **beneficio**: 'by reason of, on account of.' *Beneficio* is here well on its way toward its later use as a synonym of gratia or causa. It is perhaps first met with in the so-called Hygin. Astron. II 23 b Iunonis b. Cp. Woelfflin, *Zu den latein. Zeitpartikeln,* in *Archiv* I 174 f. 574, *Bursian Jahresber.* XLIV p. 198. The 'quamquam' clause has occasioned unnecessary difficulty. Although, says Aper, Marcellus and Crispus may be thought (videri) to have come into the possession of vast riches by virtue of their oratorical power, yet their world-wide fame was not due to their wealth, but solely to their eloquence. Thus the speaker, by taking unexpectedly a purely ideal view, might seem to be contradicting or at least weakening the utilitarian arguments which he had so earnestly advanced in a previous chapter. To counteract this, Aper, shrewd advocate that he is, abandons for a moment the strict sequence of topics outlined in the beginning of his speech and reverts to the question of the utility of eloquence once more, although he had assured us 'plura de utilitate non dico.' In this, one cannot but admire the art of the author who, while depicting the trained rhetorician, yet succeeds in preserving some of the stylistic abandon characteristic of a conversation between friends. — **sed eloquentia**: *Sed* was perhaps unnecessarily inserted by Lipsius, for the adversative particle is very often omitted by Tacitus. See note

c. 6 19. In G. 10 Halm reads 'apud plebem sed apud proceres, sacerdotes enim' in place of 'apud plebem apud proceres; apud sacerdotes: se enim' of the best MSS. Cp. Massmann ad loc. and Nipp. Ann. IV 35. — **numen et caelestis vis**: Cf. Cic. pro Mil. 29, 83 nullam vim . . numen divinum. Verr. II 4, 49, 107 vim . . numenque. On the inverted order cf. c. 4 3. The figure, though a very bold one, is characteristic of Aper's diction throughout. See below, sordidius et abiectius nati, paupertas . . . circumsteterunt.

9 **ad quam usque fortunam**: *ad usque* with an intervening pronoun is comparatively rare and post-Aug., e. g. Ag. 14 ad nostram usque memoriam. With an interrogative pronoun, also Quint. VIII 5, 33 ad quam usque nos vocatis vetustatem, XII 1, 32 ad quem usque modum. Cp. Thielmann, *Archiv* VII p. 104. — *fortunam* 'high position.'

11 **sed**, subordinated to a preceding sed. So also Ann. XIII 13 sed Agrippina non his instrui cultus suos sed ceteris arceri proclamat. This occurs as early as Plautus e. g. Men. 644 sed ego illam non condonavi sed sic utendum dedi. Trin. 92 (Ritschl *Parerga*, praef. p. xxix) and a few times in Cic. e. g. har. resp. 28, 61 pro Marc. 3, 9 Phil. VII, 5. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 98.— **spectanda haberemus**: 'Habeo' with gerundive first occurs in Varro, de R. R. I 16, 2 multi enim habent in praediis — importandum. The construction reaches its height in Tac. (c. 19 25 31 19 36 29 37 17 H. I 15 IV 77 Ann. IV 40 XIV 44) and in the younger Pliny, who goes so far as to use a masc. pronoun as object. Thereafter it becomes less frequent (*never* in Quintilian), gradually giving way to 'habeo' with inf. Cp. the exhaustive article by Thielmann, *Archiv* II 66 ff. 380 and Dr. *H. S.* II 824 *Stil* 27 e. Helm *Quaest. Synt.* p. 88.—For analogous subjunctives, see c. 40 9 de re loquimur quae . . gaudeat. G. 18 Ann. III 28 and W. G. Hale, *Cum Constr.* p. 93 f. — **sordidius et abiectius natus**: Opposed to 'liberaliter natus' (cp. Seyff. Müll. Lael. p. 116. 421). The comparatives are very rare, especially as adverbs. Sordidior toga occurs in Mart. I, 104, 5. 'Abiectus' as an adj.: Cic. Lael. 16, 59 de leg. I 19, 51 ad fam. I 9, 16 Livy IX, 6, 11 Val. Max. III, 5, 4. as adv.: Amm. Marcell. XV, 2, 3. XXX 8, 11 (an imitator of T. cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXIX, 559). Cp. Thielmann, *Archiv* IV 552. Dr. *H. S.* I 39 f. — The same collocation in Tac. Ann. XIII 46 Quint. II 12, 7 Sen. Ep. 37, 4.

12 **quoque**=et quo. Indisputable parallel instances of this usage are rare. Dr. *H. S.* II 36, omitting our passage, quotes c. 37 35 quo quis saepius steterit quoque plures, Plaut. Poen. 1244 Cic. de off. I 2, 6 quantum quoque modo Suet. Aug. 18 quoque celebratior est. With modo also Sall. Cat. 23. 58 Iug. 30 and Quint. X 1, 2, where see Peterson's note. — **notabilior**: Also a rare comparative, cf. H. I 55 III 25 Sen. Ep. 56, 2 Quint. VIII 3, 22 Suet. Tib. 29. The word is not found in pre-Aug. Latin, with possibly one exception in Cic. ad fam. V 12, 5. — **paupertas et angustia rerum . . circumsteterunt**: A bold personification, paupertas and angustia being negative ideas. The figure itself is common both in Greek and Latin. Cf. Cic. Phil. X 10, 20 cum omnia . . fata c. Verg. Aen. X, 905 odia c. Frequent in Livy e. g. VI 2 terrores c. XXV 34, 10 anceps proelium c. Pliny, Paneg. 3, 4 difficultas sola c. Tac. H. I 17 circumsteterat . . . expectatio IV 79 . . . metus. So in Greek: with *ἀμφιβαίνειν* and *περιίστημι* e. g. Eur. Phoen. 1406 *ταραγμόν* Suppl. 609 *θράσος* Thucyd. III 54 *φόβος* V 73 *κίνδυνος* Isocr. 74 E *πόλεμος* Dem. 30, 24 *αἰσχύνη* and Polyb. III 86, 7 *καιροί* 'bad circumstances.' — The sing. *angustia* is rare. With rerum also: Tac. Ann. IV 72. In Cic. de nat. deor. II 7, 20 angustia orationis. Sall. Hist. IV, 20 Pliny N. H. XIV 6, 8, 61 loci angustia Apul. Metam. 10, 26 and in the Vulgate. — Notice also the bold use of the participle. Cf. H. II 24. 49 Ann. II 35 IV 12. 17. 34 cited by Helm, *Q. S.* p. 55.

15 **sine commendatione natalium**: Cic. Brut. 25, 96 sine ulla commendatione maiorum. Cf. also Tac. Ann. XI 21 De origine Curtii Rufi quem gladiatore genitum quidam prodidere neque falsa prompserim et vera exsequi pudet . . . quaesturam et mox nobiles inter candidatos praeturam principis suffragio adsequitur, cum hisce verbis Tiberius dedecus natalium ('ignoble ancestry') eius velavisset: 'Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus.' See also Friedländer, I p. 238 ff. — 'natales' for origo, genus or maiores is common since the time of Seneca Rhet. Cf. Heraeus, H. II 86. — **sine substantia facultatum**: Gk. *ἄνευ οὐσίας πόρων*. This phrase is exactly paralleled by Paulinus Nolanus (353–431), Ep. ad Sulp. Severum 'quia aetate florentior, oneribus patrimonii levior *substantia facultatum* non egentior' Salvian, adv. Eccl. III 2, 9 (C. S. E. VII p. 271) substantiam propriae facultatis and frequently in this writer in the sense of res familiaris. For perfectly analogous phrases, cf. also Quint. II 21, 1 substantia rerum. Aurel. Vict.

Orig. 19 s. omnis paternorum bonorum. Paul. Sent. 2, 26 s. rei familiaris. Dictys I 17 s. opum. Dig. 36, 1, 16. It is in such somewhat far-fetched expressions, no less than by the devices pointed out above, that the stylistic individuality of Aper is brought out into bold relief. Translate: 'Without ample means of subsistence.' With the thought, cf. Iuv. VII 145 rara in tenui facundia panno.

16 **neuter . . . egregius**: Cf. Tac. H. II 10 Vibius Crispus .. inter claros magis quam inter bonos. II 95 successere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores. *Egregius* in Latin is always used in bonam partem and so quite common in earlier English and occasionally even in modern writers e. g. Thackeray. See the Oxford Dictionary s.v.—**alter habitu . . corporis contemptus:** The context leaves it entirely uncertain which of the two is intended, but the passages from Iuv. IV 86 (quoted above) and Statius, Silv. I 3, 110 Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi render it highly probable that Marcellus is meant here.

17 **multos iam annos**: Doubtless somewhat exaggerated, as usual. On the position of 'iam,' see c. 22 8 and *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 447.—**donec** = quamdiu with indicative occurs first in Hor. C. I 9, 17, and thereafter most common in Tac.: c. 40 20 H. I 13. 37 IV 12. 74 Ann. I 68 III 15 IV 74 VI 51 XIV 50. See Lex. Tac. s. v. The subj. is found only in orat. obl. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 615. The particle is not used at all by Caesar, Sallust, Velleius, and but *four* times by Cic.

18 **principes in Caesaris amicitia**: A peculiarly Tacitean expression for 'p. amicorum Caesaris' or 'p. inter C. amicos.' Cf. e. g. Ann. III 30 in amicitia principis XIII 45 in am. Neronis, and IV 12 XIV 51 in animo principis validus XV 50 in animo principis anteibat. *Caesaris* = principis, to avoid ambiguity. The reference cannot, as some have thought, be to Titus or to Domitian, because 'Caesar' did not designate the heir apparent or crown prince till the time of Hadrian. Cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* II 1083 cited by John, ad loc.—'Princeps fori,' also in Quint. XII 11, 3 Domitium Afrum . . . principem fuisse quondam fori non erat dubium.—**agunt feruntque**: generally in the concrete sense of plundering or devastating an enemy's country. So in Livy, e. g. XL 49 cum ferret passim cuncta atque ageret (Dr. *H. S.* II 43). Here the phrase is used figuratively. Marcellus and Crispus by virtue of their power and influence carry everything before them, rule supreme. Peter's

explanation 'they appropriate everything to themselves, thus acquiring their immense wealth at the expense of others,' misinterprets Aper's attitude toward these two men. For analogous passages, see Liv. III 37 ferre agere plebem plebisque res and Xen. Cyr. III 3, 2 πάντες ὑπήντων ἡδόμενοι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἄξιον εἶχε, and Tac. H. I 2, 19 (delatores) agerent verterent cuncta. Observe that the usual order of this collocation common both in Greek and Latin, is here reversed. So also Homer E 484 Arist. Nub. 243 Xen. Hell. VI 5, 50. Such variation is very characteristic of Tacitus, who seeks to add a touch of novelty to expressions which had become stereotyped by constant usage. Cf. Ann. XIV 38 igni atque ferro for the regular 'ferro ignique.'

19 **cum quadam**: In the Dial., the anastrophe of the preposition is habitually avoided (see c. 22 13 cum quodam lumine), except in formulaic expressions such as eaque de re (c. 2 4) quem ad modum (c. 33 7) magna ex parte (c. 35 12) and the like. Cp. A. Gerber, *Nonnulla de usu praep. apud T.* Progr. Glückstadt 1871 A. Greef, *Philol. Anz.* 1872 p. 296, Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV 129.

20 **venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri**: Vespasian was at the time in which this conversation is alleged to have taken place (74–75 A.D.), 65 years old, having been born on the 17th of November 9 A.D. — As Marcellus and Crispus are represented in c. 13 15 as 'adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi,' it will be plain, even if we make all due allowance for Maternus' unfriendly attitude, that 'patientissimus veri' cannot refer to the παῤῥησία of these two men toward their sovereign. The praise of Vespasian seems to be introduced simply by way of apology for openly characterising his all-powerful friends as the real power behind the throne, a criticism which even so mild-tempered a ruler might be liable to resent. Vespasian's great tolerance of outspokenness is well attested by Suet. Vesp. 13 Amicorum libertatem, causidicorum figuras ac philosophorum contumaciam lenissime tulit and Eutr. VII 13 Offensarum et inimicitiarum immemor fuit. Convicia a causidicis et philosophis in se dicta tulit. — Aper would have had no scruples in subscribing to Seneca's dictum (de ira III 36): vide non tantum an verum sit, quod dicis, sed an ille cui dicitur veri patiens sit. Cf. also the close of his speech (c. 10).

'*ipsis*' has been changed into 'ipsi' by Lipsius, which destroys the contrast indicated by 'et alios.' *Et* after 'ceteros' is quite out of place, and is

either due to a dittography of the preceding syllable or was accidentally transferred from the next line as Peter, followed by John ad loc., thinks. By reading *et ipsis*, we also introduce an epigrammatic antithesis very suitable to the context and in perfect keeping with what Suetonius Vesp. l. c. reports of Vespasian himself. See also the passages cited below.

21 **amicos**: This name was applied to men of senatorial or equestrian rank, who constituted a kind of privy council. They were not infrequently the power behind the throne and formed one of the most conspicuous features of the imperial court. Their position, though one of paramount importance (Tac. H. IV 7 nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse), was at all times exceedingly precarious and uncertain, being subject to the whims and fickleness of the Emperor. Cf. Tac. Ann. III 30 aetate provecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit (sc. Crispus). Idque et Maecenati acciderat fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos cum iam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant. Hist. IV 8 nec minus sibi (sc. Eprio Marcello) anxiam talem amicitiam quam aliis exsilium. Other 'amici' of Vespasian were C. Licinius Mucianus, T. Rutilius Varus, C. Plinius Secundus, Otacillius Sagitta, Ti. Iulius Alexander. 'Friends' of Titus with the exception of the elder Pliny are not known to us. On the significance of this, see Proleg. xxx and on 'amici' in general, the exhaustive treatment in Friedländer I^6 p. 133–148. 205–220 (list of amici principis from Augustus — Elagabalus).

24 **quod . . . acceperint nec accipi possit**: *Quod* is used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, serving both as object and subject. Cf. G. 18 quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referuntur, Ann. II 83 quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit. Sall. Iug. 14, 16 quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt. Liv. XXII 6 quae . . . servata fides ab Hannibale est atque in vincula omnes coniecit. Sen. de tranq. 8, 9 quae [corpora] superfunduntur et undique magnitudo sua vulneribus obiecit. An analogous 'inconcinnitas,' peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus' love of stylistic variety, is found in the change from an active to a passive. Cf. H. III 76. 77. IV 65 (where see Heraeus) V 22 Nipp. ad Ann. III 21 Draeger ad Ann. VI 44. — With the thought, cf. Ann. XIV 54 et tu (Nero) quantum tum princeps tribuere amico potest et ego (Seneca) quantum amicus a principe accipere. Sen. Ep. 41, 6 quid enim est stultius quam

in homine aliena laudare? quid eo dementius, qui ea miratur quae ad alium transferri protinus possunt. 8 Lauda in ipso quod nec eripi potest nec dari. Ep. 98, 13 Honores reppulit, pater Sextius ... latum clavum, divo Iulio dante, non recepit. Intellegebat enim, quod dari posset, et eripi posse.

25 **Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum**: *Minimum* = infimum is apparently *ἀπ. εἰρ.*, the nearest approach to it being Plin. N. H. XIV 1. Locum magnum obtinet in medicaminibus. — *tot ac tanta* = tot ac tantas res. *Tot* as a neuter substantive is not found elsewhere, but analogous instances are common in Silver Latin, and particularly characteristic of Tacitus. E. g. c. 39 16 tot pariter ac tam nobiles (with note). Sen. Ep. 108, 38 tot ac talium (sc. virorum). Cic. Cael. 28, 66 Ovid, Am. II 12,10. So also c. 19 20 pervulgatis iam omnibus (sc. rebus), c. 21 1 quibusdam, where see notes. Ann. III 15 nullo (= nulla re), where see Nipp. Sen. Ep. 33, 2 illo (= illa re). Cp. also Dr. *H. S.* I 54 ff.

There is, therefore, no real necessity for writing with Vahlen haec tot, on the analogy of Cic. pro Rosc. 32, 89 haec tot et tanta . . . quamdiu diceres.

Imagines ac tituli et statuae: As Aper is speaking of novi homines sine commendatione natalium, *imagines* cannot refer to the waxen images of *ancestors*, but rather to the so-called 'clipeatae' or 'argenteae imagines' which represented the Emperor or his amici or some distinguished man. *Tituli* were the inscriptions on these, hence joined by *ac*, i. e. imag. cum titulis et statuae. Plin., Pan. 103 is less careful to bring out this dependent relation, when he says 'titulis *et* imag. *et* stat.' On the subject itself, cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* I 426 ff. Marquardt, *Privatl.* I 235 ff. Smith, *Dict. Ant.* I^3 992, where other literature is cited. John well observes that Maternus' answer (c. 11 14) seems to imply that this method of decorating one's house was less a valued privilege than a kind of irksome duty, by which the incumbent of an office gave outward expression of his loyalty.

26 **neque** = ne — quidem. In Tac. again H. IV 80 Ann. II 82 III 29. 56 XV 18. See Madvig, de fin. p. 803 ff. and note c. 21 37.

27 **divitiae et opes**: *Divitiae* occurs in T. only here and in Ann. XVI 3 divitiarum expectatio, where *opes* immediately precedes. The whimsical aversion to this word is a unique peculiarity of Tacitus. The same collocation in Flor. III 12, 7 Iustin. I 7. The

two words are carefully distinguished by Cic. de fin. V 27, 81 and Lael. 6, 22 divitiae ut utare, opes ut colare, where see the excellent note of Seyff.-Müller p. 147 ff. With the thought, cf. Sen. Contr. II 9, 18 facilius possum paupertatem laudare quam ferre.

28 **igitur**: Marking the close of an argument, as in H. II 84. IV 70 Ann. I 4. On the position, cf. c. 3 1.

30 **ineunte aetate**: Observe that this phrase does not signify 'from early childhood' but 'from early youth,' after the assumption of the toga virilis. Cp. Anton. *Stud. z. Lat. Gramm.* II p. 171 f. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 244. Wilkins, Cic. de orat. I 21, 97. 'Ineunte adulescentia' also occurs, but more rarely e. g. Cic. in Caec. I 4 pro Pomp. 10, 28 de off. I 32, 117. — **dederunt** = dediderunt. So again Tac. H. IV 5 altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum dedit, and not uncommonly in Cicero e. g. de rep. I. 10, 16 illum (sc. Platonem) se et hominibus Pythagoreis et studiis illis dedisse. With the entire passage, cp. the parallelism in Plin. Ep. V 16, 8 qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dediderit.

9. 1 **nam**: i. e. Nor can you rejoin, that the pursuit of poetry offers similar material and ideal advantages, for etc. On this elliptical use of *nam*, cf. note c. 1 16, and the long list of instances in Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 895 f. The word frequently, as here, introduces the more or less detailed refutation of possible objections, by way of confirmation of a preceding argumentation. Cp. Seyff.-Müll. Cic. Lael. p. 312. — **carmina et versus**: 'Carmen' is the generic term to which the more specific word is added by way of emphasis or for the sake of a clearer definition. This stylistic peculiarity of Tacitus is discussed by Nipp. Ann. XIII 42 (and also Dr. *H. S.* II 11), but he strangely omits, as do the commentators, the very numerous instances found in the minor writings, particularly the Dialogus. Cf. c. 13 3 certamina et pericula 16 29 caeli siderumque (also in Ag. 12) 19 7 condicione temp. et diversitate aurium 19 24 vi et potestate, iure et legibus 20 8 vulgus adsistentium et adfluens . . . auditor 22 18 visum et oculos 24 10 more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato G. 2 memoriae et annalium 3 monumenta et tumulos H. IV 58 proelium et acies Ann. II 37 stirps et progenies 74 crimina et accusationes XIV 3 ferrum et caedes 20 militia et armis 33 fletu et lacrimis. — The distinction observed in Ann. XVI 19 levia carmina ('lyrics') et faciles versus

('elegiacs or iambics') is inapplicable to our passage, because Maternus is spoken of only as a tragic poet.

2 **insumere optat**: *Opto* with inf. occurs in all periods. In Tac. again H. IV 58 perire praeoptaverint. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 307 f. Schmalz, *Latein. Synt.* p. 480, *Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asin. Pollio* p. 88. — **inde enim omnis fluxit oratio**: Cf. Cic. Brut. 55, 201 a Cotta et Sulpicio haec omnis fluxit oratio. — *Enim* is very common in parenthesis. Cf. c. 8 2 11 3 24 7 and Lex. Tac. p. 347 a b.

3 **utilitates alunt**: 'advance our material interests,' a ἀπ. εἰρ., but no bolder than e. g. H. IV 18 conatus . . . alunt and some of the many metaphorical applications of this verb cited in the lexica from Cicero. Cf. also H. II 30 eandem utilitatem fovere. For the abstract plural, cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 11 ff. and Proleg. p. ciii f.

4 **brevem**: The adjectives brevem, inanem and vagum, inanes, volucre below are rendered more emphatic by being placed after their nouns. Cp. Dr. *Stil* p. 91. Observe that Aper, in this negative part of his argument, retains the same subdivisions as outlined in c. 5 15.

5 **licet**: In a concessive clause only in the minor writings c. 13 3 Ag. 32 licet . . . commodent, and once in a speech in the Ann. XIV 55 licet multa videantur. Cp. in general, Hand, *Tursell.* III 543–546. Schmalz, *Antibarb.* s. v.

6 **aures tuae respuant**: Cic. Part. Orat. 5, 15 auditorum aures respuant, pro Sull. 25, 70 cuius aures . . . respuerunt, pro Planc. 18, 44 respuerent aures . . . repudiarent. Quint. XI 1, 61 quid aures hominum magis respuunt. Boetticher's assertion (Lex. Tac. s. v.) that *aures* is more frequent in T. than in any other writer, not excepting Cicero and Quintilian, is without foundation. It occurs 47 times in T. to 41 in Quint. (smaller by about 40 pages), and more than 50 times in Cicero's orations alone. — After *respuant*, we must supply some phrase like 'dicam tamen.' Cp. also the similar remark of Messalla c. 27 7 nec vos offendi decebit si quid forte aures vestras perstringat. — **cui bono est**: a legal formula of inquiry touching the motive of the crime. The phrase was frequently used and perhaps even invented by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla (cons. 127 censor 125), celebrated for his severity as a judge (Val. Max. III 7, 9 scopulus reorum). Cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 30, 84. L. Cassius ille quem populus Romanus verissimum et sapientissimum iudicem

putabat identidem in causis quaerere solebat 'Cui bono' fuisset. Phil. II 14 35 illud Cassianum 'cui bono.' pro. Mil. 12, 32 (see Ascon. ad loc.). — **apud te**: *Apud* is used in speaking of a particular passage or composition of an author, while *in* refers to his works as a whole. Cp. Hand, *Tursell.* I 409, 6 Peterson, Quint. X 2, 13. So in Tacitus e. g. H. II 37 invenio apud quosdam auctores. Ann. I 81 adeo diversa (sc. de comitiis consularibus) non modo *apud* auctores sed *in* ipsius orationibus. II 88 reperio apud scriptores III 3 matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum . . . reperio ullo insigni officio functam IV 35 apud scriptores. No instance of *in* 'de scriptore' occurs in Tacitus. — **Agamemnon aut Iason**: As Jason unquestionably refers to the Medea of Maternus, it follows that Agamemnon refers to the Thyestes also mentioned in ch. 3 11, where see note. Schöll, *Comment. Woelffl.* l. c. maintains that a third 'Graeculorum fabula' of Maternus is here implied, but we have no reason to suppose that Maternus composed two dramas on the Argive legends.

7 **defensus**: i. e. successfully defended.

9 **honorificentius**: Another rare comparative, though the superlative is common. Cf. Nepos, Eum. 1, 5 Cic. ad Att. I 16, 4 ad Q. fr. III 2, 2 and Tac. Ann. VI 7 quo non aliud honorificentius evenit. This instance is omitted in the long list given by Dr. *H. S.* I 27 ff. — **praeclarissimum vatem**: Alluding, not without a tinge of irony, to Secundus' designation of Bassus as absolutissimum poetam. *Praeclarissimum*, like 'absolutissimum' (see note c. 5 6), is a double superlative, but, as Woelfflin *Philol.* XXV 132 observes, the force of the preposition was no longer felt, as in many similar compounds common in post-August. Latin. Cf. note c. 7 17. — *Vates* was the ancient name for poet. Cf. Enn. Ann. 222 V. versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant. Hor. Ep. II 1, 26 annosa volumina vatum. Ovid, A. A. III 407 f. With the Hellenisation of Latium, the term seems to have fallen into contempt and disuse (see Munro, Lucret. I 102), making way for the Greek 'poeta.' It was restored to honor by Virgil, and thereafter generally retained more solemn associations, often designating, like προφήτης Μουσάων, 'the inspired singer or sacred bard,' as opposed to poeta the 'maker' or artist, e. g. Verg. Ecl. IX 32 me fecere poetam Pierides . . . me quoque vatem dicunt pastores. Hor. A. P. 400 honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque carminibus venit (poeta only twice in the Odes : IV

2, 33. 6, 30). Ovid, Am. III 9, 17 sacri vates et divum cura vocamur. Quint. X 1, 48 invocatione dearum quas praesidere vatibus creditum est. XII 10, 24 ipsum (sc. Platonem) . . . instinctis divino spiritu vatibus comparandum. The etymology of 'vates' is very doubtful. Varro L. L. VII 36, in his naïve way, derived it from versibus viendis. Moderns generally connect the term with Irish fāith. Gr. φάτης, Lat. fāri, fābula are different. Mommsen, *Hermes* XVI 620 note 4 supposes a Gallic origin, on the basis of Strabo IV 4, 4 p. 198 τρία φῦλα τῶν τιμωμένων . . . Βάρδοι τε καὶ Οὐάτεις καὶ Δρυΐδαι. On the use of vates and poeta, cp. L. Müller, *de re metr.* p. 65–68, *Ennius* p. 27–29, Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 165. The purist Tacitus never uses 'poeta' except in the Dialogus, where it could not well have been avoided. See also note on sapientiam c. 5 ext.

10 **deducit, salutat, prosequitur,** are all more or less technical terms. *Deducere* is to escort the statesman or orator from his home to the forum or the senate as a mark of honor or respect, — more rarely in the sense of reducere 'to accompany back to his house.' Cf. Cic. de sen. 18, 63 haec ipsa sunt honorabilia . . . assurgi, deduci, reduci, ad fam. X 12, 2 cum magna multitudo optimorum virorum et civium me de domo deduceret pro Mur. 34, 70 interdum ad forum deducimur, and Livy XXIII 23 ext. ne deducendi sui causa populum de foro abduceret Tac. H. III 86 Domitianum . . . miles frequens . . . in paternos penates deduxit. Plut. Cic. 22 p. 871 δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν . . . τῶν πολιτῶν . . . προπεμπόντων αὐτόν. In a different sense c. 34 3. — *salutare* 'to pay a visit,' usually early in the morning, one of the chief duties the client owed his patron. Gk. θεραπεύειν or ἀσπάζεσθαι, cf. Plut. l. c. 16 p. 868 ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἕωθεν ὡς ἀσπασομένους τὸν Κικέρωνα, and c. 8 p. 864. Cp. Friedländer, I 382 ff. Becker, *Gallus* II^3 159 ff. Mayor ad Iuv. I 128 III 127 V 19 ff. See Maternus' answer c. 11 13. — *prosequi* either synonymous with 'adsectari' in the general sense of 'accompanying,' as in c. 2 7 quos . . . in publico adsectabar, or perhaps better taken as the opposite of deducere (de domo). Cf. Gell. XVIII 1, 16 prosecuti Favorinum in domum, and Ann. XI 12. Andresen and Wolff take prosequi to mean 'to accompany on travels,' but as the impoverished Bassus (c. 9 25) was not likely to travel extensively, Aper's remark would savor of facetiousness, bordering on sarcasm. — **nempe**: 'And if — he will of course etc.' c. 17 7 'as we all

know.' In c. 21 15 quid? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe, the particle affirms the truth of a statement. In c. 35 12 finally nempe simply strengthens enim. Cp. the exhaustive article in Hand, *Tursell.* IV 154–165, also R. V. III 292 note 433 John ad loc. — **si-si-si-denique**: A similar anaphora in G. 7 si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant. Cic. de orat. I 49, 212. Sen. Ep. 37, 3 si-si-si-denique si. On this rhetorical figure, see Weinkauff p. 81–85 Volkmann, Rhet. p. 468.

11 **negotium** is regarded by the commentators as equivalent to 'negotium forense' (so c. 14 16 Quint. I 12, 7), as in Quint. IV 2, 27 XII 9, 8 and in Tacitus c. 19 26 38 9 Ann. II 27 IV 15 XIII 4 XVI 22. But as Aper, with admirable urbanity, suppresses the real object of Bassus' consultation of a lawyer, it will be preferable to take negotium also as an intentional euphemism. Translate: 'Should he become involved in some difficulty' or 'meet with any trouble.' This meaning of *negotium* occurs in all periods of the language e. g. Plaut. Men. V 9, 13 Poen. I 2, 30 Cic. ad fam. III 10, 1 de off. III 31, 112 Quint. V 12, 13 and note to c. 3 20.

12 **recurret**: 'Will have recourse to.' Very rare in this sense for the regular decurrere. Cf. Quint. Prooem. 17 ad auctores recurrere, I 6, 13 ad eam rationem recurrunt. Here practically equivalent to curret, for in Tac., as in Silver Latin generally, *re-* in composition is often merely intensive. Cf. G. 30 plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. Ann. XIII 57 residentibus flammis XV 73 revictam coniurationem. See also note c. 7 19.

13 **non quia — neque ut**: In place of 'neque ut pro eo versus facias,' we expect some such phrase as 'sed ut pro eo dicas, causam agas, eum defendas.' The slight anacoluthon was occasioned by Aper's reluctance to allude, save by implication, to the possible contingency of a troublesome lawsuit in which Bassus might figure as the defendant. On similar constructions in Tacitus, cf. H. III 4, 10 suadente Cornelio Fusco non quia industria Flaviani egebat, sed ut consulare nomen . . . praetenderetur, and the examples cited by Clemm, p. 128 f. — According to Nipp. Ann. XIII 1 (where see also Furneaux' note), the indicative is used after 'non quia,' when a fact is admitted to be true or likely to have been true, while its influence upon the ensuing result is denied. So H. III 4 (above) Ann. XV 60. Cf. note to c. 37 28, where we must read fuerit (with Madvig) for fuit of the MSS. — **domi nascuntur**: A proverbial phrase. Cic.

Acad. II 25, 80 Desine, quaeso, communibus locis : domi nobis ista nascuntur ad. fam. IX 3, 2 sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur ad Att. I 19, 3 Petron. 38, 1 omnia domi nascuntur Sen. Ep. 23, 3 volo illam tibi domi nasci. Similarly Cic. Orat. 38, 132 uterer exemplis domesticis . . . uterer alienis de orat. II 9, 38 nisi domesticis se instruxerit copiis, aliunde dicendi copiam petere non possit and Pind. Nem. VII 75 ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων οἴκοθεν (cited by Reid, Acad. l. c.). For analogous expressions with domi, especially in Plautus, see Brix, and Tyrrell, Mil. Glor. 194, and Otto, *Die Sprichwörter* etc. p. 120, 3.

14 **pulchri quidem** = pulchri illi quidem. Cf. note c. 3 8. — **exitus est ut, cum**: 'The upshot of it all is.' For similar instances of the temporal cum with indicative, cf. e. g. G. 24 tanta temeritate ut, cum omnia defecerunt . . . contendant and Ann. III 30. 54. See W. G. Hale, *Cum Constructions* p. 204 ff. — Note the 'gradatio ad minus' in toto anno — magna noctium parte.

15 **excudit**: A metaphor taken from the metal-worker's art. Cf. Cic. ad Att. XV 13 excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδιον. Plin. Ep. I 3, 4 effinge aliquid et excude quod sit perpetuo tuum. Lact. de opif. I 2 nulla me necessitate . . . impediri quominus aliquid excudam. Salvian, de gubern. dei Praef. (C. S. E. VIII p. 1) ut aliquid linguarum opus studio ingeniorum excuderent. See note c. 20 13. — **elucubravit** with special reference to 'magna noctium parte.' Cf. Cic. Brut. 90, 312 multae (sc. orationes) quas non minus diligenter elaboratas et tamquam elucubratas afferebamus ad Att. VII 19 epistolam quam eram elucubratus. Val. Max. III 7, 1 alterius cunctante stilo elucubratum opus. Colum. X praef. The simplex also occurs e. g. Cic. Parad. prooem. 5 parvum opusculum lucubratum his iam contractioribus noctibus. On the difference, cf. note c. 9 29. So in Greek νυκτογραφία e. g. Plut. Pol. Praec. 803 C Symp. II 634 A. See also Callim. in Arat. (Ep. 27) σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης and Plut. Dem. 11 εἰς τὰς ἀγρυπνίας . . . τι λέγειν.

16 **rogare ultro et ambire** etc.: *ultro* 'into the bargain,' cf. c. 5 23. It belongs to both verbs, as indicated by the position. See note c. 12 19. With the statement itself, cf. Plin. Ep. I 13, 2 f. (a locus classicus on the subject of recitations) lente cunctanterque veniunt (sc. auditores); nec tamen permanent sed ante finem recedunt, alii dissimulanter et furtim, alii simpliciter et libere . . . multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus. III 18, 4 cepi autem non medio-

crem voluptatem quod hunc librum (sc. Panegyricum) cum amicis recitare voluissem, non per codicillos, non per libellos, sed 'si commodum' et 'si valde vacaret' admoniti (numquam porro aut valde vacat Romae aut commodum est audire recitantem). *rogare* 'by letter,' *ambire* 'by oral solicitations.'

17 **domum mutuatur:** Iuv. VII 38 ff. si dulcedine famae | succensus recites, maculosas commodat aedes | haec longe ferrata domus servire iubetur | in qua sollicitas imitatur ianua portas . . . nemo dabit regum, quanti subsellia constent | et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo | quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris. On recitations in Rome, see Friedländer III[6] 419–424, and especially the exhaustive notes of Mayor to Iuv. III 9 (vol. I p. 173–181. 346 f.) VII 38 ff. (vol. I 282 f. 443) 84 (vol. I 289 f. 445).

18 **libellos dispergit:** 'distributes programmes' not 'invitations,' as usually interpreted, for these have been already designated by 'rogare.' Cf. Cic. Phil. II 38, 97 gladiatorum libellos venditare. On the many significations of libellus, see Landgraf, *Archiv* VI p. 248.

19 **ut beatissimus . . . eventus prosequatur:** *ut* 'even granting that,' occurs not earlier than Cicero, who uses it in this sense very frequently. It is not found in Sallust, and is comparatively rare in other writers. Quint. VI 3, 112 in quibus ut erraverim, legentes tamen non decepi. In Tacitus: Ann. IV 33 utque familiae ipsae exstinctae sint 40 ego ut sinam. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 758 ff. — *beatissimus eventus* 'most gratifying success, issue.' 'Eventus' is a so-called vocabulum medium, denoting either a good or bad result. Cf. Plin. Ep. V 20, 2 egi pro Vareno, non sine eventu: nam bene an male, liber indicabit. Used in bonam partem in Ann. II 26, where see Nipperdey. — **prosequatur** = sequatur. Cf. note c. 7 17.

20 **unum aut alterum:** Cf. c. 21 6 29 2 39 13 Ag. 15. 40 Ann. III 34 and G. 6 H. I 83 Ann. III 47. IV 17 unus alterve. H. II 75 Ann. XIII 46 unus alterque. H. V 6 unus atque alter. The copulative conjunction has an intensive force (G. 11 et alter et tertius dies cunctatione consumitur Hor. Sat. II 5, 24 vafer unus et alter); joined by 'aut' or 've,' the phrase implies either 'a few' (so here) or 'one or the other' taken at random. Cf. Nipp. Ann. III 34 John ad c. 21 6 Schmalz, *Antib.* p. 137. — After *diem*, a participial form of esse, or a subordinate cum clause, may be supplied in thought.

So also c. 8 18 principes fori. 21 4 in eodem valetudinario (sc. ὄντας). Ag. 6 ludos . . . duxit, uti longe a luxuria ita famae propior (ὤν). 10 septentrionalia eius (sc. Britanniae) nullis contra terris (ὄντα) pulsantur. Ann. I 27 is ante alios (ὤν) aetate et gloria belli, firmare Drusum credebatur. 43 liberos eius ut multum infra (ὄντες) despectare. XIII 19 Rubellium Plautum per maternam originem . . . a divo Augusto (ὄντα). — Aper's view is evidently shared by Mr. Balfour (Add. and Essays): 'Literary immortality is an unsubstantial fiction, devised by literary artists for their own special consolation.' — **velut in herba vel flore praecerpta**: i. e. the reputation possibly acquired by the recitation of poetry is purely ephemeral, and like a blossom or a flower untimely plucked, it withers, without reaching its full fruition. The simile is abbreviated, the expressions 'praecerpta' and 'pervenit frugem,' though properly applicable only to 'herba' or 'flore,' blending with the object compared. So Hor. Ep. I 2, 41 qui recte vivendi prorogat horam Rusticus expectat, dum defluat amnis. A. P. 348, where see Kiessling's notes. The metaphor seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Cato ap. Gell. XIII 18 (17) 1 nunc ita aiunt, in segetibus, in herbis bona frumenta esse. Ovid. Her. 16 (17) 263 sed nimium properas et adhuc tua messis in herba est. Fronto Ep. I 5 egone qui indolem ingenii tui in germine etiam, tum in herba et in flore dilexerim, nunc frugem ipsam maturae virtutis nonne . . . diligam? Symm. Ep. IV 20, 2 tuae res non in germine sed in fruge sunt. Cp. Otto, *Sprichw.* p. 161. The same phrase also in Tac. H. V 7 sive herba tenus aut flore seu solidam (Heraeus) in speciem adolevere. —*Praecerpere*, not 'praecipere,' is the verb used in these and analogous expressions. Cf. Cic. Verr. II 4, 37, 80 praecerpo fructum offici tui Ovid, Her. 20 (19) 143 quis tibi permisit nostras praecerpere messes. Plin. N. H. XVIII 19, 49, 177 germinum tenera praecerpere. Plin. Ep. V 20, 8 florem praecerpam.

22 **amicitiam inde refert** etc.: Practically an amplified repetition of quis domum . . . tibi obligatus redit. — **mansurum**: The use of the fut. act. part. for an adjectival clause is poetic and post Aug., and highly characteristic of Tacitus, who seems, moreover, to have had a special fondness for this particular word. Cf. Verg. Aen. III 86 mansuram urbem Ovid A. A. II 242 mansuri amoris Quint. XII 10, 49 mansuris litteris and Tac. H. I 78 nova iura . . . mansura II 49 modicum et mansurum (sc. sepulchrum) IV 52 mansuram

concordiam Ann. II 70 praemia . . . mansura IV 38 in animis vestris effigies et mansurae XIV 20 mansuram theatri sedem. For other exx. in the Dial., cf. c. 10 33 dicturam 22 15 34 23 duraturus (-am). On this use of the fut. act. part. cp. R. V. III p. 741 note 579[a], with the copious literature there cited, Kühner II 576 and Helm, *Quaest. Synt.* p. 9 f.

23 **vagum**: 'Sporadic, capricious, that cannot be depended upon.' On the applause at recitations, cp. Mayor, Iuv. l. c. (I p. 178 f.) and c. 15 16 clamoribus quatit.

24 **voces inanes**: Meaningless exclamations of approval such as belle, praeclare, pulchre, festive (Cic. de orat. III 26, 101), effecte! graviter! cito! nequiter! euge! beate! (Mart. II 27, 3) Pers. I 49. Plut. de aud. 45 F *κροτοθορύβους γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν λέγων* (sc. *Ἐπίκουρος*) *ἀηδής ἐστιν· οἱ δὲ τὰς ξένας φωνὰς τοῖς ἀκροατηρίοις νῦν ἐπεισάγοντες οὗτοι καὶ Θείως καὶ Θεοφορήτως καὶ Ἀπροσίτως ἐπιλέγοντες κτλ.* They are styled *inanes* 'empty, meaningless' because of their insincerity. — **gaudium volucre**: 'fleeting, transient joy.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 52, 11 quanta autem dementia eius est, quem clamores imperitorum hilarem ex auditorio dimittunt. Quid laetaris quod ab hominibus his laudatus es quos non potes ipse laudare. — Such, in Aper's opinion, is the 'bubble reputation' of the poet, but the orator's reputation ever waxes greater as time passes. On the uselessness of poetry, as compared with the profession of the general and the orator, cf. the discussion in Plut. de glor. Athen. c. 5 (p. 348 f.): *Τίνα οὖν αἱ καλαὶ τραγῳδίαι ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὄνησιν ἤνεγκαν; εἰ οὕτως ἡ Εὐριπίδου σοφία καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους λογιότης καὶ τὸ Αἰσχύλου στόμα τι τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπήλλαξεν ἤ τι τῶν λαμπρῶν περιεποίησεν, ἄξιόν γε τὰ δράματα τοῖς τροπαίοις ἀντιπαραθεῖναι . . . καὶ τούτων τοῖς μὲν ἡττηθεῖσι περιῆν προσυβρίσθαι καὶ γεγονέναι καταγελάστους· τοῖς δὲ νικήσασιν ὁ τρίπους ὑπῆρχεν, οὐκ ἀνάθημα τῆς νίκης, ὡς Δημήτριός φησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπίσπεισμα τῶν ἐκκεχυμένων βίων καὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων κενοτάφιον οἴκων. Τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ποιητικῆς τέλη, καὶ λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν. . . . Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία παιδιὰ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν· οἱ δὲ ῥήτορες ἔχουσί τι παραβαλλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς κτλ.* — **nuper**: Probably to be here taken quite strictly, although the word is used very loosely. Thus in G. 2 (written 98 A. D.) Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, it refers back to the time of Caesar; in H. IV 17 it points backward over sixty years. Ann. XIII 57 the reference goes back eight years, but in all other Tacitean passages, the time elapsed never exceeds five years, usually less.

25 **Vespasiani liberalitatem**: Suet. Vesp. 18 f. Ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit. Primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit. Praestantes poetas nec non et artifices Coae Veneris, item Colossi refectorem insigni congiario magnaque mercede donavit. — On the proverbial poverty of poets, see e. g. Ovid Trist. IV 10, 21 saepe pater dixit: 'studium quid inutile temptas? | Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes.' Petron. 83 'ego' inquit 'poeta sum' . . . 'quare ergo' inquis 'tam male vestitus es?' 'propter hoc ipsum. Amor ingenii neminem umquam divitem facit.' Mart. I 76, 5 quid petis a Phoebo? nummos habet arca Minerva | haec sapit, haec omnes fenerat una deos 11 quid tibi cum Cyrrha? quid cum Permesside nuda | Romanum propius divitiusque forum est. X 76, 5 iucundus probus, innocens amicus | Lingua doctus utraque cuius unum est | sed magnum vitium quod est poeta | Pallo Maevius alget in cucullo. Iuv. VII 16–97. Cp. Friedländer III 429 ff. 491.

26 **quod donasset**: Relating to the remarks made at the time by Aper and others, hence the subj. H. II 75 apud bonos invidiae fuit quod . . . fecisset Ann. I 52 sed quod . . . quaesivissent. — **indulgentiam principis — mereri**: Stat. Silv. V 2, 125 ergo age, nam magni ducis indulgentia pulsat. Imitated by Iuv. VII 21 materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit. Suet. Vit. 5 principum indulgentia. Especially common in the younger Pliny (20 times). Cf. Mayor l. c. I 278. 439. — *mereri* in the sense of 'acquire, obtain, consequi' is very common in Tac. e. g. c. 31 23 G. 14 vulnera mereri Ag. 4 iram Gai Caesaris meritus H. II 31. 37. 50 III 86 IV 34 Ann. I 28 II 49 IV 36 VI 10 XII 31 XV 6 XVI 15. Also in Plaut. Pseud. IV 7, 95 quid meres? Varro ap. Non. p. 344, then occasionally in Cic. e. g. Rosc. Com. 10, 28 and in Caes. B. G. VI 5, 2.

27 **si ita res familiaris exigat**: The same phrase in Quint. XII 7, 9 si res familiaris amplius aliquid ad usus necessarios exigat.

28 **se ipsum colere**: To advance one's own material fortune by more lucrative employments than poetry, so as to render one's self independent of princes' favors. The commentators err in interpreting the phrase to mean 'ingenium studiose excolere,' for this is precisely what Bassus has been doing all his life. — *Ipsum* is not the object in apposition to *se*, but corresponds to 'orator se ipse colit' in the direct discourse, as opposed to Bassum Vespasianus coluit.

See Heller, *Philol.* LI p. 347. Hence 'si ita res familiaris exigat' is in its proper place, and Wolff's suggestion to transpose the phrase after 'quidem,' or Andresen's to supply it in thought, is not only superfluous but not in keeping with the sense of the passage. — **genium propitiare**: Here used in the sense of 'genio indulgere, to enjoy the good things of life.' Cf. Pers. V 151 indulge genio: carpamus dulcia. These phrases embody virtually one and the same idea — a fulness of expression due to the speaker's desire to inculcate the importance of pursuing a profession which will enable a man to acquire, as Aper himself had done, affluence, high political positions and an enviable reputation, merely by his own intellectual efforts and in the face of discouraging obstacles. The commentators less correctly take 'genium propitiare' in its literal sense, in reference to the ancient superstition of tutelary spirits (on which cp. Pauly, *R. E.* III 693 L. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* p. 566 Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* II 241 f. and Kiessling, Hor. Ep. II 1, 143), thus assuming that the poet Bassus had hitherto been invoking the good will of the 'genius' of another, which he is now called upon to abandon in favor of his own tutelary deity. With the thought itself, cf. Sen. Ep. 15, 10 quam iucundum sit nihil poscere, quam magnificum sit plenum esse nec ex fortuna pendere, and Shakespeare, Henry VIII 'How wretched is that poor man that hangs on princes' favors.'

29 **adice quod**, like 'adde quod' formed on the analogy of 'accedit quod' (cp. R. V. III p. 496 Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* p. 499), is first found in Liv. XXIII 5, 9 adicite ad haec quod. Neither adice nor adde quod occurs elsewhere in Tacitus. Cp. also Sen. Contr. IX praef. 3, once in Plin. Paneg. 53, 3. and Quint. II 17, 40 adiciunt his qui contra sentiunt quod. It is, however, especially characteristic of the younger Seneca, but usually in the form 'adice nunc quod,' e. g. Dial. II 17, 4 de ira III 5, 7 de tranq. 15, 3 de clem. I 2, 2. 8, 6 II 6, 1 de benef. III 7, 4 Ep. 40, 4; 70, 3. 8. 15; 100, 6; 114, 13.

30 **elaborare et efficere**: *Ex* in composition, especially in such words as elaborare and efficere seems to add an intellectual element to the original meaning. Cp. R. V. II 19 f. note 322, a view clearly confirmed by a passage in Plin. Ep. V 20, 5 Iulius Candidus . . . solet dicere aliud esse eloquentiam, aliud loquentiam. The same synonyms are joined by Cic. ad fam. IX 16, 2. — **conversatio** is a post-Aug. word, first found in Vell. II 102, thereafter frequent,

especially in Seneca e. g. de tranq. 17, 3 de brevit. vit. 3, 3 Ep. 7, 2; 32, 2; 47, 15; 94, 40. 41; 99, 19; 100, 12. Also Quint. I 2, 4 VI 3, 17 and Tac. G. 40 satiatam conversatione mortalium deam)(Ann. XII 49 cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret. Its equivalent in Cicero is 'sermo familiaris,' e. g. pro Cael. 19, 46 relinquenda studia delectationis . . . convivium, sermo paene est familiarium deserendus.

31 **iucunditas urbis**: Cp. Friedländer I p. 10 ff. — **utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos**: A poetic commonplace, as old as Hesiod's Prooemium to the Theogony and especially affected by the Alexandrians, whence it passed into Roman poetry. (Dilthey, *Callimachi Cydippe* p. 15). Cf. e. g. Hor. C. I 1, 31 me gelidum nemus | nympharumque leves cum satyris chori | secernunt populo Ep. II 2, 77 Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbes. C. III 4, 7. 25, 12 IV 3, 10 A. P. 298 Prop. V 1, 1 In vestrum (sc. Callimachus and Philetas) quaeso me sinite ire nemus Ov. Trist. I 1, 41 carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt Iuv. VII 58 cupidus (sc. vates egregius) silvarum. Auson. Ep. 25, 90. — The same collocation also in Verg. Ecl. VIII 86 Prop. IV 9, 24 Luc. I 453 and in Tacitus: G. 9. 11. 45. — On the alleged allusion of Pliny (Ep. IX 10, 2) to this passage, see Proleg. p. xvii f.

10. 1 opinio et fama: *Opinio*, like valetudo, eventus, is a so-called vocabulum medium and derives its precise meaning from the context or from some attributive. Here = 'good opinion in the eyes of others, reputation.' In Cicero, the word is only used with an adjective (Verr. II 3, 24, 59) or with an objective genitive (ad Att. VII 2 opinio integritatis). Cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. 220 Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 59, 1 Peterson, Quint. X 5, 18. The same collocation of synonyms (they belong closely together as shown by the singular predicate, on which see note c. 5 25) is found frequently. E. g. Cic. de off. II 9, 32 fama et opinione liberalitatis (on the order, see note c. 4 3) Caes. B. C. I 82 opinio famaque Sen. de benef. VI 43 ext. opinionem quidem et famam eo loco habeamus, tamquam non ducere sed sequi debeat.

cui soli serviunt . . . fatentur: This confession, which must not be confounded with the predictions of immortality common in both Greek and Latin poets, is most frequently met with in Ovid. Cf. Am. I 15, 7 mihi fama perennis | quaeritur, in toto semper ut orbe canar A. A. III 404 quid petitur sacris nisi tantum fama poetis |

hoc votum nostri summa laboris habet Trist. I 1, 53 donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore | quaerendique mihi nominis ardor erat V 12, 37 f. denique non parvas animo dat gloria vires | et facunda facit pectora laudis amor Tac. H. IV 6 etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur (a Platonic simile frequently used by the Stoics, see Athen. XI 116 Simpl. in Epict. 48 Fronto p. 144) Ag. 9 fama cui saepe etiam boni indulgent. Plin. Ep. VII 4, 10 unum precor, ut posteri quoque aut errent similiter aut iudicent (sc. de carminibus meis). Simonides ap. Plut. An seni etc. 783 F said of the desire of glory ἔσχατον δύεται κατὰ γᾶς. The statement of Horace A. P. 324 Graiis . . . praeter laudem nullius avaris, seems not reflected in any of their extant literary utterances. — The same idealistic view is attributed to the ancient orators by Tac. Ann. XI 6 veterum oratorum exempla referens (sc. Silius) qui famam et posteros praemia eloquentiae cogitavissent pulcherrima, where recent editors follow Nipperdey, unjustly it seems to me, in reading cogitavissent. pulcherrimam . . . principem. Cp. Suster, G., *Il sentimento della gloria nella litteratura Romana*, Lanciano 1889.

2 **aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur**: In his eagerness to bring his arguments home, Aper, in this closing portion of his speech, injures his case by an over-statement, which Maternus has, of course, no difficulty in refuting. See c. 12 14 ff. — *aeque quam*, for 'aeque ac,' usual after a negative, occurs sporadically in ante-classical poetry e. g. Plaut. Mil. Glor. 467. It was introduced into prose by Livy e. g. V 3, 4 (where see Weissenborn and Kühnast *Liv. Synt.* p. 349) and is common in Tacitus, who has 'aeque ac' but once: H. IV 5. Quintilian has the phrase only IX 4, 85 (with quam). Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 634, *Stil* p. 71. R. V. III 224 note 415[h]. Ziemer, *Junggram. Streifzüge* p. 110.

3 **mediocres poetas nemo novit**: Cf. Hor. A. P. 372 mediocribus esse poetis | non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.

4 **rarissimarum** = 'most remarkable, extraordinary.' Cf. e. g. Ps. Tib. III 4, 37 artis opus rarae. Sen. Contr. VIII 5 (28) homo rarissimi . . ingeni. Tac. Ag. 4. 7. 9 G. 30.

5 **nedum ut**: In Tac. only here. Also Liv. III 14, 6 XXX 21, 9 and in Apul. Met. V 10 IX 39. Cp. Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* § 267, 4 note. Dr. *H. S.* II 693 Hellmuth, Progr. Würzburg 1888. — **innotescat**: So again H. IV 50, but in the Annals only the simple verb is used. Cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV p. 111.

6 **quotus quisque**: 'how few.' So c. 21 7 26 30 Ann. I 3 quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset VI 9 nam quotus quisque. In Cicero only in the nominative and in principal clauses e.g. Tusc. Disp. II 4, 11 quotus enim quisque philosophorum invenitur. — **ex Hispania**: Perhaps Aper had in mind the pretty anecdote related by Plin. Ep. II 3, 8 numquamne legisti Gaditanum quendam Titi Livii nomine gloriaque commotum ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse statimque, ut viserat, abisse? — **Asia**: As Hispania shows, Asia here designates the Roman province (Strabo XVII 718 *ἡ ἰδίως καλουμένη*, Plin. N. H. V 27, 28, 102 quae proprie vocatur), composed of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia (Cic. pro Flacco 27, 65 pro Pomp. 6, 14). The term Asia Minor does not occur till the time of Orosius (I 2).

7 **Gallis nostris**: See Proleg. p. lxix f.

8 **adeo**: 'and if, in truth.' c. 14 7 'on the contrary.' c. 33 2 'you seem so far from having as yet accomplished.' c. 3 15 'so little.' c. 21 18. 33 23 13 32 12 38 11 = tam or ita. All these meanings are paralleled in other writings of T. Cf. Lex. Tac. 31 f. See also John ad c. 3 15. — **ut semel vidit, transit** etc.: A highly significant utterance in the mouth of a Roman, for the national appreciation of works of art never advanced beyond a passing curiosity. The Romans themselves were well aware of this deficiency (Cic. Verr. II 2, 35, 87 nos qui harum rerum rudes sumus), but they professed to believe that 'ludicrae artes' were incompatible with 'gravitas,' and perversive of their peculiar mission in history, a conviction brought out in the memorable lines of Verg. Aen. VI 847 ff. Excudent alii (sc. Graeci) spirantia mollius aera, | credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus . . . tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento | hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos, or else they pleaded in extenuation the lack of that freedom from official duties which it was the sole privilege of the Greek to enjoy. Cf. Pliny N. H. XXXVI 4, 8, 27 Romae quidem multitudo operum, etiam obliteratio ac magis officiorum negotiorumque acervi omnes a contemplatione tamen abducunt, quoniam otiosorum et in magno loci silentio talis admiratio est. Sen. Ep. 88, 18 will not even recognise sculpture and painting as liberal arts: non enim adducor, ut in numerum liberalium artium pictores recipiam, non magis quam statuarios . . . aut ceteros luxuriae ministros. As a concrete illustration of this

apathetic attitude toward works of art, it may be sufficient to mention Cicero's admiring comment, pro Pomp. 14, 40 postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. See also Bernhardy, *Röm. Lit.*[5] p. 54 ff., Friedländer, II 187 f. III 314 ff. and Sandys, Cic. Orat. 2, 5, Introd. p. LXXI–LXXIV. Goethe and Schiller had similar experiences, cp. Lewis' *Goethe* p.155.

10 **natura sua . . . denegavit**: The same phrase occurs in Tac. Ann. XV 42 quibus ingenium . . . erat etiam, quae natura denegavisset. Cf. also Cic. de orat. II 29, 126 a natura denegatum Ov. Ep. Sapph. 31 Lucan VI 59 Iuv. I 79. Translate: 'To whom their natural endowment has denied oratorical talent.' The passage was perhaps suggested by Cic. de orat. I 25, 117 neque haec in eam sententiam disputo, ut homines adulescentes, si quid naturale forte non habeant, omnino a dicendi studio deterream.

Sua is quite unobjectionable. Cf. Cic. Brut. 56, 204 quo ferat natura sua quemque. Andresen (*Emend.* p. 171) who deletes the pronoun, himself confesses 'unde tamen irrepserit, non audeo affirmare' and then adds, as if the MS. reading were quite unintelligible, 'nec vero id potius ago ut corruptelarum originem aperiam quam ut emendem'!

12 **oblectare otium**: For the expression, cf. Tac. Ann. XII 49 (cited above) Sen. Dial. I 5, 4 Plin. Ep. IV 14, 2. — **nomen inserere famae**: A bold figure, but paralleled in Tac. H. II 61 Marcus . . . inserere se fortunae Ann. VI 2 ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit. Cf. also Plin. Ep. VII 33, 1 illis (sc. historiis Taciti) inseri cupio.

13 **vero**: 'of course, to be sure.' Cf. Wilkins, Cic. de orat. II 71, 290. — **eloquentiam**: 'artistic composition.' So c. 23 8 Quint. X 2, 21 and see note c. 5 13. Cp. also Friedländer III 397: "Die Poesie war der Beredsamkeit nahe verwandt, sie wurde zu den Formen der Wohlredenheit im weitesten Sinne des Wortes gezählt und 'beredt' (facundus) gehörte zu den gewöhnlichsten und ehrendsten Praedicaten der Dichter."

14 **sacras**: *sacer* as a synonym of 'venerabilis' is poetic and post-Aug. e. g. Hor. C. II 13, 29 Prop. III 16 (IV 16) 11 Mart V 69, 7 VIII 56 Luc. IX 983 Sil. Ital. VIII 100, but rare in prose: e. g. Sen. Contr. I praef. 10 sic sacerrimam eloquentiam . . . violare non desinunt Quint. XI 1, 59 sacra quaedam patris eius memoria. — The same collocation in Sen. Ep. 14, 11 nomen philosophiae venera-

bile et sacrum 55, 4 philosophia sacrum quiddam est et venerabile de ira 31, 7. — **cothurnum**: A common metonymy for tragoedia. Here more particularly of the elevated and sublime style appropriate to tragedy. Cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII 10 Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno. Prop. II (III) 34, 41 desine et Aeschyleo componere verba cothurno. Stat. Silv. V 3, 96 sidera terrifico super intonuere cothurno. Iuv. VI 634 fingimus haec altum satura sumente cothurnum | scilicet et finem egressi legemque priorum | grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu. XV 29 cunctis graviora cothurnis (where see Mayor). Quint. X 1, 68 Namque is (sc. Euripides) et sermone, quod ipsum reprehendunt quibus gravitas et cothurnus et sonus Sophocli videtur esse sublimior. Sen. de tranq. 11, 8 quotiens mimicas ineptias et verba ad summam caveam spectantia reliquit, inter multa alia cothurno non tantum sipario fortiora. Symm. Ep. Fragm. p. 22, 4 (cited by Mayor l. c.) ne in poeticos flatus rerum ingentium cothurnus erumpat.

vestrum: Scholars obstinately refuse to recognise the use of vester = tuus, although Munro, *Elucidat. to Catullus* p. 216 has adduced several indisputable instances e. g. Cat. XXXIX 20 vester | expolitior dens est XCIX 6 tantillum vestrae demere saevitiae. Cf. also, Verg. Aen. X 188 crimen, Amor, vestrum, Cic. de orat. III 47, 182 Aristoteles, Catule, vester. Wilkins, ad Cic. de orat. I 35, 160 begs the question, when he says that the 2. pers. plur. is *never* found with a singular force in Latin, for this is true only, because the many available passages in support of Munro's view are not admitted by him as evidence. In the present instance, Andresen, in order to avoid taking vester = tuus, supposes Aper to have included Bassus, but he is known to us only as an *epic* poet! Peter's explanation 'you and your fellow-tragedians' is not warranted by the context.

15 **heroici carminis sonum**: 'The lofty tone of epic song.' Cf. Cic. de opt. gen. or. I 1 et in tragoedia comicum vitiosum est, et in comoedia turpe tragicum et in ceteris (sc. carminum generibus) suus est cuique certus sonus et quaedam intellegentibus nota vox de orat. II 12, 54 addidit maiorem historiae sonum vocis (sc. Caelius Antipater) Quint. I 8, 5 sublimitate heroici carminis animus adsurgat et ex magnitudine rerum spiritum ducat. — **lyricorum iucunditatem**: Iucundus, τερπνός, and the like, are standing epithets of lyric poetry. Cf. Anth. Pal. IX 571, 1 ἔπνεε τερπνὰ | ἡδυμελεῖ

φθόγγῳ μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω . . . γλυκερή. Simon. frag. 46 ἄρξατο | τερπνοτάτων μελέων ὁ καλλιβόας πολύχορδος αὐλός. Schol. Arist. Vesp. 1410 Σιμωνίδης Μελικέρτης. Callimachus ap. Suidam τὸν γλυκὺν ποιητήν (de Simonide). Cic. de nat. deor. I 22, 60 Simoniden . . . poeta suavis.

16 **elegorum lascivias:** Cf. Mart. III 20, 6 lascivus elegis an severus herois. VIII 73, 5 Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti. Quint. X 1, 93 Ovidius utroque (sc. Propertio et Tibullo) lascivior. The passages from Martial show clearly that Peter is wrong in thinking Aper to have had Ovid chiefly in mind, on the ground that lascivia is not a characteristic feature of Roman elegy! The plur. of lascivia is post-Aug.; in Tac. also Ann. XI 36. The word is used only in bonam partem in Cicero. — **iamborum amaritudinem:** Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. III 38, 91 Hor. A. P. 79 Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo. C. I 16, 2 criminosis . . . iambis. Quint. X 1, 96 cuius (sc. iambi) acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio . . . reperietur IX 4, 141 aspera vero et maledica, ut dixi, etiam in carmine iambis grassantur. Diomed. III 485 K. iambus est carmen maledicum. So also in Greek, ἰαμβίζειν is used as a synonym of λοιδορεῖν (Arist. Poet. 4 p. 1448ᵇ 32. Phot. Cod. 239 p. 319ᵇ 15). See Mayor's note to Quint. X 1, 59 (p. 135).

17 **epigrammatum lusus:** Cf. Mart. IV 49, 1 f. Nescis, crede mihi, quid sint epigrammata, Flacce, | qui tantum *lusus* illa iocosque putas. Plin. Ep. VII 9, 9 Fas est et carmine remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest) sed hoc arguto et brevi . . . *Lusus* vocantur. — Polysyndetic 'et,' more than twice repeated: c. 25 15. 26 37 11 Ag. 37 G. 40 and H. IV 53. Thereafter it disappears entirely, an asyndeton or variations with et, ac, que taking its place. Cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV p. 125. — **quamcunque aliam . . . habet,** such as comedy and satire, music, grammar (Cic. de orat. I 49, 212). — Indefinite relative pronouns do not take a subj. in Tacitus, except once, in Ann. III 74, where, as generally in analogous cases, the subj. is that of repeated action, or else due to orat. obl. Cp. Nipp. l. c. Dr. *H. S.* II p. 524 ff. Kühner II 787 f. 795 f., R. V. III 409 note 474 Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* p. 495 f.

18 **ceteris aliarum artium studiis:** *Aliarum* is unquestionably pleonastic, but what seems redundant or superfluous to modern stylistic feeling was often regarded by the ancients as a legitimate

fulness of expression, frequently resorted to solely for euphonic or rhetorical reasons. Examples of this particular usage are common both in Greek and Latin e. g. Hom. η 84 Xenoph. Anab. I 5, 5 Plat. Phaedr. 278 B. Other analogous redundancies are c. 30 18 omnem omnium artium varietatem. Cic. de orat. I 49, 213 III 19, 72. The pleonasm under notice is a stylistic peculiarity of Porphyrio. See C. F. Urba, *Meletemata Porphyrionea*, Vindob. 1885 p. 62.

As the reading of our MSS. is perfectly sound, it is needless to discuss the emendation of Ribbeck and of Andresen in detail, even if they were otherwise acceptable. (Cp. Baehrens, Comm. Crit. p. 60). *Altiorum* especially has nothing but palaeographical simplicity in its favor, for it is incompatible with the convictions of the speaker who, if consistent, could only have used an expression like *leviorum* (cf. Cic. de orat. I 49, 212). The examples which Andresen cites in favor of his view (to which might have been added H. IV 5) only show that altiora studia or altiores artes occasionally occurs elsewhere.—The collocation 'ceteris aliarum studiis artium,' preserved in cod. D, very probably represents the original reading, see note 12 8.

19 **in arcem**: 'up towards,' cf. note c. 13 19. For this metaphorical use of arx, cf. Cic. ad fam. I 9, 15 num potui magis in arcem illius causae invadere. Livy, XXVIII, 42 ubi Hannibal sit, ibi caput atque arcem totius belli fore. Stat. Silv. II 2, 131 celsa tu mentis ab arce | Despicis errantes (perhaps a reminiscence of Lucr. II 7 ff.) Lucan VII 593 attingere arcem iuris Sil. Ital. XIII 771 ad decus et summas laudum perduxerit arces. Quint. XII 11, 28 iam Cicerone arcem tenente eloquentiae. Priscian, Gramm. praef. arcem musicae possidere Plat. Tim. 70 A. Rhet. ad Alex. 1 ἀκρόπολις τῆς σωτηρίας.

20 **ferat**: Used absolutely = cursum tenere. Cf. Tac. Ann. II 23 mutabat aestus eodemque quo ventus ferebat. Livy V 28 quo ferebat via Plin. Ep. II 17, 2 Val. Flac. IV 439 Quint. X 7, 7. 13. —**errare mavis**: 'wander aimlessly, out of your proper course.' Cf. c. 36 8 erranti populo 40 20 donec erravit. Curt. IX 3, 14 nisi mavis errare.

I write mox summa adeptus on the analogy of Tac. H. II 82 plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit (sc. Vespasianus) egregios viros et mox summa adeptos. The majority of editors have accepted adepturus, an emendation of Acidalius, but the nominative of the fut. part. with an accusative is extremely rare, even in Tacitus, only two or at best three instances being found, viz. H. I 33 obsidionem nimirum toleraturus, Ann.

XIV 41 ultionem elusurus and perhaps c. 33 9 forum ingressuri, where see note. Vahlen defends the MS. reading by taking adeptus in the sense of 'summo ingenio ac summa facultate praeditus,' but adipisci never has this meaning in Tacitus. See Lex. Tac. s. v.

levioribus subsistis: Cf. the similar passage in Quint. I prooem. 20 nam est certe aliquid consummata eloquentia . . . altius tamen ibunt qui ad summa nitentur quam qui . . . circa ima substiterint. The abandonment of the figure was probably due to the preceding 'summa,' which is equivalent to 'mox summam eloquentiae famam adeptus in levioribus studiis (sc. poeticis) subsistis. Cf. c. 28 11 quae (sc. vitia) natos . . . excipiunt et . . . cumulantur 32 20.

21 **ut si esses** = 'as if, by way of example.' Usually = quasi, as in c. 10 9 H. I 32. 62 Ann. II 20 III 46. In Tac. regularly with imperf. or pluperf. subj. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 642. — **ludicras** . . . **artes exercere**: 'Ludicrae artes,' as defined by Sen. Ep. 88, 20, are those 'quae ad voluptatem oculorum atque aurium tendunt,' and as such they are opposed to 'artes honestae.' Cf. also Tac. Ann. XIV 15. More commonly 'artes ludicrae' refers to the drama e. g. Tac. l. c. foedum studium cithara ludicrum in modum canere ibid. 16 ne tamen ludicrae tantum imperatoris (sc. Neronis) artes notescerent. Hor. Ep. II 1, 180 Liv. VII 2 Quint. III 6, 18 f. artem ludicram exercuerit.

22 **honestum est**: Tac. Ann. XIV 14 – 16. 20 f. reflects the typical Roman point of view. On the attitude of the Greeks, cf. Corn. Nepos, Praef. Nulla Lacedaemoni tam est nobilis vidua quae non in cenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fuit Graecia victorem Olympiae citari. In scaenam vero prodire et populo esse spectaculo nemini in isdem gentibus fuit turpitudini, quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur. id. Epam. 1 scimus musicen nostris moribus abesse a principis persona; saltare vero, etiam in vitiis poni: quae omnia apud Graecos et gratia et laude digna ducuntur. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I 2, 4 an censemus, si Fabio nobilissimo homini laudi datum esset quod pingeret, non multos etiam apud nos futuros Polyclitos et Parrhasios fuisse? Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria, iacentque ea semper quae apud quosque improbantur Hor. Ep. II 1, 93 ff. ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis | coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa. | nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum, marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit, | suspendit picta voltum mentemque tabella | nunc tibici-

nibus, nunc est gavisa tragoediis, where see the commentators. In general, cp. Grasberger, *Erzieh. u. Unterr.* II 63 III 359 Friedländer III 298 f. 304 f. — **Nicostrati,** of Cilicia, the son of Isidotus (Lucian, Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορ. 2, 59), a celebrated athlete and a contemporary of the speaker. He carried off the victory in the παγκράτιον and in wrestling in one day (Olym. 204 = 50 A. D.), being the seventh (Paus. V 21, 9 f.), to accomplish this feat, one Kapros of Elis, of unknown date, being the first. Cf. Paus. l. c. Τοῦτον τὸν Νικόστρατον νήπιον παῖδα ἔτι ἐκ Πρυμνησοῦ λῃσταὶ τῆς Φρυγῶν ἥρπασαν, οἰκίας ὄντα οὐκ ἀφανοῦς. κομισθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἰγέας ὠνήσατο ὅστις δή. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ ὄνειρον γίνεται. λέοντος δὲ ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκίμποδι κατακεῖσθαι σκύμνον ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν ὁ Νικόστρατος. Νικοστράτῳ μὲν δή, ὡς ηὐξήθη καὶ ἄλλαι νῖκαι καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐγένοντο παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης. Quint. II 8, 14 at si fuerit, qui docebitur, ille quem adulescentes senem vidimus, Nicostratus, omnibus in eo docendi partibus similiter utetur efficietque illum, qualis hic fuit, luctando pugnandoque, quorum utroque certamine isdem diebus coronabatur, invictum. — **robur ac vires**: 'mighty strength.' Hendiadys. The same collocation also H. I 87 vires et robur II 11 virium ac roboris. Woelfflin's distinction (*Philol.* XXV 134) between robur 'moralischer Halt, etwas qualitativ inneres' and vires 'numerische Kraft, etwas quantitativ äusseres,' is not universally applicable. — **ac — ac,** joining a sentence and two nouns respectively, occurs again in a stylistically similar passage in c. 41 21 si . . . illi . . . his nati essent ac deus aliquis vitas ac tempora repente mutasset, and, if the reading be right, also c. 16 18 ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor. — **non paterer**: a favorite phrase of Aper. Cf. c. 5 12 16 15.

23 **ad pugnam natos lacertos**: *pugna* refers not to a fight in battle, but to contests in the athletic arena, as 'lacertos' and 'pugnando' in the above passage of Quintilian clearly show.

24 **levitate iaculi et iactu disci**: Of the five contests of the πένταθλον viz. "ἅλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην," only the last three call for 'vires lacertorum,' and of these again the πάλη alone was classed among the so-called ἀγωνίσματα βαρέα. Aper, therefore, to bring out the full force of the simile, had to mention both the ἄκοντος ἐρωή, and the δίσκου βολή. As these easier exercises of the πένταθλον are not fit for the sturdy arms of a Nicostratus, so Maternus, whom nature has designed for the severer exertions of

the forum, is implored not to waste his strength upon 'artes leviores,' lest they incapacitate him for the higher calling of the orator. *Levitate* is used, because the 'iaculum' (*ἄκων, ἀκόντιον*) was a *light* weapon. Cf. Lucian, Anach. 32 ext. *κοῦφα ἀκόντια.*

Andresen (*Emend.* p. 169) deletes *iactu*, on the ground that the MS. reading involves an absurd antithesis 'quia diversissimi generis sunt levitatis et iactus notiones.' But (1) instances of an analogous inconcinnity are not rare in the Dialogus, cf. note c. 1 21 and iactu may well have been preferred, because of the fondness of our author, as Wolff ad loc. observes, for grouping etymologically related or phonologically similar words. (2) Andresen unfortunately overlooked, and this is fatal to his emendation, that by the deletion of iactu, 'levitas' is predicated of the discus which was a *very heavy* missile, as compared with the javelin. Cf. Mart. XIV 164 *pondera* disci. Stat. Theb. VI 649 *pondera* vix toto curvatus corpore iuxta | deiecit.

vanescere: a poetic and post-Aug. word, of frequent occurrence in Tacitus, but comparatively rare in other writers, only once in Quintilian (IV 3, 8). Cicero uses the compound evanescere. Cp. note c. 1 18. On the gradual decay of powers, if neglected, see the remarks of Plut. An seni c. 16 (p. 792 A – D).

25 **ab auditoriis et theatris**: Dramatic performances were no longer given in Rome in the days of Vespasian, Maternus' plays, like those of Seneca, being book dramas which the author recited before an audience, previous to their publication. The fictitious encounters of the drama enacted in recitation-halls are contrasted with the real contests of the orator in the forum. Cf. Pliny, Ep. II 3, 5 f. Nos enim qui in foro verisque litibus ferimur, multum malitiae . . . addiscimus. Schola et auditorium et ficta causa res inermis, innoxia est. For the use of military metaphors as applied to eloquence, cf. Iuv. VII 173 ad pugnam qui descendit, and notes c. 5 ext. 26 19 ff. 37 ext.

This evenly balanced antithesis is rudely destroyed by *et ad causas*, an interlinear gloss to *vera proelia* which subsequently found its way into the text. Mähly p. 21 and Knaut p. 11 have, independently of each other, deleted the objectionable clause, but editors have refused to attach any validity to their reasons. But the words in question clearly violate *two stylistic laws of Tacitus*, which may be thus formulated: 1. *When one and the same preposition can govern two nouns, joined by et, ac or atque, the preposition is not repeated.* Only three apparent exceptions (G. 24 H. I. 51. 74) out of 252 instances are found. 2. *The preposition never varies with two substantives joined by et, ac or atque, provided one and the same preposition can do duty for both nouns.* These rules are not observed in the case of disjunctive conjunctions or in asyndetic collocations, and it is to this class that the exx. cited by Nipp. Ann. II 68 Dr. *Stil* p. 42 and the exhaus-

tive list given by Kučera, *Ueber die taciteische Inconcinnität* p. 14 f., belong. It, therefore, follows that neither 'et ad causas et ad vera proelia' nor 'in forum et ad vera proelia' represent consistent Tacitean usage, but only 'in forum et vera proelia' which reading also alone establishes a perfect rhetorical equilibrium between the contrasted clauses and preserves the oratio bimembris so carefully observed throughout the entire sentence, cf. also Knaut, p. 11. For '*in* proelia vocare' in place of the more usual *ad* cf. Verg. Aen. VI 172 vocat in certamina divos. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 453 f. On the stylistic practice of other writers in regard to the variation or repetition of the preposition, see R. V. III 720 ff. note 576.

27 **plerisque patrocinatur**: *plerisque* 'many.' See note c. 2 10. 'patrocinari,' probably a legal term, is chiefly post-Aug. It is never found in Cicero, and in Tacitus only here. — **obnoxium sit offendere**: For the infinitive after an adjective, see note c. 16 11 manifestus est accingi. There is a curious discussion on the meaning and origin of the word 'obnoxius' in Gell. VI (VII) 17.

28 **effervescit**: In its tropical sense, the word is a favorite one with Cic. e. g. Cael. 31 extr. efferbuisse videtur huius vis.

29 **aliquo**, after a negative, as in c. 6 init., where see note. — **periculosius**: Cf. c. 3 8 non . . . securiorem.

30 **necessitudo** = necessitas. So repeatedly in Cicero, e. g. de invent. II 20, 61. 57, 170. 171. Sall. Cat. 33, 5. Cf. especially Gell. XIII 3 (An vocabula haec : necessitudo et necessitas differenti significatione sint). John is, therefore, wrong in assuming 'relationship' to be the only classical signification of necessitudo. The same confusion occurs in the Ann. III 40. 64 IV 20 XII 30.

31 **fortuitae et subitae**: The classical equivalent for 'extemporalis.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 33, 150 subitam et fortuitam orationem. The same collocation also G. 11 nisi quid fortuitum et subitum. Ann. XV 58 fortuitus sermo et subiti occursus. See note c. 6 ext. and on the inverse order, note to c. 4 3.

32 **meditatus videris elegisse**: Your offence, says Aper, has no extenuating reasons, for it was neither due to circumstances beyond your control nor occasioned by a sudden impassioned outburst, but with cool deliberation, as it seems, did you select for the hero of your tragedy a man whose acknowledged prominence would lend additional weight to his utterances. *Meditatus* is clearly the participle and not the infinitive with 'esse' understood, even though the perf. pass. part. of meditor happens not to occur elsewhere in Tacitus in an absolute and active sense. Cf. however, Sen. Ep. 20, 12 cum vero multo ante meditatus accesseris. — On the omission of

the adversative particle (sed), see note c. 6 19. — *eligere* furnishes another of the many illustrations of the genetic development in the style of Tacitus. Used exclusively in the minor writings, barring one exception in G. 6, it receives a companion in *deligere* in the Histories (29 : 20); in the Annals finally 'eligere' occurs but twice, 'deligere' 92 times. Cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV p. 108. — On the thought itself, cf. Quint. VIII 5, 8 magis sententia decet eos, in quibus est auctoritas ut rei pondus etiam persona confirmat.

The other interpretations, to which this passage has been subjected, all seem to me to destroy the evidently intended antithesis. John (*Correspbl.* p. 17 f.) takes 'meditatus' in a juridical sense, without citing a parallel instance of this use, and coördinates it as an elliptical infinitive with the following 'elegisse,' changing 'aut' into 'et.' This view lacks intrinsic probability and is best refuted by John's own translation 'Als überlegter Thäter (!?) giltst du, der eigens eine augenfällige Persönlichkeit gewählt hast.' 'Aut,' the unintelligible reading of our MSS., is merely the accidental repetition of the preceding 'aut.' Cp. Andresen, *Emend.* p. 168 Knaut p. 26.

33 **dicturam**: Fut. act. part. = adj. See note c. 9 23. — **quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes adsensus**: The verb which governs the orat. obl. must be supplied from the context, for 'responderi,' which otherwise would perform this function, has already been preëmpted by 'quid.' On this ellipsis, peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus, cp. G. Clemm, *de breviloq. Tac.* p. 88 ff., from whom the following instances are selected : c. 30 14 suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert : [dicit enim] se apud Q. Mucium didicisse H. I 50 nota publicarum cladium nomina loquebantur : prope eversum orbem IV 85 sed Mucianus quod occultaverat . . . exprompsit : Domitianum . . . interventurum V 5 Iudaei . . . numen intellegunt, profanos etc. Ann. I 67 contractos . . . monet : unam in armis salutem. 79 congruentia . . . disseruere : pessumituros . . . campos. III 56 modica . . . rettulit : esse illi coniugem. XIV 21 nomina praetendebant : maiores . . . non abhoruisse. 62 eum Caesar . . . admonet : solum . . . subvenisse. Cf. also H. II 74 Ann. I 11 IV 14 XIV 11. — **hinc**: After *hinc*, in its causal sense, the substantive verb (esse, nasci, oriri) is invariably omitted, for in Ann. XIII 9 ortum must be taken with iurgium. Cf. G. 40 H. I 84 II 30. 53 III 23. 25. 68 IV 6. 14. 31. 35 V 5. 21 Ann. II 69 III 27 IV 39. 59. 72 VI 17. 35. 50 XII 4, 5. Cp. Clemm. p. 62 f. The passage itself is an example of the figure προκατάληψις or πρόληψις, on which see Straub, p. 108.

This consistent usage of 'hinc' disposes of most of the conjectures enumerated p. 13. Still others, like those of Ritter, John, Heller have no palaeographical probability. 'Ex his' is simply an interlinear gloss to hinc.

35 **ferri**: 'are soon in everybody's mouth.' Cf. Mayor, Quint. X 1, 23 (p. 79), and Plut. Thes. c. 20 *πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν*. — **tolle igitur**: That is very true, says Aper, but such notoriety is incompatible with that love of quiet and freedom from molestation which poets yearn for.

The missing thought is so easily supplied from the context, that it is unnecessary to assume an actual lacuna in the text before 'tolle,' however acceptable in themselves the conjectures of Vahlen (Prooem. 1881 p. 10 f.) or of Andresen (*Emend.* p. 140 f.) may be. For an analogous ellipsis, see Cic. pro Mil. 18, 48 quoted by John ad loc.

quietis et securitatis: The same collocation in Plin. Ep. VI 8, 2 cf. also c. 13 4 securum et quietum. 'Securitas,' or 'securus,' in the sense of 'safety, freedom from danger,' which Heraeus, H. I 3 seems to regard as the regular meaning of the word ('eigentlich Sicherheitsgefühl'), is post-Augustan. In earlier writers, and here as well as in H. I 3 IV 48, it denotes 'freedom from care.' Quietis may have been added to prevent a possible ambiguity. Cp. c. 32 22.

36 **adversarium superiorem**, namely the Emperor.

The phrase 'privatas controversias' does not occur elsewhere. Moreover, an adjective (not pronominal) and a genitive joined by 'et,' as attributives to the same substantive, is also an inconcinnity which is not yet found in the minor writings and only a few times in the other works e. g. H. III 49 quae (sc. violentia) seditiosa et corrumpendae disciplinae Ann. I 35 saevum id malique moris . . . visum. II 43 Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat. These objections, taken in connection with the analogous passage in Cic. de orat. I 37, 169 qui hanc personam susceperit, ut amicorum controversias causasque tueatur leave little doubt, in my mind, that 'causas' (edit. Bipont.) was accidentally omitted after 'privatas.' Knaut p. 9 hit upon the same conjecture, but he advanced no valid arguments in support of the emendation. — The codex Ottobonianus (E), which has preserved the genuine reading in *nine* instances as against the other MSS., omits *expressis*, a word which defies explanation, for Peter's defence plainly does not satisfy even himself, while John betrays by his unusually forced and awkward version of the passage that the MS. reading cannot justly be retained. See Proleg. p. cxxviii (5).

38 **potentiorum aures offendere**: Cf. c. 2 2 offendisse potentium animos. — **probata sit fides et libertas excusata**: Cf. Ag. 3 hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

Ch. 11–13. *Maternus, in reply to Aper, points out that the alleged uselessness of poetry was not exemplified, in his case, at least, for one of his own early dramas had been the primary cause of ridding the commonwealth of the powerful Vatinius, a success attended with greater reputation than could have been won in the law courts, and as for the external triumphs of the orator, by which Aper had laid such store, they offer no sufficient inducement to the speaker to alter his fixed resolution to bid farewell to forensic duties forever* (— c. 11). *A contemplative life, on the other hand, passed amid the solitude of the silent groves, instills a deep and lasting joy. Poetry was, in fact, the language in which eloquence first clothed itself, and from the earliest period its devotees were beloved of the gods and the kings of the earth, and their fame was ever as great as the renown acquired by the orator* (— c. 12). *The anxieties and tribulations, moreover, inseparable from an orator's career, when compared with the honored and tranquil freedom vouchsafed to the disciple of the Muses, fully justify his determination to pass the rest of his days under their benign protection* (— 13 ext.).

11. 1 **Quae cum dixisset:** Again c. 24 1 quae cum Aper dixisset. In the historical writings, 'cum' is supplanted by 'ubi,' in similar phrases. Cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV 119. — **acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore:** *acrius* 'earnest' opposed to remissus, (Cf. Cic. Brut. 92, 317 Cotta et Hortensius, quorum alter remissus et lenis . . . alter acer) pertains to the manner; *intento ore* opposed to subridens, to the speaker's facial expression, although intentus is also used of the attitude of fixed attention. Cf. Ann. VI 50 idem animi rigor (sc. Tiberio) sermone ac vultu intentus, quaesita interdum comitate XIII 3 triumphos maiorum enumerabat, intentus ipse et ceteri . . . postquam ad providentiam sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare. Cic. pro Flacc. 11, 26 intentis oculis ut aiunt, acerrime contemplemini de leg. agr. II 28, 77 intentis oculis . . . intueri Prop. I 3, 19 intentis . . . haerebam ocellis Amm. Marc. 29, 2, 23 incedebat intentis oculis et rigidis Min. Fel. Octav. 39 intentos vultus tenebamus. Cp. Otto, *Sprichw.* s. v. oculus (5). — *ut solebat*, this elliptical use is very common in Tacitus e. g. H. II 61 Ann. I 24 II 39 III 1 VI 12 XIII 44 XIV 49 XV 20.

3 **non minus diu:** 'at no less length, in an equally long speech.' Cf. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 32, 89 quam diu diceres pro Cluent. 10, 29.

In Tac.: c. 25 2 non minus diu contradicendum est Apro H. I 16 monere diutius Ann. VI 27 neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est 49 miseranda diu ferret. See Nipp. Ann. IV 69. Lewis and Short, and Georges ignore this use of the word. — **laudaverat**: The pluperf. in reference to the time implied in 'parantem.'

6 **concedendo**: The modal ablative of the gerund is extremely frequent in Tacitus e. g. c. 33 15 docendo Ag. 20 parcendo 21 laudando G. 22 potando 24 suggerendo H. I 24 (15 times in all) Ann. I 10 (22 instances). In c. 14 22 componendo 27 6 lacessendo 36 2 urendo, we have an instrumental ablative. Cp. Helm, *Quaest. Synt.* p. 44–48. This introductory paragraph is again noticeably influenced by Cic. de orat. I 17, 74 Tum ridens Scaevola 'non luctabor tecum,' inquit, 'Crasse, amplius; id enim ipsum quod contra me locutus es, artificio quodam es consecutus, ut et mihi, quae ego vellem non esse oratoris, concederes.

7 **sicut — ita**: Here equivalent to the concessive quamquam — tamen. In this sense: c. 37 19 Ag. 44 H. I 52 V 7. The pleonastic *sicut* for 'ut' again occurs c. 6 21 Ag. 2 G. 45 H. III 51 Ann. XIII 55. Cp. also Dr. *H. S.* II p. 632 *Stil* p. 70 and Woelfflin *Phil.* XXXIV 142. On this usage in other writers, see R. V. III 836 note 612[a]. — **efficere aliquid et eniti**: The same collocation is found three times in Cicero: Div. in Caec. 8, 26 quid eniti aut quid efficere possim, Phil. IV, 6, 16 eniti atque efficere potero Lael. 16, 59 eniti et efficere, where Seyff.-Müll. p. 383 unnecessarily assume a kind of hendiadys. On the inverted order, see note c. 4 3.

8 **ingredi auspicatus sum**: Pleonasm is perhaps nowhere more frequent in Latin than in phrases containing the idea of 'beginning.' In Tacitus, we find the following instances G. 18 ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis 30 initium . . . incohant H. I 39. 76 III 14. 44 Ann. I 31 II 1. (initio orto; so also Ter. Hec. III 2, 16 Cic. pro Cluent. 64, 180 Caes. B. G. V 26) H. II 72. 79 initiis (initium) coeptum Ann. I 45 primi . . . coeptaverant 54 XIII 10 principium anni inciperet XV 41 principium ortum H. I 44 primum . . . coeperat (cf. Lucr. II 613. IV 111 V 1014 Liv. III 54). Cf. also Livy, Praef. initio . . . rei ordiendae XXXVII 19 instauremus novum de integro bellum Suet. Cal. 54 initium auspicaretur Iustin. 27, 1, 1 auspicia coepit 26, 2, 2 auspicia . . . incipientes 1, 2, 4; 4, 3, 6; 7, 5, 1 primis initiis. Callim. Hymn. III 113 τὸ πρῶτον

ἤρξατο Theoc. VIII 32 ἄρξατο πρῶτος. I have met with no analogous examples in Quint. or in Pliny the younger. For similar instances of redundancy in the D. see c. 18 7 ante praedixero 35 12 nempe enim and cp., in general, Vahlen, *Comment. Momms.* p. 664 f. Gericke, *De abund.* etc. p. 60–63 Dr. *Stil* p. 108 Ioh. Müller, *Beitr.* II 31 R. V. III 833 ff. notes 611–612[b]. Nipp. Tac. Ann. III 3 Heraeus, H. I 39. On incipit . . . extitisse, cf. note to c. 16 32. The infinitive with 'auspicari' is rare. Cf. Plin. N. H. XXXI 3, 24, 41 Sen. Ep. 83, 5 Suet. Ner. 22.

9 **in Neronem** etc.: The evident desire for succinctness and clearness is responsible for the peculiar 'collocatio verborum' noticeable in this phrase, a conciseness inimitable in English. The construction itself is supported by numerous parallels. Cf. e. g. Cic. de rep. II 27, 49 in populos perpetuam potentiam III 15 (14) 23 in populum vitae necisque potestatem habent Caes. B. G. VII 9 and in Tac. H. I 77 ius virgarum in histriones II 49 atrocissima in Verginium vi Ann. I 33 in Germaniam favor (sc. populi Romani) IV 11 ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris. Weinkauff p. 120 unnecessarily supposes an ellipsis of 'exercitam.' Translate: 'I crushed Vatinius' baneful power over Nero, by which even the sanctity of literature was violated.'

The acc. *Neronem*, which gives a perfectly satisfactory sense, has been uniformly rejected by editors, with the exception of Baehrens. See p. 13. But the ablative cannot under any circumstances be regarded as the original, for no conceivable reasons can ever have prompted a scribe deliberately to alter 'Nerone' into 'Neronem.' On the other hand the ablative is easily explained by the accidental omission of the dash over the e. The persistent refusal of critics to accept 'Neronem' becomes the more surprising when it is observed that every other reading involves us in insuperable difficulties. 'Imperante Nerone,' which has met with great favor, is, in my judgment, quite out of place, for the chronological information thus imparted is wholly gratuitous. Every one of Maternus' hearers must have been perfectly familiar with the celebrated achievement alluded to. 'In Nerone' could only refer to a praetextata composed by Maternus in Nero's time, but this is necessarily based upon the assumption that the poet began his career as a dramatist with praetextatae, an assumption intrinsically improbable and flatly contradicted by c. 3 ex. Under these circumstances, the imaginative reconstruction of the plot of 'Nero' as given by Peter, no less than the conjectural fancies of Ritter and others who identify Nero with the Domitius (c. 3), may be fitly passed by as unworthy of serious attention. We must be content with learning that Maternus achieved this signal success by some drama in which Vatinius was covertly though unmis-

takably attacked in the person of some character in the play. But neither the title nor the plot can even be guessed at.

studiorum sacra, 'sanctity of literature.' Similarly Ann. I 42 sacra legationis II 65 sacra regni, where see Nipperdey's note. Cf. also Quint. X 1, 91 praesidentes studiis deae 92 sacra litterarum colentes. S. profanare also in Ov. Am. III 9, 19 Petron. 89. On the characteristically Tacitean use of a neut. plur. adj. (usually with a genitive) in place of an abstract noun, see Dr. *H. S.* I 50 ff. *Stil* p. 5 Nipp. Ann. II 39 Furneaux, Ann. Introd. p. 33. — **et — quoque:** Cf. note c. 6 18.

10 **Vatinii:** One of the most notorious favorites of Nero, whom Tac. characterises in the Annals (XV 34): Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus (cf. Mart. X 3, 4. XIV 96, 1 Iuv. V 46) corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus, primo in contumelias adsumptus; dehinc optimi cuiusque criminatione eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi etiam malos praemineret.

11 **in nobis notitiae ac nominis:** The preposition, in place of the more usual dative, as in H. IV 11, 2 nulla in victoribus auctoritas. Ann. XIV 43 quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est. Peter's objection to the use of the preposition here, on the ground that fame and reputation refer to something without us ('die Berühmtheit bildet nicht einen inneren sondern einen äusseren Besitz'), does not hold good, as H. I 49 vetus in familia nobilitas is sufficient to show. — *Notitia* as a synonym of 'fama' is very rare, and apparently first found in Ov. Ep. ex P. III 1, 50 plus notitiae quam fuit ante dedit, ibid. IV 4, 48 virtus | Notitiam serae posteritatis habet. Sen. Ep. 19, 3 iam notitia te invasit 31, 10; 79, 14. In the D. c. 5 18 13 6 36 18. Not elsewhere in Tac., never in Quintilian or in Pliny the younger. The passage from Nepos, Dion 9, 4 propter notitiam sunt intromissi is erroneously cited as the earliest instance of this use, as a glance at the context will show. — The same alliterative collocation occurs c. 36 18.

12 **partum:** sc. esse. Cf. note c. 2 13. — **deiungere a forensi labore:** 'Deiungere,' appropriately combined with 'labor' (cf. boumque labores in Verg. Georg. I 118. 325), is a very rare word (cf. Inscr. Grut. 1003 iuncto deiunctove iumento), and in a tropical sense only here, for in Plaut. Asin. 658 Varr. L. L. X 3, 45 Hor. Ep. I 14, 27 Iuv. V 119 modern editors read disiungere. The phrase is highly expressive and well suited to the poetic style of Maternus.

On the thought, cf. the very similar passage in Cic. ad fam. I 9, 23 nam etiam ab orationibus diiungo me referoque ad mansuetiores Musas. (See c. 13 17.) Here 'deiungo,' if joined to 'orationibus,' would be too bold a metaphor and out of place in this particular context. Hence the very easy emendation is not permissible.

13 **comitatus . . . egressus . . . frequentiam salutantium:** With reference to Aper's words (c. 9 9 f.), 'comitatus' corresponding to 'prosequitur,' 'egressus' to 'deducit,' and 'freq. sal.' to 'salutat.' Cf. Tac. Ann. XI 12 non furtim sed multo comitatu domum, egressibus adhaerescere.

Salutantium is an evident emendation for salutationum. Cf. Sen. Ep. 19, 11 turba salutantium and c. 13 22.

14 **aera et imagines:** Hendiadys, equivalent to 'clipeatae imagines, bronze medallions,' on which see note c. 8 25.

15 **nolente:** The partic. form (usually in the abl.) is post-Augustan. Cf. Lucan I 274 nolente senatu Quint. III 6, 68 sermonibus me nolente vulgatis. — **in domum — inruperunt:** *Inrumpere*, in the sense of 'to force an entrance into,' is elsewhere in Tacitus invariably construed with the accusative, as occasionally also in pre-Aug. Latin. Cf. H. IV 50 domum consulis inrumperunt, Caes. B. C. III 111, 1 domum eius i. Sall. Jug. 25, 9 portam. Cicero, on the other hand, never omits the preposition, and it is this usage that the youthful Tacitus and his teacher Quintilian follow. See Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVII 138. Nipp. Ann. II 11, Schmalz, *Antib.* I p. 730.

16 **nam statum cuiusque . . . tuetur:** Only the firm belief that a pure character and honest convictions will insure immunity from punishment can account for the certainly imprudent refusal of Maternus to alter such passages in his plays as had given offence. The generalisation, unjustifiable though it be (see below), is pre-eminently suited to the poet's optimistic nature. The entire passage is intended as an answer to Aper's general inquiry in c. 5 quid est tutius etc.? No doubt eloquence is an admirable defensive weapon, but it is far preferable not to be called upon to use it, and the speaker, for the reason given, does not anticipate such a contingency. Cf. also Cic. Hort. fragm. 66 sufficere ad gloriam bene facti conscientiam.

This interpretation requires only the insignificant change of tueor into tuetur. So videtur in c. 33 15 for videor. 39 2 rideatur (CDEV) ridear (AB).

Nevertheless modern editors have followed Lipsius in reading 'hucusque,' which involves a more violent change and at the same time introduces a ἅπ. εἰρ. (Woelfflin, *Archiv* IV 52–67 Thielmann ibid. VI 68). 'Huc usque' also calls for a past tense, John's remarks ad loc. to the contrary notwithstanding. Nor does the fact, that 'illuc usque' is once in Tac. (Ann. XV 54) used in a temporal sense, in itself justify the insertion of an analogous phrase, although it might possibly have served to illustrate a *traditional* reading.

innocentia: According to Cicero (Tusc. Disp. III 8, 16), the Greek possessed no equivalent word: innocentia, quae apud Graecos usitatum nomen nullum habet, sed habere potest ἀβλάβειαν, nam est innocentia adfectio talis animi quae noceat nemini. With the thought cf. also Tac. Ann. III 67 multa adgerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa, cum super tot senatores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accusandum delectis responderet solus et orandi nescius, proprio in metu qui exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat.

18 **alterius discrimine,** i. e. not like Eprius Marcellus, compelled to plead in his own behalf. 'Discrimen' in its legal sense is frequent in Tac. e. g. c. 6 9 34 10 37 37 G. 12 H. II 61 Ann. VI 9 XIII 43 XVI 30.

12. 1 et secretum ipsum quod A. increpabat: the usual order is et ipsum secretum. *increpabat* (viz. in c. 9 extr.) is a favorite word of Tacitus. For a different, intransitive sense, see c. 5 26.

2 **praecipuos:** In a superlative sense esp. frequent in T. See Lex. Tac. s. v. — **in strepitu:** Cf. Hor. Ep. II 2, 79 inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos. The phrase is intended as an answer to Aper, who l. c. had spoken only of the iucunditas urbis, ignoring the serious drawbacks of city life for him who delights in quiet. On the noise in Rome, cp. Friedländer I 27 ff. and Mayor, Iuv. III 245.

This clear back-reference, as well as 'ostium' mentioned immediately below, render the insertion of urbis wholly superfluous.

3 **sedente ante ostium litigatore:** Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 9, 22 vigilas tu de nocte, ut tuis consultoribus respondeas . . . te gallorum . . . cantus exsuscitat Hor. Sat. I 1, 9 agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus | sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat Ep. I 5, 31 atria servantem postico falle clientem. — **non – nec – nec – sed:** On this correlation, exceedingly common in Tac., see note c. 29 7.

4 **inter sordes atque lacrimas:** The same collocation in inverse order (see note c. 4 3) in Cic. post red. 3, 7 ad fam. XIV 2, 2.

5 **secedit animus**: This sentence ought logically to have been incorporated in the preceding: Non in strepitu . . . reorum sed in locis puris . . . sedibusque sacris componuntur. But the importance which the speaker attaches to sylvan retirement as best suited to poetic contemplation, caused him to add this idea, by way of prominence, as a principal clause. Quintilian in a long passage (X 3, 22–33) takes direct issue with this view: Non tamen protinus audiendi qui credunt aptissima in hoc nemora silvasque quod illa caeli libertas locorumque amoenitas sublimem animum et beatiorem spiritum parent, mihi certe iucundus hic magis quam studiorum hortator videtur esse secessus . . . Namque illa, quae ipsa delectant, necesse est avocent ab intentione operis destinati . . . quare silvarum amoenitas . . . et ipsa late circumspiciendi libertas ad se trahunt ut mihi remittere potius voluptas ista videatur cogitationem quam intendere. These statements are sufficiently general to be applicable to pursuits other than those of oratory, although Quintilian primarily intended them for the latter.

6 **haec** · · · **haec** · · · **hoc** · · · **sic**: This particular anaphora is logically justified only, if 'primordia' and 'penetralia' are not taken in a too strictly local sense. The anacoluthon, spoken of above, caused 'haec' to be joined to 'sedes' as its real antecedent, whereas, in reality, it refers to the act of poetic composition implied in the preceding clause, i. e. poetry composed amid the woodland seclusion of hallowed places is the earliest and holiest form which eloquence assumed.' For a similar anaphora cf. G. 18 hoc — hoc — hoc — sic — sic. Cp. John ad loc. and especially Wiesler, Progr. Leoben (1886) pp. 6–8.

7 **commoda**: 'accommodating herself to the primitive minds of the men of that early period' i. e. it assumed the form which best suited their understanding. For this meaning of 'commoda,' see Ter. Heaut. III 2, 10 commoda mulier Hor. C. IV 8, 1 commodus meis sodalibus Liv. XXXIV 3, 5 nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est. Eloquence is here personified as in c. 32 18 quae olim . . . pectora implebat 37 34 38 7 Cic. de orat. I 34, 157 II 38, 157 Orat. 19, 64 Brut. 96, 330 Tusc. Disp. V 28, 80. — **mortalibus**: This adjective is found as a substantive as early as Ennius. In Cicero, it is used only with multi, omnes, cuncti. Cp. Cramer, *Archiv* VI 340 ff.

8 **et nullis contacta vitiis pectora**: To Ann. I 10 simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium, the only instance of this collocation

cited from Tac. by Dr. *Stil* p. 92, add c. 31 25 communibus ducta sensibus oratio Ann. III 30 fato potentiae raro sempiternae crit. note c. 10 18 ceteris aliarum studiis artium (in cod. D). Cf. also Cic. de orat. I 27, 128 ceterarum homines artium spectati Quint. XI 1, 41 minima . . . alicuius . . . fiducia partis 81 quodam Delphici . . . oraculo dei. — *Et* before a negative, such as nihil, nullus, nemo and the like, seems to occur more frequently in Tac. than in any other writer. Cf. c. 28 25 Ag. 16 (twice). 20. 30. 40 G. 10. 20. 28 H. I 31. 32 II 26. 32. 38 III 1. 26. 58 IV 19. 42. 76 Ann. I 38 (where see Nipp.) II 13. 25 III 9. 26. 37. IV 11 (twice). VI 46 XI 27 XIII 3. 47 XIV 1. 19. 48 XV 43. Also not uncommon in Seneca (see Peter ad loc.). In general, cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 7 ff. *Stil* p. 46 Woelfflin, *Archiv* VI 105. — On the thought, see Tac. G. 10 candidi et nullo mortalium opere contacti and Ann. III 26 quoted below. — **sic oracula loquebantur**: The statement is not strictly accurate, for in the earliest period the Pythian oracles were either wholly or partially delivered in prose and they had again ceased to be composed in verse, when Plutarch wrote his essay *περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετρα νῦν τὴν Πυθίαν* (toward the close of the 1. cent. A. D.). Cf. Plut. l. c. 404 A *θεόπομπος οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἀνθρώπων ἐσπουδακὼς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιτετίμηκε τοῖς μὴ νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν τότε χρόνον ἔμμετρα τὴν Πυθίαν θεσπίζειν· εἶτα τοῦτο βουλόμενος ἀποδεῖξαι, παντάπασιν ὀλίγων χρησμῶν ηὑπόρηκεν ὡς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τότε ἤδη καταλογάδην ἐκφερομένων* also 403 D 404 B 405 F 406 F. Regarding poetry as the earliest form of literary expression and as best suited to a primitive age, see Plut. l. c. 406 C *ἦν οὖν ὅτε λόγου νομίσμασιν ἐχρῶντο μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι καὶ ᾠδαῖς, πᾶσαν μὲν ἱστορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν, πᾶν δὲ πάθος, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ πρᾶγμα σεμνοτέρας φωνῆς δεόμενον εἰς ποιητικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν ἄγοντες. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον νῦν ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐπαΐουσι, τότε δὲ πάντες ἠκροῶντο καὶ ἔχαιρον ᾀδομένοις, ἀροταί τε, ὀρνιθολόχοι τε, κατὰ Πίνδαρον· ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ποιητικὴν ἐπιτηδειότητος οἱ πλεῖστοι διὰ λύρας καὶ ᾠδῆς ἐνουθέτουν . . . ἔτι δὲ ὕμνους θεῶν εὐχὰς παιᾶνας ἐν μέτροις ἐποιοῦντο.* Also p. 405 F.

9 **nam**: John is clearly wrong in thinking that this particle marks the real beginning of Maternus' answer (which is arranged according to the identical topics discussed by Aper), for the argument 'de utilitate poesis' has been disposed of in c. 11 and is not again alluded to throughout the remainder of this speech. — These 'good old times' no longer exist, says Maternus, for the present age is

materialistic and corrupt, and poetry which once constituted the only form of eloquence, has now been displaced by the sordid eloquence of the forum. If, it may be added, 'penetralia etc.' is interpreted in a local sense, the explanatory 'nam' clause would refer to an unexpressed antecedent. — **lucrosae**: also occurs in Ag. 19. — **sanguinantis**: In a figurative sense the word is ἀπ. εἰρ. Cf. Plin. N. H. XIX 8, 53, 169 sanguinarium responsum Plin. Ep. IV 22, 6 sanguinariis sententiis and so in Greek αἱματηρός.—On the thought, see Tac. Ann. XI 5 f. Alioquin et bonarum artium principem (sc. eloquentiam) sordidis ministeriis foedari, ne fidem quidem integram manere, ubi magnitudo quaestuum spectetur . . . nunc inimicitias accusationes odia et iniurias foveri et quomodo vis morborum pretia medentibus, sic fori tabes pecuniam advocatis ferat c. 32 21 f. and Ov. Am. I 10, 39 turpe reos empta miseros defendere lingua. — On the lex Cincia de donis et mercedibus, see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* II 37 f. and note to c. 6 6. On lawyer's fees cp. Friedländer I 231 Mayor, Iuv. VII 106 ff. — **huius**: 'now in vogue.' The use of this pronoun in the sense of 'the present time,' without the addition of a noun such as tempus, dies, saeculum or the like, is comparatively rare in Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 31 H. I 16 II 7 IV 7 Ann. II 14 III 25 XIV 54. This temporal use of 'hic' seems not to occur in Quintilian. — On hic = noster cf. notes c. 7 16 32 13. — Note also the ellipsis of the copula throughout.

malis moribus, whether taken as a dat. or an abl., is untenable. The former is excluded by the context; the latter is equally objectionable because 'nascor' is used with the ablative without the preposition *only* in the case of proper names or family designations. 'Et' and 'ex' are often confused, which accounts for the error in ABD. Cf. e. g. c. 14 10 22 7 33 35 Liv. V 32, 4 ('ex' omitted after 'et') where see Drakb.

10 **ut tu dicebas** etc.: see c. 5 28. The same figure in Ann. XVI 27 quod velut telum arripuere accusatores.

11 **ceterum**: 'on the other hand.' In this adversative sense, the word occurs sporadically in early Latin (e. g. Plaut. Truc. IV 3, 73 Ter. Hecyra III 3, 31), often in Sallust, Livy and Curtius, never in Caesar or Cicero, occasionally in Quintilian and the younger Pliny, and especially frequently in Tacitus: c. 26 (twice) and in 32 other passages (vide Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 167 a). Cp. Spitta p. 156 ff. Dr. *H. S.* II 132 f. Kleiber p. 67. — **ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum**: Sen. Ep. 115, 13 quod optimum videri volunt, saeculum

aureum appellant (sc. poetae). See e. g. Hesiod Ἔργα 109 ff. Tib. I 3, 35 ff. Verg. Georg. II 536 ff. Aen. VIII 319 ff. Ovid Metam. I 89 ff. Aetna 9 ff. Calp. Ecl. I 42 ff. Iuv. VI 1 ff. XIII 38 ff. and esp. Graf, *Leipz. Stud.* VIII 1–80 Eichhoff, *Fleck. Iahrb.* CXX 581–601. — The phrase 'felix saeculum' is instanced by Quint. VIII 6, 24 as a figure sanctioned by usage: sicut ex eo quod continetur usus recipit . . . 'saeculum felix.'

12 **criminum**: 'crime, scelus,' as shown by 'male admissa.' So repeatedly in Tacitus: H. I 30. 48. II 10 Ann. III 60 IV 20 VI 29 XIII 15. 26 XV 20 XVI 31, but extremely rare in pre-Aug. prose e. g. Cic. de orat. II 48, 199 in nefario crimine (see Landgraf, Cic. pro Rosc. Am. p. 290) Liv. XL 12 with Weissenborn's note. — **poetis et vatibus abundabat**: Cf. the passage from Plut. de Pyth. orac. 406 C cited above. On poeta and vates, see note c. 9 9.

13 **male admissa**: 'admissum' as a noun is rare. Cf. Liv. XXV 23 tale admissum and Tac. H. IV 4 cunctis sub Nerone admissis Ann. XI 4 de admissis Poppaeae. 'Male' is superfluous, as 'admissum' is used only in malam partem. The adverb was, however, added for the sake of symmetry with 'bene facta.' — On the neuter substantive formed from perf. pass. part., very characteristic of the style of Livy and of Tacitus, see Helm l. c. p. 30 f., who omits the present example. The original verbal character of such substantived forms is not altogether lost sight of, as their adverbial modifiers show. — On the thought, cf. Tac. Ann. III 26 f. vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro, scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant . . . ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur etc. Sen. Ep. 90, 4 f. sed primi mortalium . . . naturam incorrupti sequebantur, eundem habebant et ducem et legem, commissi melioris arbitrio . . . (5) illo ergo saeculo quod aureum perhibent penes sapientes fuisse regnum Posidonius iudicat . . . nemo quantum posset, adversus eos experiebatur, per quos coeperat posse nec erat cuiquam aut animus in iniuriam aut causa . . . sed postquam subrepentibus vitiis . . . opus esse coepit legibus Ov. Met. I 89 ff. aurea prima sata est aetas quae vindice nullo, | sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat. | poena metusque aberant; nec verba minacia fixo | aere legebantur, nec supplex turba timebat | iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine vindice nullo and c. 41 si inveniretur civitas etc. Furneaux, Ann.

l. c. regards the above passage as an echo of the Stoicism of the author's day, rather than a literary reminiscence. This may be true, but the parallel utterances in the Dialogus do not appear to have been taken from this source directly, but were more probably due to Cicero's Hortensius, a work to which Tacitus is more largely indebted than has been hitherto supposed. See note c. 16 24 and *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* vol. XXII p. 46 ff. Proleg. p. xciii f.

14 **ullis**: *Ulli* takes the place of the plural of 'quisquam,' which does not occur in Latin, as Charisius 2, 7 expressly informs us: unum autem adest (sc. pronomen) quam semper singulare. Non enim ut quisquam quemquam sic utique quiquam quosquam dicimus. As a substantive 'ulli' is, however, very rare in prose. A few times in Cicero e. g. Tusc. Disp. I 1, 2 in ullis 6, 11 ne sunt quidem apud inferos ulli pro Sull. 5, 16 de orat. II 37, 154 and in Tac. only here and in Ann. XI 27 ullis mortalium. Cp. R. V. III p. 69 ff. note 361 Anton *Stud. z. lat. Gramm.* III p. 285 f. Neue, *Formenl.* II³ 508.

The reading gloriamor in all our MSS. was due to metathesis, an exceedingly frequent source of error. To the instances cited by Vahlen, Prooem. 1881 which might be greatly extended, a few examples from so carefully written a MS. as the Mediceus of Tacitus may be added: Ann. III 18 aspernas = Asprenas 76 ipso = Piso IV 45 examinaretur = exanimaretur VI 15 clavisio = Calvisio. This unmistakable origin of the corruption disposes of Michaelis' conjecture 'gloria mortalibus maior.' The lacuna indicated in our MSS. makes it highly probable that a word like 'erat' dropped out, owing to the similarity of the following word.

15 **proferre responsa**: i. e. as ὑποφῆται τῶν θεῶν. Cf. Plato, Phaedr. 262 E Μουσῶν προφῆται Theocr. 16, 29 Μουσάων . . . τίειν ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας 17, 115 Μουσάων ὑποφῆται 22, 116 Hor. A. P. 391 sacer interpresque deorum . . . Orpheus. — **interesse epulis**: It was a common belief among the ancients that this honor was accorded to illustrious men of the heroic age, e. g. to Hercules (Hor. C. IV 8, 27) Tantalus (Eur. Orest. 9 Hor. C. I 28, 7 conviva deorum). Nestor says of Athene (γ 420) Ἦ μοι ἐναργὴς ἦλθε θεοῦ ἐς δαῖτα θάλειαν, and so the gods, according to Alcinous (η 201 ff.), were wont to feast with the Phaeacians. In the Golden Age, in fact, the gods were thought to associate with mortals on terms of equality. See Hes. fr. 218 Mk. Ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι | ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις Paus. VIII 2, 2 οἱ γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνθρωποι ξένοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι θεοῖς ἦσαν. Cat. LXIV 384 ff. praesentes

namque ante domos invisere castas | heroum et sese mortali ostendere coetu | caelicolae nondum spreta pietate solebant, where see Ellis' note. But that *poets* enjoyed the hospitality of the gods is not elsewhere recorded. Cp. Schiller, *Die Theilung der Erde:* Doch willst (viz. the poet) in meinem Himmel mit mir leben, so oft Du kommst, er soll Dir offen stehn. — **inter quos**: 'In whose company.' For this use of 'inter' with 'esse,' cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 28 is homo . . . numquam inter homines fuerit. — **deinde**: In the minor writings, only the full form is found (c. 26. 32. 33. Ag. 8. 9. 38 G. 40. 42. 44), in the Histories 'dein' has a slight lead, and in the Annals it greatly preponderates. Cp. Woelfflin, *Phil.* XXV p. 107.

16 **dis genitos sacrosque reges**: Cp. the standing Homeric epithet διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες (A 176 B 98 E 464 δ 44) θεῖοι β. (δ 621 π 335) ἐκ Διὸς β. (Hom. Hymn. 25, 4 Hes. Theog. 96), and Pind. Pyth. V 131 β. ἱεροί Tac. Ann. II 65 sacra regni. — On the statement itself, see Ov. A. A. III 405 f. cura deum fuerant olim regumque poetae | . . . Sanctaque maiestas et erat venerabile nomen | vatibus et largae saepe dabantur opes. Schiller, *Jungfrau v. Orl.:* Es soll der Dichter mit dem Fürsten gehen, Sie beide wohnen auf der Menschheit Höhen.

17 **neminem causidicum**: *nemo* as an adj. is used only with a personal noun (nemo civis, homo etc.), except in very late Latin, and is generally separated from its substantive (esp. in Cicero) by an intervening word. Cp. Neue, *Formenl.* II[3] p. 522 f. Landgraf, Cic. pro Rosc. Am. p. 374 Schmalz, *Antib.* s. v. It occurs but once in the other writings of Tacitus : Ann. XV 16 neminem Romanum.

The genit. plur. causidicorum of the MSS. absurdly implies the existence of causidici in the golden age which, according to Maternus, was 'oratorum et criminum inops.' Baehrens' defence of Heumann's emendation is the only acceptable item in his long note (Comm. Crit. p. 64), which is principally devoted to a justification of a most violent transposition in the text. Cp. the excellent discussion of Wiesler Progr. Leoben (1886), pp. 8–10.

Orphea ac Linum: Grouped together also by Verg. Ecl. 4, 55 non me carminibus vincat nec Thracius Orpheus | nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit | Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo Quint. I 10, 9 Orpheus et Linus quorum utrumque dis genitum. The mythical Orpheus, Linus, Olen, Philammon, and the Homeric bards are invariably associated with Apollo as the god of song and music, but he is nowhere else represented as having

been a poet himself. — Peter supposes that Apollo is mentioned with particular allusion to his sojourn at the court of Admetus, but according to the commonly received legend (Apollod. III 10, 4) the god was compelled to serve a mortal for one year by way of atonement for his murder of the Cyclops. And even if we accept the version given by the schol. to Eur. Alc. 2 and Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 46 etc., this case would not be an apposite illustration of the statement of Maternus, 'ullis . . . apud deos,' for Admetus was not a poet.

18 **introspicere altius**: Note the emphatic position of the adverb 'If you will search still farther back.' On this meaning of altius cf. c. 19 12 alte repetita series. Ann. III 25 altius disseram 62 altius exposuere H. IV 12 a. expediam. Introspicere, contrary to Lex. Tac. s. v., is here, strictly speaking, not used absolutely as in Ann. VI 21. — **accepimus**: sc. fuisse. A common ellipsis with this verb. Cf. c. 40 14 H. III 46. 79 IV 71 V 4 Ann. XVI 14. Sen. Suas. I 5 inflatos accepimus Quint. XII 1, 14 malum virum (sc. Demosthenem) accepimus. On this omission of the infinitive, see note c. 2 13 Proleg. p. cxviii.

19 **fabulosa nimis et composita**: These qualifying phrases are peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 40 sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum et compositum G. 46 cetera iam fabulosa sunt H. II 50 ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos Ann. III 78 alia ficta haec et . . . composita XI 27 fabulosum visum iri . . . sed nihil compositum miraculi causa, verum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam and G. 3. quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem. — Adverbs, pronouns, or adjectives, when intended as attributives to two adjectives, verbs, or substantives, are in the Dialogus placed between the words which they modify. Cf. e. g. c. 4 9 6 14. 28 7 13 11 7 12 9 13 20 15 1 32 2 34 13. 31. — **concedes**, 'grant,' with acc. c. inf. also c. 33 23 H. II 37 V 7, with ut — c. 11 6 21 20. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 415.

20 **minorem honorem**: On similar ὁμοιόπτωτα cf. c. 21 30 propríoribus temporibus 28 25 militarem rem 29 3 serio ministerio. See also note c. 4 10.

22 **Lysiae aut Hyperidis**: Appropriately associated by the ancients because of the stylistic charm (χάρις) especially characteristic of these two orators of the Attic Canon.

23 **Ciceronis gloriam . . . detrectent**: Cf. c. 18 18 satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse. Of these, Cicero himself mentions Calvus (Brut. 82, 284 Tusc. II 1, 3 de opt. gen. 4, 10), to whom Tacitus l. c. adds Brutus. There is perhaps an extant allusion to these strictures, as Sandys observes, in Cic. Orat. 7, 26. After the orator's death, Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio, wrote a 'comparatio patris et Ciceronis,' to the great disparagement of the latter, and it was against this book that the emperor Claudius composed an elaborate rejoinder (Suet. Claud. 41 Pliny, Ep. VII 4, 4). Gellius XVII 1, in addition to Gallus, also speaks of one Largius Licin[i]us 'cuius liber etiam fertur infando titulo Ciceromastix ut scribere ausi sint, M. Ciceronem parum integre atque inproprie atque inconsiderate locutum. The work of Didymus on the De republica of Cicero, to which Suetonius a century later wrote a reply (cf. Suidas s.v. Τράγκυλλος), was probably not levelled against the orator so much as against some of the contents of the book, as we may infer from Amm. Marcell. XXII, 16. Quintilian repels all these attacks with an almost pathetic fervor. Cf. esp. IX 4, 1 XII 10, 12–14. See also Peterson's note to Quint. X 1, 105 and Sandys, Cic. Orat. Introd. p. LX. — **Vergilii detrectent**: Cf. Donat. Vita Virg. p. 65 f. R. Obtrectatores Virgilio numquam defuerunt, nec mirum: nam ne Homero quidem. Prolatis bucolicis innominatus quidam rescripsit antibucolica, duas modo eclogas (sc. I. III) sed insulsissime παρῳδήσας, quarum prioris initium est. 'Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?' sequentis, 'Dic mihi Damoeta, cuium pecus anne Latinum? non: verum Aegonis nostri sic rure loquuntur.' . . . est et adversus Aeneida liber Carbili Pictoris titulo Aeneomastix. Serv. Aen. V 521 culpat hic Virgilium Virgiliomastix, Ecl. II 23 hunc versum male distinguens ('lac mihi non aestate novom, non frigore: defit') Virgiliomastix vituperat. He is not identical with the critic mentioned, whose parodies did not include the second Eclogue. Donatus l. c. continues: Herennius tantum vitia eius, Perellius Faustus furta contraxit. Sunt et Q. Octavi Aviti ὁμοιοτήτων (homoeon elenchon — Reiff.) octo volumina quae quos et unde versus transtulerit continent (from these Macrobius, Saturn. I 24, 6 III 10 ff. V 3–16, has preserved some remnants, either directly or indirectly — according to Ribbeck through the medium of Servius). Asconius Pedianus libro quem contra obtrectatores Ver-

gilii scripsit (among whom Bavius and Maevius are also mentioned, cf. Serv. ad Ecl. III 90 VII 21), pauca admodum obiecta ei proponit eaque circa historiam fere, et quod pleraque ab Homero sumpsisset, sed hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere assuetum ait: 'cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos, facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere.' Cp. Ribbeck, Proleg. ad Verg. Opera p. 96–113.

24 **Asinii aut Messallae liber**: *C. Asinius Pollio* (born 76 B. C. cos. 40, triumphed over the Parthians 39, died c. 5 A. D.), *M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus* (born c. 64 B. C. cos. 31, triumphed over the Gauls 27, died not later than 8 A. D.), both distinguished as statesmen, generals, poets, historians, and orators, and repeatedly grouped together e. g. by Quint. X 1, 113 (where see Peterson's notes), by Tacitus, c. 17. 21 Ann. IV 34 XI 6. 7. They are here introduced only in their capacity as orators, their other literary achievements being overlooked chiefly because they are contrasted with Lysias and Hyperides, partly also because their fame as historians and poets, particularly in Messalla's case, was, in the judgment of later generations, eclipsed by their oratorical reputation. Liber = oratio edita. Frequent in Silver Latin, but *not* in Quintilian. See note c. 3 2.

25 **Medea Ovidii**: Written at the age of 30 (cf. Am. III 1, 29), and mentioned by the poet himself in Am. II 18, 13 III 1, 11. 67. Trist. II 553 and perhaps referred to Am. III 15, 18. Probably used by Seneca (F. Leo, Sen. Trag. I p. 166) and by Maternus. Cf. Quint. X 1, 98 Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset. Only two lines, quoted by Quint. VIII 8, 56 and Sen. Suas. III 7 have come down to us. — **Varii Thyestes**: *L. Varius Rufus* (74–14), an older contemporary and friend of Horace and Virgil, whose Aeneid he, with the aid of Plotius Tucca, prepared for publication. He is chiefly known as the writer of epic poems celebrating the exploits of Caesar and Octavianus, and as the author of the tragedy Thyestes. Cf. the prefatory scholion to the cod. Paris. 7530 Incipit Thuestes Varii — Lucius Varius cognomento Rufus Thyesten tragoediam magna cura absolutam post actiacam victoriam Augusto ludis eius (29 B. C.) in scaena edidit, pro qua fabula sestertium deciens accepit. Quint. l. c. Iam Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest Philargyr. ad Verg. Ecl. VIII 10 Varium, cuius exstat Thyestes tragoedia omnibus tragicis

praeferenda. — According to L. Müller in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* No. 24 (1893) the opening lines have been preserved in Sen. Ep. 80, 7 En impero Argis etc.—Observe the artistic symmetry of this paragraph, and the singularly appropriate grouping of authors. Homer and Demosthenes, by common consent the greatest Greek poet and the greatest Greek orator, are opposed to Cicero and Virgil, who occupy the same rank in Latin literature. On the Greek side, Sophocles with Euripides, and Lysias with Hyperides, who are regularly associated by the ancients, are contrasted with the orators Asinius and Messalla and the tragedians Ovid and Varius, who are also habitually grouped together. The Roman instances, moreover, follow the Greek in chiastic order. Any other names, it will be noticed, such as Aeschylus or Aeschines or Calvus, for instance, would have totally destroyed the equilibrium of this finely elaborated antithesis ($\alpha : \beta : \alpha\alpha : \beta\beta :: b : a : bb : aa$).

13. 1 **contubernium**: 'Association with the Muses.' Aper (c. 9 ext.) had said that poets, in order to accomplish anything, must abandon the intercourse with friends and seek the retirement of the woods and groves. Maternus does not deny this, but he rejoins that such surroundings are particularly agreeable to him, while the necessary separation from friends by no means results in solitude, as alleged, inasmuch as it is the peculiar privilege of the poet to enjoy the society of the Muses and it is their inspiring intercourse that he seeks. *Contubernium* in this less concrete meaning is common in the Silver Age. Cf. note 5 5 and Kleiber p. 39. — **timuerim** = dubitaverim imparts a touch of politeness to a strong assertion. Cf. c. 26 33 non verebor nominare Plin. Paneg. 89, 1 Ep. IV 9, 7.

2 **inquieta et anxia**: Opp. to securum et quietum. The same redundancy in Plin. Ep. II 9, 1 anxium me et inquietum habet petitio. With the statement itself, introduced to offset Aper's glowing description of the career of a successful orator, we may compare Tac. H. IV 8 Ann. VI 48.

3 **certamina et pericula**: *Pericula* is added to 'certamina' as a more specific term, according to the characteristic usage of Tacitus pointed out c. 9 1. On the technical meaning of 'periculum,' corresponding to the now obsolete use of danger in English, see Peterson's note to Quint. X 1, 36. — **vel ad consulatus**: Although the consulship during the Empire retained but the semblance of its

former greatness, a factitious and sentimental importance attached itself to this ancient office and its attainment was regarded down to the latest times as the goal of a Roman's ambition. Cf. Tac. Ag. 44 quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Sen. de brev. vit. 20, 1 ut unus ab illis numeretur annus, omnes annos suos conterent. 'Wenige Erscheinungen der späteren römischen Welt,' Friedländer *S. G.* I[6] p. 265 well says, 'sind so merkwürdig wie diese, dass selbst das klägliche Schattenbild der alten Grösse Jahrhunderte lang in so hohem Grade statt des längst entschwundenen Wesens gelten, die alte Ehrfurcht erwecken, den alten unwiderstehlichen Zauber üben konnte.'

From this it will appear that the addition of *vel* before 'ad' (et MSS.) is far more appropriate and also easier than Vahlen's insertion (accepted by John) of 'praeturas' or 'sacerdotia,' for an enumeration of *some* of the political offices an orator might secure, decidedly weakens the force of the passage.

evexerint: A poetic word and in this figurative sense not elsewhere in Tac. Cf. Hor. C. I 1, 6 Verg. Aen. VI 130 Stat. Silv. III 3, 76 Vell. Pat. II 90, 1 quem usque in tertium consulatum . . . evexerat.

4 **securum et quietum**: Cf. c. 10 ext. quietis et securitatis Livy XXXIX 1 quietum et securum. — **Vergilii secessum**: Vita Verg. p. 57 R. habuitque domum Romae in Esquiliis iuxta hortos Maecenatis quamquam secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur.

6 **Augusti epistulae**: Cf. Vita Verg. p. 61 R. Augustus vero . . . supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitaret ut sibi de Aeneide, ut ipsius verba sunt, vel prima carminis ὑπογραφή vel quodlibet κῶλον mitteret Claud. Ep. ad Olybr. (n. 41) v. 23 dignatus tenui Caesar scripsisse Maroni.

7 **auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus**: Both 'versibus' and 'forte praesentem' seem to leave no reasonable doubt that the reference is not to the recitation of an entire poem (cf. Donat. Vita Verg. p. 60 R. bucolica eo successu edidit ut in scaena quoque per cantores crebro pronuntiarentur Serv. Verg. Ecl. VI 11 dicitur autem ingenti favore esse recitata sqq.) but more probably to the quotation of some Virgilian lines in some play or mimus. — **surrexit universus**: 'rose as one man.' This particular homage was usually paid only to the Emperor (Plin. Paneg. 54 in venerationem tui theatra ipsa

consurgent Suet. Claud. 6), and occasionally to members of the imperial family (Suet. Octav. 56 filiis praetextatis adhuc assurectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum gravissime questus est). On the great popularity of Virgil during his lifetime, and during the Early Empire cf. Vita Virg. p. 57 : si quando Romae, quo rarissime commeabat, viseretur in publico, sectantis demonstrantisque se suffugeret in proximum tectum and Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* c. 3.

8 **praesentem spectantemque**: It is not necessary to regard this phrase as a kind of hendiadys, in the sense of 'praesentem inter spectatores.' It is simply one of the numerous examples of that fullness of expression so characteristic of the style of this treatise. Cf. Plin., Paneg. 56 ipsum praesentem audientemque consalutabant imperatorem, where 'audientem,' although equally superfluous, has never been objected to. — **Vergilium**: The repetition of the proper name here in place of a pronoun has the effect of emphasising the significance of such an ovation being accorded to a private individual. For similar repetitions in T. cf. H. V 21 Ann. I 13 II 28 III 30. 41 IV 29. 31 VI 15. 39 XII 64 and Ioh. Müller, *Beiträge* IV 13 note 2. — **veneratus** 'greet respectfully.' In this sense very rare. E.g. Tib. I 5, 33 Plin. Pan. 54 Suet. Claud. 12 and Tac. Ann. XVI 4.

9 **sic quasi**: Such emphatic phrases are not so rare in pre-Aug. writers as Wolff seems to think. Cf. e. g. Plaut. Amph. II 2, 51 me sic salutas quasi dudum non videris Cic. de orat. II 11, 47 sic tractare quasi nihil possit dici pro Cluent. 1, 4 ad Att. VI 1, 12 etc. and so analogously with 'tamquam' e. g. Cic. ad fam. XIII 69, 1 sic Ephesi fui tamquam domi meae, less frequent with 'velut.'

10 **Secundus Pomponius**: A distinguished tragic poet and intimate friend of the elder Pliny who became his biographer (Plin. N. H. XIII 12, 26, 83 Pliny, Ep. III 5, 3). He was a partisan of Sejanus and upon the downfall of this minister (31 A. D.) was thrown into prison, where he is said to have remained for seven years till released by Caligula, who raised him to the consulship, probably in 44 A. D. The emperor Claudius sent him as legatus to Germany, where he defeated the Chatti, obtaining the honor of the triumphal ornaments (50 A. D.). Tacitus repeatedly speaks of him in terms of high praise. Cf. Ann. V 8 multa morum elegantia et ingenio inlustri XII 28 decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famae apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria praecellit. His

great literary reputation is fully confirmed by Quint. X 1, 98 eorum (sc. tragoedorum) quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur. The title of a praetextata 'Aeneas' has come down to us. Cp. Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.* § 284, 7, and esp. L. Brunel, *De tragoedia apud Romanos circa principatum Augusti corrupta*, ch. 6, 2 Paris 1884.—**Afro Domitio**: A celebrated orator of the reign of Nero, cos. suff. 39 A. D. curator aquarum (Dio LIX, 20 Frontin. Aq. 102) 49–59, in which latter year he died. See Tac. Ann. XIV 19 Sequuntur virorum inlustrium mortes, Domitii Afri et M. Servilii qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant. Ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae; quam clariorem effecit ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus. On his character and his fame as an orator, cf. Tac. Ann. IV 52 Claudia Pulchra, sobrina eius (sc. Neronis) postulatur accusante Domitio Afro. Is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere . . . Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio et secuta adseveratione Caesaris, qua suo iure disertum eum appellavit; mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatientiam Quint. X 1, 118 eorum (sc. oratorum) quos viderim, Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. Arte ille et toto genere dicendi praeferendus et quem in numero veterum locare non timeas XII 11, 3 Vidi ego longe omnium, quos mihi cognoscere contigit, summum oratorem Domitium Afrum, valde senem cotidie aliquid ex ea quam meruerat auctoritate perdentem, cum agente illo quem principem fuisse quondam fori non erat dubium, alii, quod indignum videatur, riderent, alii erubescerent; quae occasio fuit dicendi malle eum deficere quam desinere. This highly remarkable agreement between Quintilian and a passage in the *historical* writings of Tacitus is sufficient to show how hazardous it is to argue against the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus, because of striking parallelisms with the writer of the Institutio Oratoria. Quintilian also refers to a work of Afer 'On Testimony' (V 7, 7), to one entitled 'Dicta' (VI 3, 42) and repeatedly to some of his orations, of which those in behalf of Cloatilla and Volusenus Catulus appear to have been the most famous. On the transposition of the cognomen, see note c. 1 1.

12 **ad quorum exempla me vocas**: Cf. c. 8. For the phrase, cf. Plin. Ep. IX 2, 2 ad cuius (sc. Ciceronis) exemplum nos vocas Paneg. 58 non te ad exemplar eius voco Cic. Acad. Pr. 18, 56 me ad Democritum vocas. — **habent . . . concupiscendum**: 'What do they possess that one might covet?' Different from the construction of 'habere' with the gerundive, discussed c. 8 12. 'Concupiscendum' here takes the place of the missing adjective 'concupiscibilis.'

13 **quod timent an quod timentur**: *an* 'or perhaps.' Usage in similar interrogative clauses leads us to expect 'aut' (R. V. III p. 313 note 442[b]) but 'an,' as a disjunctive particle, is, according to Nipperdey's observation (Ann. I 13), more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. Cp. Heraeus ad H. I 7 Gantrelle, *Style de Tac.* § 134. The same contrast is brought out in Tac. H. IV 42 nihil quod ex te concupisceret, nihil quod timeret and in Sidon. Apoll. Ep. V 7 (a locus classicus on informers) hi sunt quos timent, etiam qui timentur.

14 **ii quibus non praestant indignantur**: As Marcellus and Crispus are importuned for favors day after day (cotidie), they would naturally find it impossible, even if willing, to grant all requests made to them, and hence they necessarily incurred the hatred of those who remained unnoticed. Cf. the quite similar statement in Plut. Comp. Alc. et Coriol. 235 C: *οὐ γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς μὴ δεόμενοι τιμῆς, εἶτα χαλεπαίνουσι μὴ τυγχάνοντες . . . ὡς τὸ χαλεπαίνειν μάλιστα μὴ τυγχάνοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα γλίχεσθαι φυόμενον.*

Lipsius' easy emendation has been uniformly rejected. Of those who defend the MS. reading, some (e. g. Wolff) suppose it possible that the author designedly introduced a paradox as a surprise for the reader, who naturally expects a negative statement; others, like John, contend that the emphasis is on 'indignantur,' but in that case some such reading as Michaelis suggested would be necessary, which, however, is itself open to palaeographical objections. Andresen, followed by Peter, conjectures 'vel ii quibus praestant indignantur,' a sentiment more epigrammatic than true, as is clear from Andresen's own translation 'selbst diejenigen, denen sie ihre Bitten gewähren, sich *beleidigt* fühlen'! In all the passages, moreover, cited by these scholars in support of this view (Tac. Ann. IV 18 Sen. Ep. 8, 32 Florus IV 2, 92 to which might have been added Tac. H. IV 62 Sen. de ben. I 3, 1 IV 40, 1 Ep. 19, 11), it is invariably the expected repayment of an obligation incurred that is said to render the gift irksome to the recipient. But this idea is not expressed in our passage nor do the words of the text lend themselves to such an interpretation.

15 **adligati omni adulatione**: Marcellus and Crispus, in the eyes of Maternus, have lost all personal independence by their slavish obsequiousness toward the Emperor. Marcellus was dead when these bitter words were written, and Crispus was not likely to have been in favor in the reign of Titus. Cp. Proleg. xxx — 'adulatio' is perhaps of more frequent occurrence in Tacitus than in any earlier writer.

The great majority of editors refuse to accept Walther's emendation omni (cū ABE cum — CDV). It is, however, absolutely certain, as a glance at the variants in c. 2 14 might have shown: omni eruditione (omni — CEΔV cū — ABD), for here there can be no doubt as to the genuine reading. A similar false solution of a compendium gave rise to an unintelligible 'omne' (C) for commune in c. 26 30.

17 **liberti**, sc. principis. This statement, as Andresen observes, is a thrust at Aper, who (c. 7) had mentioned the defence of the Emperor's liberti, as among the most honorable occupations of an orator. On the 'liberti' under the Empire see note to c. 7 7. — **dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae**: Cited from Georg. II 475 f. Me verum primum dulces ante omnia Musae | quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore | accipiant. — In the phrase 'ut ait,' the subject usually follows the verb. The inverse order, as here (and again in Tac. but without ut: Ann. XI 3 XV 69), is not rare in the Silver Age. Cf. Liv. XXX 26, 9 sicut Ennius ait Varr. R. R. I 7, 6 Quint. I 5, 72 X 7, 14 (?) XII 3, 11 ut Cicero ait 9, 16 ut Demosthenes ait. Cp. Schmalz, *Antib.* I p. 124.

18 **sollicitudinibus et curis**: In inverse order in Cic. ad Att. XV 14 (cf. note c. 4 3). Quint. XI 1, 44 sollicitudo deceat et cura Plin. Paneg. 41 Ep. V 6, 1 curam et soll. Ps. Quint. Decl. 50, 8.

19 **in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant**: The preposition does not signify 'into,' which would involve an absurdity, but it may be taken in the sense of *ad*, 'towards,' *Germ.* 'an,' as in Prop. III 16, 17 semper in Oceanum mittit me quaerere gemmas | et iubet ex ipsa tollere dona Tyro, or ἐς in Greek e. g. K 366 φεύγων ἐς νῆας O 420 πῦρ ἐς νῆα φέροντα and esp. analogous to our passage K 107 ἡ μέν ἄρ' ἐς κρήνην κατεβήσετο καλλιρέεθρον. Inasmuch, however, as the sanctuaries of the Muses were situated on high places, it seems far preferable to interpret *in* = 'up towards' a signification which it also frequently has. E. g. c. 10 10 in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat 19 16 in caelum laudibus ferebatur Ann. XII 35 decedere barbari in iuga montium Plaut. Cist. II 3, 78 in cae-

lum conspicis Cic. de orat. III 10, 25 (Nepos Paus. 4, 5) tamquam in aram confugitis Prop. V 8, 13 si fuerint castae redeunt in colla parentum Claud. in Ruf. I 22 tolluntur in altum. — *Sacra*, we are assured by Baehrens and Andresen, is not elsewhere found in the sense of 'sacra loca' and the dictionaries, it is true, do not cite any instances. Nevertheless examples are by no means lacking even in Tacitus, where this word, as shown by the context, can have no other signification, while in others there is, at least, no obstacle to its being interpreted in a local sense. Cf. Tac. H. III 33 cum omnia *sacra* profanaque in ignes considerent solum Mefitis *templum* stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum Ann. I 54 profana simul et *sacra* et celeberrimum *templum* . . . *solo* aequantur 79 qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint Prop. IV 1, 1 Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philetae | in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus Pers. Prol. 7 ipse semipaganus | ad sacra vatum carmen affero nostrum. The shrines of the Muses, as remarked, were generally located on the tops of mountains and in the immediate neighborhood of springs, whence poets were said to drink inspiration. So Mt. Helicon, with the sacred springs of Aganippe and Hippocrene (Paus. IX 29, 3), Mt. Parnassus with the Castalian spring (Plut. de Pyth. orac. 402 C). Numa Pompilius dedicated a grove to the Muses next to a sacred fountain, because they were believed to associate there with the nymph Egeria (Liv. I 21 Plut. Num. 13). Cf. also Mayor, ad Iuv. III 13 nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur.

From the above it must be clear that the passage is entirely sound, neither the preposition nor 'sacra' nor 'fontes' presenting the slightest difficulty. On the other hand, the generally received reading of Ritter (for even Peter and John join 'in' with 'fontes' by assuming a kind of zeugma of the preposition), besides being based upon a palpable misinterpretation, is open to other insuperable objections. (1) The variation of the preposition violates a stylistic usage of Tacitus, pointed out c. 10 25. (2) The anastrophe of the preposition is confined to the later writings of Tacitus (cp. Woelfflin, *Phil.* XXV 116), and even in these, *ad* in anastrophe after a pronoun is extremely rare. Cp. H. C. Maué p. 71 A. Gerber, Progr. Glückstadt 1871, and *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII p. 333–5.

20 **insanum ultra et lubricum forum**: Cf. Verg. Georg. II 501 f. ferrea iura insanumque forum Prop. IV (V) 1, 134 insano verba tonare foro Cic. pro Mil. 17, 45 insanissima contio Sil. Ital. VII 542 insanae spectate tribus! pro lubrica rostra et vanis fora

laeta viris. *Insanus* designates the senseless noise made by the populace; *lubricum* the uncertainty and danger attending forensic pleading.

21 **famamque pallentem:** Fame is here said to cause paleness, because of the instability and transitoriness of forensic reputation, which is wholly dependent upon the fickle favor of the populace. For the thought, cf. Sen. Ep. 95, 57 f. Non contingit tranquillitas nisi immutabile certumque iudicium adeptis: ceteri decidunt subinde et reponuntur et inter intermissa adpetitaque alternis fluctuantur. Causa huius iactationis est quod nihil liquet incertissimo regimine utentibus, fama. — For the metonymy (cause for effect), cf. Verg. Aen. VI 275 pallentes morbi Hor. C. I 4, 13 pallida mors Pers. Prol. 4 pallidam Pirenen V 55 cuminum pallens Mart. XI 6 pallentes . . . curae Hom. H 479 χλωρὸν δέος Tac. G. 36 pax marcens, and so similarly Iuv. VII 206 gelidae cicutae Hom. Θ 159 βέλεα στονόεντα ο 463 οἶνος ἠλεός Eur. Bacch. 691 θαλερὸν . . . ὕπνον (refreshing sleep). In the following two instances from Tacitus, we have metonymy and oxymoron combined: H. II 45 misera laetitia Ann. I 8 arroganti moderatione.

John and Andresen take fama to mean 'town-talk, popular opinion,' on the ground that 'glory' is equally sought both by orator and by poet. But this interpretation conflicts with the character of the speaker as drawn by Tacitus, for Maternus disdainfully ignores the gossip of the multitude (see c. 2. 3) and by the use of the epithet 'pallentem' simply distinguishes the 'bubble reputation' of the orator, acquired amid surroundings which place him in a perpetual state of worry and excitement, from the stable and lasting fame vouchsafed to the poet. 'Palantem,' which John accepts, would of course be a very suitable attribute of 'fama' in the sense which he erroneously attributes to it here.

trepidus: On the adj. for the adverb, see note c. 4 4. — **non me . . . nec . . . excitet:** 'non' is used in place of 'ne' to emphasise 'me,' some phrase like 'sed alii' being understood. Cf. Tac. Ann. I 11 non ad unum omnia deferrent, where Nipp. also cites examples from Cic. pro Cluent. 57, 155 and Liv. IX 34, 15. In the poets (e. g. Verg. Aen. XII 78) and post-Augustan prose-writers this usage is common. — For 'nec' with the optative or hortative subjunctive, cf. c. 13 ext. 22 ext. nec . . . determinet 32 init. nec quisquam respondeat H. I 84 nec illas voces ullus usquam exercitus audiat II 47 nec tempus computaveritis — nec diu moremur 76 nec . . . expaveris. See Nipp. Ann. I 43, where similar instances

from other writers are also given. — **fremitus salutantium**: Cf. Sen. Ep. 19, 11 turba salutantium and Mayor ad Iuv. III 127.

22 **anhelans libertus**: 'Let no freedman in panting haste rouse me from my sleep,' namely, in order to convey some message from the Emperor, or to bring the information that his master has arisen and is ready to receive the early morning visits of his 'friends.' Cf. Epictet. Diss. IV 8, 41–50, quoted by Friedländer I[6] p. 143. Schaubach p. 5 and Weinkauff p. CLVIII erroneously take 'anhelans' to mean 'maxime studiosus,' in which figurative sense the word would be ἀπ. εἰρ. Cp. also Kleiber p. 75 note. — **incertus futuri**: Perhaps a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. VIII 580 spes incerta futuri (cp. Schmaus p. 36). *Incertus* c. gen. is in prose first found in Bell. Afr. 7 and then in Liv. I 7, 6. Frequently in the poets. In Tacitus: H. III 55 Ann. II 75 VI 46 and so 'certus,' on which see Nipp. Ann. XII 66 Heraeus Hist. II 46. On these adject. with genit., in the use of which the culminating point is reached in Tacitus, cp. G. Schoenfeld, *De T. studiis Sallust.* p. 34–39 Dr. *H. S.* § 206 and esp. A. Haustein, *De genit. adiect. accommodati in ling. lat. usu*, Halle 1882. — It was customary for wealthy Romans to bequeath legacies to the Emperor in their wills in order to insure the carrying out of the other bequests, for, where this caution was omitted, emperors such as Caligula, Nero and Domitian (Suet. Calig. 38 Ner. 32 Dom. 12) often annulled the testament, appropriating the entire estate to themselves. Nero, according to Suetonius l. c., even went so far as to enact 'ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent.' Maternus, therefore, sincerely hopes that, rather than submit to such compulsion, his fortune, unlike the colossal wealth of Marcellus and Crispus of which Aper had spoken so admiringly (c. 8), might remain within moderate limits, so as not to excite the covetousness of the princeps. No other writer, it may be observed, refers to this practice more frequently than Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 43 satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. tam caeca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem H. I 48 testamentum Titi Vini magnitudine opum inritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit Ann. XIV 31 Rex Icenorum Prasutagus longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias

scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore XVI 11 nec defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere G. 20 Ann. VI 29 Plin. Paneg. 43 in eodem genere ponendum est quod testamenta nostra secura sunt; nec una omnium nunc quia scriptus nunc quia non scriptus heres est. Cp. Marquardt *Staatsverw.* II[2] p. 294. — Ruperti, blissfully oblivious of the rules of prosody, regards 'fūturi — scribam' as a hexameter.

24 **quandoque fatalis et meus dies veniet statuar:** *Quandoque* = et quando. So Cic. de orat. III 55, 212 quid quandoque deceat Liv. XXXIV 56, 13 dimittendique ei quos eorum quandoque vellet, ius esset, the former instance is unjustly rejected by Madvig de fin. p. 833 and the latter by Wilkins l. c. The possible ambiguity arising out of this use of quando-que is no greater than that of quoque = et quo, on which see note c. 8 12. 'Quando' as a temporal conjunction = cum is chiefly poetic (e. g. Liv. Andr. ap. Gell. III 16, 11 quando dies adveniet quem praefata Morta est Hor. Epod. 16, 27) but occurs also in prose, according to Woelfflin's observation (*Philol.* XXV 119 f.), whenever the style strikes a higher tone, as here and Tac. G. 33. — *fatalis*, and similarly 'fatum,' are repeatedly used of natural death. Cf. C. I. L. I 1009 hora . . . fatalis mea Orelli, Insc. 3023 (4777) hic tuus fatalis dies (which also furnish illustrations of the collocation of the pronoun with fatalis, although the position of et = etiam is certainly awkward) 4758 f. diem peragere Vell. II 4, 6 seu fatalem seu conflatam insidiis . . . mortem obiit II 48, 6 quieta aut certe non praecipitata fatali . . . morte functi sunt Sen. Nat. Quaest. III 27, 1 cum fatalis dies diluvii venerit Tac. Ag. 45 H. V 10 fato aut taedio occidit Ann. I 3 vulnere in validum mors fato . . . vel dolus abstulit II 42 finem vitae sponte an fato implevit VI 10 L. Piso pontifex rarum in tanta claritudine fato obiit XI 2 functam fato (sc. uxorem) XIV 12. Silana fato functa est 62 fato obiit, where see Furneaux. The last four examples seem to me sufficient to invalidate Peter's, Baehrens' (*Comm. Crit.* p. 66) and John's assertion (*Correspbl.* p. 22) that these words derive this meaning only through the expressed or implied antithesis of an untimely or violent death. 'Fatum' in this latter sense is found but once in Tacitus: Ag. 42. — ***Meus dies*** simply repeats the idea already expressed by 'fatalis.' Cf. diem suum obire 'to die a natural death,' e. g. in Plaut. Poen. IV 2, 82

Sulpicius in Cic. ad fam. IV 12, 2 Sen. Apocol. 1 Fronto, Ep. ad Anton. IV 1 and analogously Suet. Caes. 89 nemo percussorum Caesaris sua morte defunctus est.

Of the numerous interpretations to which this passage has been subjected, such as are entirely or partially based upon objections against the phrase 'fatalis et meus dies' may be, I think, dismissed as groundless on the strength of the many passages just cited. The others naturally group themselves under two heads, according to the interpretation of 'quandoque' in the sense of 'aliquando' (Halm, Peter, Andresen, Wiesler), or in that of 'quandocunque' (Ritter, John, Wolff). Both parties agree in reading 'statuarque.' According to the first-mentioned view, the entire phrase is a parenthetical remark, containing the sanguine assurance of the speaker that he will not meet with the violent death which Aper is alleged to have predicted for him (c. 10 ext.), if he persisted in provoking his powerful superiors by too outspoken poetical productions. To this, it may be replied: (1) That such a statement is wholly out of place in a parenthesis, and not properly introduced by 'enim,' which Peter and Andresen retain, for there is no *causal* connection between 'nec plus habeam' and 'quandoque — veniet.' See John, *Correspbl.* p. 22. (2) Aper's words 'igitur . . . superiorem' cannot be made to imply the prediction of a violent death any more than those immediately following, 'si quando necesse sit . . . potentiorum aures offendere.' (3) Maternus had already disposed of his opponent's warning in c. 12 ext., rendering a renewed refutation entirely useless (see John l. c.). — The other interpretation is open to equally serious objections, for (1) quandoque — veniet is now closely connected with the preceding clause, being thus deprived of any independent force, as will be clear from a translation: 'Let me not possess more wealth than what I can dispose of according to my own wishes, at whatever time my last hour may come.' (2) But supposing this to be satisfactory, we should still have the correlation of 'nec — que,' which *never* occurs in Tacitus, neque — que being also found but once, viz. Ann. III 12 sed neque reum prohibeo . . . vosque oro, where, however, it must be observed, there is an interval of nearly two lines between the two conjunctions. There remains, therefore, the interpretation offered above, which involves no violent changes and brings out the full force of the passage. 'Let me not possess more wealth, etc., and when my final summons too (et) shall come, then let me stand upon my tomb,' etc. It is curious to notice that Wolff, though he follows Ritter and John in his commentary (1890) adopts the very view here advocated, in his German translation of the Dialogus (Frankfurt-a.-M. 1891). 'und wann . . . soll man.' — 'Quandoque . . . veniet' is not sufficiently characteristic either in thought or phraseology to be plausibly taken, with Heller (Philol. LI 348), as a direct poetic quotation.

25 **statuar tumulo**: The local ablative of rest without the preposition seems particularly characteristic of Tacitus, although not uncommon in other post-Augustan writers (cp. Dr. *H. S.* II

520 ff.). It is most frequent when an attributive adj. or genitive is added (Ann. XIV 10 tumulo matris), or with two nouns (Ann. XIV 61 imagines . . . foro ac templis statuunt), less often with single substantives, as here and e. g. H. II 16 V 4. 5 Ann. XIII 5 XIV 20. Cf. the many instances of this usage collected by Nipp. Ann. I 60 III 61 and Dr. *Stil* p. 27 Furneaux Ann. Vol. I p. 38.— On sepulchral busts, cf. Cic. pro Arch. 9, 22 in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is (sc. Ennius) constitutus ex marmore Orelli Insc. Sel. 4456 (cited by Peter) simulacra Claudiae. The passages quoted from Ov. Her. II 67 and Tac. H. III 74 do not refer to sepulchral statues. Dronke absurdly interprets the phrase in the sense of sepeliri !— **maestus et atrox** etc.: i. e. not sorrowful and fierce of countenance, as may be natural in an orator whose life was ever 'inquieta et anxia' (c. 12) and passed amid 'sordes ac lacrimas reorum' (c. 11), but cheerful of aspect shall be my features upon my crowned sepulchral bust, expressive of the honorable retirement, which it was my happy lot to enjoy.

26 **coronatus**: The crowning of the dead was a very ancient custom among both Greeks and Romans, but less common among the latter. Cp. Mayor ad Iuv. VII 208 Smith, *Dict. Ant.* I 550.— **pro memoria mei**: Maternus, like Hor. C. II 20, 23 f. sepulchri mitte supervacuos honores, cares not for public statues and like honors, believing that his own works will constitute a more lasting monument. See below.—*pro* for the more usual dative or the abl. with 'de,' seems to be first met with in Livy (XXI 9 gratificari pro Romanis XXVII 30 pro Aetolis cura). Thereafter, with other than proper names, in Sen. e. g. Ep. 4, 6 omnem pro illa sollicitudinem and so quite common in Quintilian (see Bonnell Lex.) and in Tacitus, e. g. Ag. 12 aliud . . . pro nobis utilius. 26 securi pro salute de gloria certabant (here used probably because of the following 'de') IV 4, 58 numquam apud vos verba feci aut pro vobis sollicitior aut pro me securior.— **mei**: The obj. gen. with memoria represents the regular construction, but T. also employs the poss. pron.: H. I 37 auditisne ut poena mea et supplicium vestrum simul postularentur Ann. I 8 mea caede imbuite manus IV 37 cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur 38 superque memoriae meae tribuent. On this usage in other writers, cf. Kühner II 435 n. 4. It must be carefully distinguished from the analogous idiom by which the obj. gen. is made to do duty for the poss. pron., on which cp. Madvig de

fin. II[2] 23, 76, Seyff.-Müll. Lael. 16, 57 (p. 378), Nipp. Ann. XII 37 Heraeus H. II 32 Dr. *H. S.* I 468 ff. *Stil* p. 31. — **nec consulat**: sc. senatum. So H. II 91 cum . . . patres consulerentur Ann. I 7 de honoribus parentis consulturum (sc. patres) 26 eundem senatum consulendum III 52 consulti patres IV 76. Occasionally the same verb is used of the Emperor: H. IV 40 consulendum . . . principem Ann. II 81 Caesar . . . consulitur VI 23 consultus Caesar XIV 18 senatus . . . consulendum principem respondit. — **nec roget**: sc. principem. The permission to erect statues in public places in honor of deceased individuals was down to Diocletian granted by the senate, although after the time of Tiberius (cf. Tac. Ann. IV 15) the formal approval of the Emperor seems also to have been necessary; hence 'roget' is added. Cf. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* III[2] 451 Friedl. III 261. — With the thought, cp. Tac. Ann. V 1 (VI 1) non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam experiar, sed liber . . antibo periculum. vos obtestor ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis.

14. 1. **finierat**: sc. orationem. The same absolute use of this verb occurs in c. 42 1 finierat Maternus. It is especially common in Ovid e. g. Met. I 566 finierat Paean XIV 441 finierat Macareus. Quint. XII 9, 4 finita est (sc. oratio). Cf. the equally easy ellipsis of 'vitam': Tac. Ann. II 83 quo in loco finierat VI 50 sic Tiberius finivit. — **concitatus**: *concitatus*, a synonym of 'ardens,' is a favorite word of Quintilian e. g. X 1, 90 Lucanus ardens et concitatus III 8, 58 concitatam semper orationem 60 torrens . . . et concitata . . . oratio. — **velut instinctus**: 'inspired.' Cf. Cic. de div. I 31, 66 a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur Quint. XII 10 24 instinctis divino spiritu vatibus, and so very often.

2 **Vipstanus Messalla**: See Prolegomena pp. lxxiii–lxxv.

Halm, Baehrens and Andresen follow Ernesti in deleting 'eius.' The pronoun, it may be admitted, is not necessary to the context, but it is quite unobjectionable, and it is not easy to see why it should have been interpolated by a scribe.

3 **intentione**: For the meaning, see note c. 11 1 intento ore. — **altiorem** = graviorem. Cf. Tac. H. IV 5 altiora studia Quint. III 8, 42 altior quaestio, and so frequently.

4 **tempestivus**: On the adj. for adv. see note c. 4 4. — **interveni consilium . . . meditationem tractantibus**: Tacitus is fond of joining an acc. with compound verbs in place of the more usual dative or a preposition (cp. Dr. *Stil* 20 and in general, *H. S.* I 376–382.

406–425), but 'interveni' with acc. occurs only once : Tac. Ann. III 23 cognitionem intervenerant, where see Nipp. and Furneaux. These scholars take 'consilium' with 'tractantibus' (so e. g. Liv. XXXIII 31, 7 consilia decem legatorum tractabantur) ; it is, however, equally possible to construe 'interveni' both with consilium and tractantibus, governing the impersonal object in the acc. and the personal in the dative. Roth, John and Wolff in their translations tacitly adopt this interpretation. The inconcinnity is quite Tacitean. —*meditatio* seems to be here used in the same sense as 'scholastica controversia' (see l. 24), μελέτη. Cf. Quint IV, 2 29 cum sit declamatio forensium actionum meditatio.' It is opposed to iudicia 'actual pleadings in court.' Cf. Quint. X 1, 70, where the word refers to trial scenes enacted in the plays of Menander, not 'speeches suitable to be made before a court' as Peterson ad loc. explains. The sudden introduction of a new speaker, preparatory to the taking up of a fresh topic of discussion, is a device borrowed directly from Cic. de rep. I 11, 17 Haec Scipio cum dixisset, L. Furium repente venientem aspexit . . . tum Furius : 'quid vos agitis? num sermonem vestrum aliquem diremit noster interventus?' 'Minime vero,' Africanus ; 'soles enim tu haec studiose investigare' etc.

7 **minime, minime**: An instance of iteratio, ἐπίζευξις. Cf. Cic. Cat. I 3 fuit, fuit Phil. II 22, 53 tu, tu. On this rhetorical figure, common in both Greek and Latin, see Ioh. Straub, *De tropis et figuris . . . Dem. et Cic.*, Progr. Aschaffenburg 1883 p. 114 f., G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst* II 183 ff. —**adeo**: 'On the contrary.' See note c. 10 8.

9 **accuratissimus**: 'carefully elaborated.' On this meaning of 'accuratus,' see note c. 6 20.

11 **laeta**: 'enthusiastic,' with particular reference to the tone of the speech, as shown by 'ardentior.' Of style = ἀνθηρός, see c. 22 6.

12 **ardentior**: 'fiery, passionate,' synonymous with 'concitatus (see above l. 1), vehemens, fervidus.' Cf. Cic. Orat. 38, 132 ardens . . . oratio de orat. II 45, 190 nisi ipse (orator) inflammatus . . . et ardens accesserit, and Causeret, *Sur la langue de la rhétor. dans Cic.* p. 164. 166.

I fail to see on what grounds it can be said that the defence of a poet ought to be more especially characterised by 'audacia' than that of an orator (cf. c. 18 7). As a matter of fact, the speech of Aper, whether we examine its style or its subject-matter, merits the epithet of 'bold' equally

well; what it does lack is the elevated and fervid tone of the poet, and this distinction is very appropriately expressed by 'ardentior.' The passages usually cited in favor of the MS. reading from Quint. X 5, 4 XII 10, 23 seem to me irrelevant, for in the latter 'audax' refers to the *orator* Aeschines, while the former pertains to bold translations of Greek words.

poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio = poetarum quam oratorum orationum . . . oratio. An example of the so-called 'comparatio compendiaria,' by which the property belonging to the person or thing is directly compared with the person or with the thing itself. This brachylogy is often employed to avoid the awkward repetition of the same word or the unidiomatic substitution of a demonstrative pronoun. In Tacitus the construction is rare, e. g. G. 46 quae omnia diversa Sarmatis (= moribus Sarmatarum) sunt. Ag. 24 solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differt. Cp. Dr. *Stil* p. 105. Quint. X 1, 31 est (sc. historia) enim proxima poetis (= poetarum operibus) Plin. Ep. I 16, 3 orationes eius . . . facile cuilibet veterum . . . comparabis Mayor to Iuv. III 74. sermo | promptus et Isaeo torrentior (= Isaei sermone). Especially common in Cicero. See Ellendt and Wilkins de orat. I 4, 15 Sandys Orat. 13, 41 Seyff.-Müll. Lael. 8, 27 Holden de off. I 22, 76, and in general, Madvig, *L. G.* § 280 note 2 R. V. III p. 624 f. The 'complosio syllabarum' noticeable in simili*or* *or*atio, does not find favor in the eyes of Quintilian (IX 4, 41): 'videndum etiam ne syllaba verbi prioris ultima et prima sequentis sit eadem. But in all save a few of the 32 instances in Tacitus which Weinkauff p. 76 has collected, the conjunction of syllables would have remained unnoticed by Roman ears, because of the difference in quantity e. g. c. 41 12 minor oratorum c. 13 16 servi videntur 36 1 flamma materia H. II 1 decor oris. In Virgil and Ovid (see the examples in R. V. III 866 note 819, where also other literature on this subject is given) both syllables, it is true, have the same quantity, but Quintilian's criticism would not, even in these cases, have been as fully justified as in Cicero's 'invisae visae' or 'fortunatam natam' quoted by him (l. c.) in illustration.

Et — atque, joining two clauses, is an intolerable solecism. Cp. Hand *Turs.* I 529 5 Madvig de fin. p. 388[3], and Dr. *H. S.* II 81, who is practically of the same opinion. Halm has, therefore, justly deleted 'et' as a dittography of the preceding syllable. Nevertheless, Andresen's suggestion (*Emend.* 141 f.) to insert 'et oratio' has met with great favor (Peter, John, Wolff). It is based upon the assumption that 'sermo' must here have the

restricted signification which Secundus gave to it in the preceding paragraph, in which case all reference to Maternus' splendid contribution would be entirely wanting in Messalla's answer. But (1) no valid reason has been or can be adduced why the speaker could not have used 'sermo' in the same sense as in his introductory remarks (= 'conversation, discussion'), the more so, as the subtle distinction made between 'sermo' and 'oratio' by Secundus is not confirmed by general Latin usage. Cf. Quint. II 21, 1 sermo quacunque de re compositus dicitur oratio XII 10, 44 aliam videtur habere naturam sermo vulgaris, aliam viri eloquentis oratio Victorin. I. p. 242 H. sermo philosophorum, dictio oratoris, oratio autem potest et ad dialogum convenire si sit paulo splendidior Rhet. ad Heren. III 23 sermo est oratio remissa et finitima cotidianae locutioni. The qualities which Cic. Orat. 19, 64 demands of an 'oratio' as distinguished from 'sermo' are certainly as abundantly found in Aper's speech as in that of Maternus, nor can the former's argument be legitimately characterised as being 'finitima cotidianae locutioni' (cf. e. g. the figurative language in c. 5. 6 ext. 9 med. 10 med.), and yet Andresen quotes the last two passages himself in support of his view. (2) The addition of 'et oratio' necessarily involves the further change of 'adfecisset' to 'adfecissent,' for a singular verb after two substantives joined by 'et — et' is extremely rare (see note c. 22 20), and permissible only if one of the subjects were entitled to the greater emphasis; but this would, in the present instance, be open to the identical objection which prompted Andresen to insert 'et oratio.' Finally, it may be remarked that the emendation in question lacks all palaeographical probability. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 336 f.

15 **atque id ipsum**: 'Not only . . . but even the very fact, I may add.' On this intensive use of 'atque,' cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 96 mihi vero erit gratum atque id ipsum . . . Fannius antevortit and c. 19 10 atque id ipsum laudabat H. I 50 atque in eo ipso sacramento.

16 **declamatorio studio**: Cf. Quint. IV 2, 29 cum sit declamatio forensium actionum meditatio II 10, 4 sint ergo et ipsae materiae quae fingentur, quam simillimae veritati et declamatio, in quantum maxime potest, imitetur eas actiones in quarum exercitationem reperta est 7 totum autem declamandi opus qui diversum omni modo a forensibus causis existimant, ii profecto ne rationem quidem, qua ista exercitatio inventa sit, pervident (See II 4, 41 Sen. Contr. I praef. 12). These 'exercises' moreover, were held both in private and in public. Cf. Sen. Contr. III 12, where Cassius Severus gives among his reasons, why his 'declamationes' were inferior to his forensic speeches: adsuevi non auditorem spectare sed iudicem and esp. 18 vix iam obtineri solet, ut declamem (i. e. before a large audience) illud obtineri non potest ut velim aliis quam familiaris-

simis audientibus. From these and numerous other passages in Quint. and Seneca, it follows that Andresen, John, Wolff and others are wrong in identifying 'declamatorium studium' with 'arcana semotae dictionis' in c. 2. For in that case, we should also expect the phrase to have been transferred to the 'sed etiam' clause, since 'non forensibus tantum negotiis (real cases) et decl. stud.' (extra judicial pleadings) are clearly contrasted with the 'disputatio' of Aper and Maternus, interrupted by the entrance of Messalla. — **non . . . tantum** is, in Tac., with but two exceptions, always separated by an intervening word. Cf. c. 22 17 Ag. 45 G. 35 H. I 15. 35 Ann. III 33 XV 45 XVI 2 and XIII 20 non tantum matrem Plautumque XIV 55 qui me non tantum praevisa sed subita, where rhetorical reasons may have caused the irregular collocation. Cp. notes c. 2 6 and 7 13.

18 **ingenium alunt**: A Ciceronian phrase. Cf. Brut. 33, 126 alere ing. potest ex Cic. Ep. apud Suet. de cl. rhet. 2: existimabant Graecis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse Quint. I 8, 8 II 5, 18 VIII pr. 2 XII 6, 6 and c. 33 9.

19 **litterarum iucundissimum** etc.: On the ὁμοιόπτωτον, see note c. 5 6. — **cum — tum**: See c. 5 6.

20 **pervenerint**: The subjunctive in a conditional relative clause expressing repeated action occasionally occurs in Cicero, but always in the perfect as here. The subj. preterite in such constructions is not found before the time of Livy. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 540 f: *Stil* p. 66 Madvig *L. G.* § 359, Furneaux, Ann. *Introd.* I p. 47. — The inconcinnity observable in the interchange of moods ('qui . . . adferunt' and 'ad quorum . . . pervenerint') is quite characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. Ann. I 44 adprobaverat . . . obiectavissent VI 18 habuisset . . . tribuerat, where see Nipp. and Furneaux. The reference is, of course, to outsiders, as in c. 32 31 quos si forte audierint, but John unaccountably cites this passage in support of the very opposite interpretation! These phrases, it may be observed, unmistakably indicate that the Dialogus is not the faithful reproduction of an actual debate, as alleged, although it may possibly, like the similar works of Cicero, be ultimately based upon some historical occurrence. See Prolegomena p. lxxx note 179.

21 **itaque**: In Tac. only here and c. 30 10 39 23. — Post-positive first in Rhet. ad Heren. I 18, never in Cicero, but quite common in Livy and later writers. Cp. R. V. III p. 293 f. Neue, *Formenl.* II³ p. 976.

22 **Iuli Africani**: According to Quint. X 1, 118 Julius Africanus was next to Domitius Afer the most distinguished orator whom he had known: eorum quos viderim D. A. et Julius Africanus longe praestantissimi . . . hic concitatior sed in cura verborum nimius et compositione nonnumquam longior et translationibus parum modicus. Cf. also XII 10, 11 vires Africani, maturitatem Afri. He is again mentioned alongside of Afer in c. 15. He was a countryman of his biographer, and, on one occasion, spoke in behalf of his native state (probably the Santoni, as appears from Tac. Ann. VI 7, who says, referring to his father, executed under Tiberius 32 A. D., Julius Africanus e Santonis Gallica civitate). See Quint. VIII 5, 15 insigniter Africanus apud Neronem de morte matris: 'rogant te, Caesar, Galliae tuae, ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras' Plin. Ep. VII 6, 11 f. mentions a grandson of the orator who was also an advocate, and opposed to him in a certain trial. — **componendo**: On this instrumental abl. of the gerund cf. note c. 11 6. — **hominibus**, 'readers.' 'Spem facere alicui alicuius' also in Liv. XXXVIII 1, 3.

23 **scholasticis controversiis**: Cf. Sen. Contr. I praef. 12 declamabat autem Cicero, non quales nunc controversias dicimus, ne tales quidem, quales ante Ciceronem dicebantur, quas theses vocabant, hoc enim genus materiae quo nos exercemur adeo novum est, ut nomen quoque eius novum sit. controversias nos dicimus, Cicero causas vocabat. hoc vero alterum nomen Graecum quidem, sed in Latinum ita translatum ut pro Latino sit, scholastica controversia multo recentius est Quint. IV 2, 92. 97 scholasticis controversiis. Cp. note c. 35 15 which passage also explains the omission of suasoriae here.

24 **otium** . . . **consumere**: On the thought, cf. Plin. Ep. II 3, 5 (de Isaeo quodam) Annum sexagesimum excessit et adhuc scholasticus tantum est; quo genere hominum nihil aut sincerius aut simplicius aut melius. nos enim qui in foro verisque litibus terimur multum malitiae quamvis nolimus, addiscimus. Schola et auditorium et ficta causa res inermis, innoxia est, nec minus felix, senibus praesertim. — Messalla fully recognises the approval (probari video) which Aper as the true exponent of the rhetorical practices of his day has received; he cannot, however, resist the temptation (cf. c. 32 ext. quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi) of expressing the popular verdict in such a way (nondum) as to leave

no doubt as to his own private convictions. This covert reproof and delicate irony is not lost upon Aper, as his reply shows. But the courteous character of this answer renders it highly improbable that Messalla had expressed his disapproval of Aper's conduct in so blunt and insulting a manner as he would have done, if we suppose with Andresen that 'improbari' (or 'damnari,' according to Halm) had been accidentally omitted after 'in Apro.' See also the excellent note of Peter ad loc. and Proleg. p. lxv.

15. 1 **vetera tantum et antiqua**: This pleonastic collocation is common in all periods of the language. Cf. e. g. Plaut. Bacch. IV 4, 60 Mil. Glor. III 1, 156 Mostell. II 2, 45 Pers. I 2, 1 Poen. V 2, 18 Trin. 382 Cic. Phil. V 17, 47 Plin. Ep. III 6, 3 Iuv. VI 21 XV 33, where see Mayor. It is *not* found in Quintilian. In Tacitus: c. 16 32 17 28 H. V 16 Ann. I 20. Similarly 'vetus' and 'priscus' are combined without any apparent distinction in meaning e. g. Vell. I 16 Plin. Pan. 12. and so also in Greek: Lys. c. Andoc. 107, 52 παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον Dem. c. Androt. 597, 18 Soph. Trach. 555. Cp. notes c. 6 11 16 18.

2 **inridere atque contemnere**: Contempt follows ridicule, hence 'atque,' according to the usage pointed out c. 4 3. The same collocation also in Cic. de leg. agr. II 35, 96 irridebunt atque contemnent. On the 'laudatio temporis acti,' cf. Ann. II 88 dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi III 55 nec omnia apud priores meliora sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit Plin. Ep. I 16, 8 neque enim debet operibus eius obesse quod vivit sqq. VI 31, 1 sum ex iis qui mirantur antiquos, non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio Mart. V 10 Esse quid hoc dicam, vivis quod fama negatur | et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat. | Hi sunt invidiae nimirum, Regule, mores | praeferat antiquos semper ut illa novis VIII 69 Miraris veteres, Vacerra, solos | nec laudas nisi mortuos poetas. See also note to c. 18 16 where other illustrations of this often recurring thought are cited. The question as to the superiority of the ancients over the moderns is discussed frequently under various forms in ancient literature and then reappears in France in the seventeenth century. The particular controversy regarding the decline of eloquence from older standards seems to have reached its culmination in the reign of Nero, and had practically become a dead issue when Quintilian wrote his Institutio. See e. g. X 1, 122 and cf. esp. Proleg. pp. xxxii–xxxiv.

'Non . . . contemnere' is erroneously taken by Michaelis, Peter, and earlier editors as a question implying surprise or indignation, the interrogative particle being, as often in such cases, omitted. This view is, however, clearly refuted by the following 'nam' clause. Baehrens, followed by John, reads 'numquam,' but this emendation seems also superfluous, and is, moreover, somewhat inconsistent with 'saepe,' for which we should rather expect 'semper,' i. e. 'You *never* cease, etc., for I *continually* hear this kind of talk from you.'

4 fratris tui: i. e. *M. Aquilius Regulus*, one of the most notorious informers and legacy hunters in the reign of Nero and of Domitian. The occurrence alluded is known to us only from Tac. H. IV 42 magnam eo die pietatis *eloquentiaeque famam* Vipstanus Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat. Sponte accusationem subisse iuvenis admodum nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae videbatur. Igitur Messalla non causam neque reum tueri sed periculis fratris semet opponens flexerat quosdam. He was acquitted by Vespasian and died in the reign of Trajan (Plin. VI 2). Pliny frequently speaks of him, but always with supreme detestation and indignation, e. g. I 5, 14 Regulus, omnium bipedum nequissimus (quoted from a letter of Modestus) II 20 IV 2 VI 1, 4 'bene fecit R. quod est mortuus; melius si ante.' Martial, on the other hand, exhausts his copious vocabulary to extol the virtues and oratorical accomplishments of Domitian's powerful friend. Cf. Mart. I 111 IV 16 V 63 VI 38. 64.

'Antiquis' is unintelligible, and is very probably the gloss of some ancient reader who, as John observes, took 'contendere' in the sense of 'comparare.' The attempts to retain the word by the insertion of 'prae' or 'parem' ignore the pregnant use of 'orator' (on which see c. 1 6). 'Atque id eo' is palaeographically improbable. The missing conjunction is supplied by reading *eoque*, 'que' being easily dropped, owing to the similarity in sound of the letter immediately following. Cf. c. 41 12 obscurior gloria for obscuriorque.

6 audacius: The comparative of 'audacter' seems not to occur elsewhere. — **vereberis**: The full form of the 2. pers. sing. pass. or depon. usually occurs in general maxims in Tac.; in a direct address here and c. 27 11 33 3 H. II 77 experiris Ann. I 13 patieris IV 40 falleris. Cp. Sirker, *Tac. Formenl.* p. 49 and esp. R. V. II 354 note 280p. Quintilian *never* uses the shorter form, Cicero almost always.

7 ipse tibi: for the regular 'tibi ipse,' the antithesis being intentionally emphasised by chiasmus, which in the Dialogus often

marks the close of a period. Cf. c. 8 ext. 10 ext. 12 ext. 15 ext. — This opening paragraph is probably modelled upon the similar passage in Cic. de rep. I. 13, 20 Tum Manilius: Pergisne eam, Laeli, artem inludere in qua . . . excellis ipse. — Baehrens' objection to 'ipse' is based upon the non-recognition of the idiomatic use of this pronoun, on which see note c. 3 12.

8 **paenitentiam ago**: A post-Aug. phrase, doubtless very common in Quintilian's day, for he goes so far as to censure Sallust (IX 3, 12), for using a form of paenitere in its stead. Eo usque processum est ut 'non paeniturum' pro 'non acturo paenitentiam' . . . idem auctor dixerit. Cf. Val. Max. III 4, 2 Sen. Suas. VI 11 VII 10 Petron. 132 Curt. VIII 6, 23 Plin. Ep. VII 10, 3.

10 **in contrarium**: Cf. c. 16 11 Ann. II 69 VI 17 XIII 37. 47. In the use of these prepositional clauses with neuter adj., Tacitus exceeds previous writers, with the possible exception of Seneca. See note c. 2 14. — **aliter sentire credo**: Cp. the similar rejoinder in Cic. de rep. III 5, 8 ne sic etiam sentire videare . . . neque sit ignota consuetudo tua contrarias in partes disserendi and de orat. I 18, 84. 62, 263 cited c. 24 9 ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit etc. — **velim impetratum**: The perf. inf. pass., generally with ellipsis of 'esse,' after verbs of wishing in Tacitus only here, is most frequent in Cicero, and not uncommon in early Latin, never in Caesar or Virgil, twice in Sall. (Iug. 110, 6; 112, 3), five times in Livy, but rare in post-Augustan writers. E. g. Val. Max. VI 5, 7 perditum voluit Plin. Ep. II 13, 2 quod impetratum . . . cupio Gell. Praef. 14 petitum impetratumque volumus. Cp. Madvig, *Opusc.* II 119 ff. H. Ziemer, *Junggramm. Streifzüge* p. 76 ff. Dr. *H. S.* II 405 f. R. V. III 350 ff. note 453.

12 **scrutetur ac reddat**: "Let some one investigate and then give us the results of his inquiry." On this force of 'ac,' see note c. 4 3. — **plerumque**: 'very often,' cf. note c. 2 10. — **conquiro**: Especially frequent in Cicero and Tacitus. Cf. e. g. H. II 50 Ann. IV 11 XIV 44 libet argumenta conquirere Cic. de orat. III 8, 29 vetera exempla conquiro Tim. 14 naturae primas causas conquirere.

Inquiro rests upon no MS. authority, 'in' being merely a supralinear correction of some scribe. It is, moreover, never used without a preposition in Tacitus, and rarely so elsewhere, e. g. Hor. Sat. I 3, 28 Quint. III 11, 21.

13 **quod quibusdam solacio** etc: Unlike some people, says Messalla, who complacently rest satisfied on observing that the decline

of eloquence is not confined to the Romans alone, but applies with equal truth to the Greeks, I am for this very reason the more anxious to ascertain the causes that underlie so curious a phenomenon. The decadence of Greek oratory is generally dated from the time of Demetrius of Phaleron (c. 345 — c. 283). Cf. Quint. X 1, 80 is primum inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur (viz. Cic. Brut. 9, 38) . . . ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator and Jebb, *Att. Orat.* II 433 ff.

14 **quia** 'inasmuch as.' Cf. Nipp. Ann. XII 17 XIV 22. — **etiam Graecis . . . ut longius absit**: The slight inaccuracy is occasioned by the coalescence of two distinct ideas into one, namely (1) Greek eloquence also declined; (2) Its decline was more rapid than that of Roman oratory. On similar incongruities, unquestionably due to the author himself, and not to a corruption in our text, see Vahlen, *Prooem.* 1878–9 John ad loc. and note c. 3 17.

Graiis, which is preferred by some editors, is rare in prose and habitually avoided by Tacitus.

15 **Sacerdos iste Nicetes**: There seem to have been two Greek rhetoricians of this name (Cf. Mommsen's Index to Keil's Pliny). The elder and by far the more famous flourished in the reign of Tiberius. Cf. Sen. Suas. III 7 Tiberius ipse Theodoreus offendebatur Nicetis ingenio 6 memini una nos ab auditione Nicetis ad Messallam venisse Contr. IX 2 nec Vibio nec alii contigisse scio quam apud Graecos Niceti, apud Romanos Latroni, ut a discipulis non audiri desiderarent sed contenti essent audire. The impetuous delivery here ridiculed by Messalla, is confirmed by Sen. l. c. Nicetes *suo impetu* valde Graecis placuerat and by Philostr. **Βίοι** I 19 **ὑπόβακχος γὰρ διθυραμβώδης τὰς δ' ἐννοίας ἰδίας τε καὶ παραδόξους ἐκδίδωσιν.** He must have been extremely advanced in age in 75 A. D., the dramatic date of the Dialogus, and can, therefore, not be identical with the teacher of the younger Pliny, who was at this time only 13 years old. Cf. Ep. VI 6, 3 prope cotidie ad audiendos quos tunc frequentabam, Quintilianum et Niceten Sacerdotem ventitabat. Reuter, *De Quint. libro de caus. corr. eloq.* p. 68 identifies this younger rhetorician with the one mentioned by Tacitus, but it is intrinsically improbable that the younger namesake was distinguished by the same characteristic delivery predicated of the elder Nicetes by Seneca and Philostratus. The early date (32 B. C.)

assigned to him by Hieronymus is unquestionably erroneous. — **quis alius**: On this favorite expression of Tacitus, see c. 5 9. — **Ephesum . . . Mytilenas**: *Mytilenae*, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, was the more famous school of the two. Cp. in general, Blass, *Griech. Beredsamkeit . . . bis auf August.* p. 68.

16 **concentu**: 'Concordant acclamations.' 'Concentus' and 'clamor,' of applause in a theatre, also in Plin. Paneg. 2 paulo ante concentu . . . quibusque aliquando clamoribus. — **scholasticorum**: 'hearers or pupils.' In its usual sense = rhetor. Cf. c. 26 31 42 7. On the semasiological history of the word, cp. Valmaggi, *Rivista di filol.* XX p. 504–9. — **quatit**: 'shakes to its foundation.' For a similar figurative use, cf. esp. Val. Flacc. I 743 quatiunt truces oracula Colchos II 122 motis quatit oppida linguis V 273 omnemque quatit rumoribus Arcton. To what extremes such vociferous approval sometimes went, may be seen from Libanius I p. 199. Cf. also Mayor, Iuv. III 9 (vol. I p. 177 ext.). On the popularity of these later sophists and rhetoricians, cp. Friedländer III 461 ff. Rhode, *Der griech. Roman*, p. 311. 314, 1 Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* V 335–337 (Engl. Transl. I 394). Observe the chiastic collocation in this closing paragraph (a — a : b — b :: b — b — b : a — a).

'Nos . . . recessimus' would flatly contradict Aper's unequivocal statement regarding Messalla's attitude. Messalla repudiates the name of orator, however much others may insist that he is entitled to it (cf. c. 23 ext. 41 20 H. IV 42). Nor does he abandon this position in c. 32 24 cur . . . recesserimus, 'why we of the present day, etc.' or in c. 31 8 f. in iudiciis fere de aequitate . . . disserimus, 'in courts of law questions of justice, etc. are discussed.' Why this latter utterance, in particular, should be unsuitable to any one but a professional pleader, as Andresen and John contend, is not intelligible to me. The statements evidently express only a general idea.

16. 1 **quaestionem movisti**: Cf. Brut. 87, 297 rem commovisti nova disputatione dignam. See c. 1 7 tam magnae quaestionis pondus.

3 **cura . . . meditatio**: Perhaps to be taken as hendiadys 'careful reflection,' as indicated by the singular predicate. Cf. c. 30 9 infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio Ann. IV 61 scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit and c. 33 19. — A similar collocation is also found in Greek e. g. Dem. 18, 308 μελέτῃ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια. On the thought itself, cf. Cic. de rep. I 21, 34 ff.

6 **ante impetravero**: The pleonastic phrase 'ante praedixero' (c. 18 7, where see note) is erroneously cited as a parallel by Andresen ad loc. — **hunc nostrum**: So again l. 12. See note c. 4 1.

8 **pro duobus** etc: A palpable imitation of Cic. de orat. II 7, 27 'Ego vero' inquit Crassus! . . . nisi *prius a vobis impetraro* . . . 'ego' inquit Iulius 'pro utroque respondeo' II 89, 362 'nos vero' inquit Catulus 'etenim pro me hoc et pro meo fratre respondeo' Brut. 32, 122 'nobis vero' inquit Atticus 'vehementer quidem, ut pro Bruto etiam respondeam' de leg. I 11, 32 'nos vero nihil, ut pro utroque respondeam.' — **omisisse** . . . **reliquisse**: This subtle distinction is again borrowed from Cicero: de orat. II 29, 126 ut si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut relictum sit, non explores neque te, Antoni, si quid non dixisti, existimabimus non potuisse quam a Crasso dici maluisse. Cf. also Cat. III 8, 18 de off. III 2, 9.

11 **paulo ante dixisti**: Cf. c. 15 10. — **manifestus est accingi** = δῆλός ἐστι παρασκευάζεσθαι. The epexegetic inf. with *manifestus* is found only here, Ann. II 57 dissentire manifestus Stat. Theb. X 759 and in the Digests. With other adj. in Tac. e. g. c. 10 27 obnoxium sit . . . offendere Ag. 8 peritus obsequi H. IV 39 facilis corrumpi Ann. IV 52 properus clarescere 57 certus procul urbe degere. This Grecism is rare in prose; among the poets, Horace furnishes the most examples. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II p. 370 ff. *Stil* p. 63 f. Kühner II 504 ff.

Ch. 16, 14–23 ext. *Before Messalla enters upon the discussion of the decline of contemporary eloquence, Aper interposes with a speech in which he first endeavors to show that the very term 'ancient' is quite inapplicable to the great orators of the Roman Republic, the interval of years between the death of Cicero and the speaker's own day not exceeding the limit of a man's lifetime* (— c. 17 ext.). *He then proceeds to point out that there are no absolute standards of excellence, but that each age creates its own oratorical types, which are determined by the particular tastes and the conditions of culture prevailing at a given period* (— c. 18 ext.). *The style and character of the speeches antedating the new era inaugurated by Cassius Severus, while adequately reflecting contemporary civilisation, can no longer satisfy an age in which the appreciation of poetic embellishment and sententious diction have become keener, and positive knowledge more widely disseminated* (— c. 20 ext.); *hence the oratorical achieve-*

ments of Cicero and his contemporaries, with their dreary monotony and lack of brilliancy, are no more fit subjects for admiration than the uncouth and primitive efforts of their own predecessors (— c. 23 5). *Aper closes his arraignment of the orators of the Republic with a graceful compliment to his hearers, whom he glowingly pictures as ideal representatives of the modern style of eloquence, for which he bespeaks the favorable verdict of posterity.*

14 **non enim** = οὐ γάρ. 'Yes, you are perfectly right in thinking so, for I shall not etc.' On this use of 'enim' cp. note to 1 16 41 9. — **inauditum et indefensum**: The same collocation in Tac. H. I 6 II 10 Ann. II 77 IV 11 XII 22. *Inauditus* in this legal sense is post.-Aug. and occurs first in Tacitus. Cicero says 'indictus' or 'incognitus,' e. g. de nat. deor. II 29, 73 de leg. I 15, 42.

16 **interrogabo**: This is perhaps unjustly cited as an instance of the idiomatic use of the future for the present. See note c. 21 1. — **quam** . . . **determinetis**: A mere amplification of 'quos vocetis antiquos.' Such repetitions, designed to bring out the thought more clearly, are characteristic of Tacitean style. Cf. e. g. c. 24 10 more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato 38 5 nemo . . . sumebat 40 20 donec erravit, donec . . . confecit H. I 62 laetum augurium . . . ut haud dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur I 83 diversis . . . impellerentur II 25 cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent III 2 iuvabit sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere Ann. V 9 vanescente plebis ira ac plerisque . . . lenitis XI 2 corruptionem militum quos pecunia et stupro in omne flagitium obstrictos arguebat XV 49 quis primus auctor, cuius instinctu concitum sit 56 interrogantur quisnam is sermo, qua de re fuisset. Cp. Gericke, *De abund. genere dic. Tac.* p. 19 f. With the thought itself, cf. Quint. VIII 5, 33 at est quoddam genus quo veteres non utebantur. ad quam usque nos vocatis vetustatem ? nam si illam extremam, multa Demosthenes quae ante eum nemo. quomodo potest probare Ciceronem qui nihil putet ex Catone Gracchisque mutandum ? sed ante hos simplicior adhuc ratio loquendi est, and Hor. Ep. II 1, 35 ff.

17 **audio antiquos** = audio de antiquis. Usually in the passive (see note 7 18), with active as here H. I 84 illas . . . voces . . . audiat III 68 nihil tale viderant, nihil audierant Ann. IV 39. 54 XIV 1. — 'Antiquos' and 'veteres' are used as synonyms by

Tacitus and other writers (see note c. 15 1) and hence 'quosdam' and 'olim natos' were here added in order to define 'antiquos' more closely, 'veteres' alone not being sufficient for this purpose. Cp. Peter ad loc. On the relative meaning of these terms, see also Cic. Brut. 10, 39 At ii quidem, ut populi Romani aetas est, *senes*, ut Atheniensium saecula numerantur, *adulescentes* debent videri 41 Themistocles ut apud nos, *perantiquus*, ut apud Athenienses, *non ita sane vetus*, and on their application to the writers of the pre-Augustan period, cf. Quint. X 1, 40 with Mayor's (and Peterson's) note p. 96.

19 **Ulixes ac Nestor**: The eloquence of Nestor was proverbial throughout antiquity, his oratorical reputation being based upon the famous line in the Iliad, B 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή (transl. by Auct. ad Heren. IV 33, 44 Cic. de sen. 10, 31). Cf. also Theogn. 714 Γλῶσσαν ἔχων ἀγαθὴν Νέστορος ἀντιθέου. Sen. Ep. 40, 2. Plin. Ep. IV 3, 3 Laus Pis. 64 Inclita Nestorei cedit tibi gratia mellis Tertull. de anim. 31 quem forsitan Nestorem credidissemus ob mella facundiae Auson. Prof. 16, 22, 22 Et mellitae nectare vocis | Dulcia fatu verba canentem Nestora regem. See Otto, *Die Sprichw. etc. bei d. Röm.* p. 242. — On the eloquence of Odysseus, cf. Iliad Γ 222 καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν Ov. Met. XIII 92 facundus Ulixes. Cicero in the Brutus l. c., also mentions Odysseus and Nestor together as the oldest representatives of Greek eloquence. 'Neque enim iam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus et Nestori . . . nisi iam tum esset honos eloquentiae. — **mille fere et trecentis annis . . . antecedit**: The siege of Troy, according to the calculation of Eratosthenes, which was the one generally accepted in antiquity, lasted from 1193 – 1184. Adding 75 to the 1193, which year Aper selects for the reasons given below, we get 1268, or in round numbers 1300 years as the interval between the really ancient Homeric orators and those of the speaker's own age. — *fere* in Tacitus occurs only here, c. 20 2 31 7 39 6 and H. IV 60, being entirely replaced by 'ferme' in the later works.

20 **Demosthenes** etc.: *Demosthenes* was born 384 B. C. and died on the 10th day of Pyanepsion (= Oct. 12) 322. *Hyperides*, the date of whose birth is unknown, was put to death by Antipater, just one week previous. *Philip* of Macedon was born in 382, ascended the throne in 359, and was assassinated by Pausanias in 336. *Alexander* was born July 21, 356, and died May, 323.

21 **satis constat:** An exceedingly common phrase in Tacitus. Cf. c. 18 18 25 4 Ag. 13. 38. 41 H. I 41 Ann. III 1 IV 6. 74 XI 31 XIII 35 XIV 4.

22 **huic utrique superstites essent:** Aper, in accordance with the casuistical course of reasoning which characterises his argument throughout, purposely uses this indefinite expression in order to create the impression upon the casual listener, that the interval between the deaths of Demosth. or Hyper. and Alexander was much greater than it actually was. See also next note. On the use of 'utrique,' see note c. 2 6.

'Huic' is an evident and easy emendation of Vahlen (*Prooem.* 1878–9 p. 12), for it is ridiculously self-evident to say that Dem. and Hyperides survived not only Alexander but also Philip, who died 13 years before his great successor.

23 **non multo plures quam CCC annos:** Aper intentionally reduces the actual number of years that had elapsed between the age of the great Attic orators and his own time to as low a figure as a liberal interpretation of 'utrique . . . essent' on the one hand and 'nostram aetatem' on the other will allow, for by this sophistical calculation he secures a chronological interval sufficiently small for his present purpose.

Lipsius and his modern followers have either overlooked or ignored this evident purpose of Aper, not to mention that, even if we date strictly from the year 322 B. C. to 75 A. D., the sum total will be only 397, which is, of course, incompatible with 'non multo plures,' etc. Cp. John, *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1886 p. 431 f. and Wolff ad loc.

24 **quod spatium . . . est:** The entire passage is borrowed directly from Cicero's dialogue Hortensius, as is clear from the following passage in Iamblich. Protrept. c. 8, for Cicero and the late Greek author are alike indebted to a common third source, namely Aristotle's *Προτρέπτικος*: *Τί δ' ἐστὶ μακρὸν ἢ τί πολυχρόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν οἶμαι καὶ βίου βραχύτητα καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται πολύ τι.* See Proc. Am. Phil. Ass. XXII (1891) p. 46 f. and Proleg. pp. xciii f. Similar thoughts are quite common in Seneca e. g. Ad Marc. de consol. 21, 2 f. Ep. 74, 10 quicquid nobis dedit (sc. providentia) breve est et exiguum si comparas mundi totius aevo 77, 20 nulla vita est non brevis nam si ad naturam rerum respexeris etiam Nestoris et Statiliae brevis est 99, 10 propone temporis profundi vastitatem et

universum conplectere. deinde hoc quod aetatem vocamus humanam compara inmenso: videbis quam exiguum sit quod optamus 31 omnes quantum ad brevitatem aevi si universo compares et iuvenes et senes, in aequo sumus, and Justin Martyr Cohort. 12 adduced by Plasberg, *De Ciceronis Hortensio* Berl. Diss. 1892 p. 44.

25 **si referas . . . videatur**: The present subj. in both protasis and apodosis is found in Tacitus only here c. 26 2 and Ag. 46 and Ann. III 54 si velis . . . timeas.

26 **naturam saeculorum**: i. e. the astronomical duration of 'saecula,' which is further elucidated by the 'nam' clause.

If we read 'siderum' with Usener, the explanatory 'nam' clause would lack a proper antecedent, for 'natura siderum' cannot signify 'movement of the stars,' which is the only meaning permitted by the context.

respectum: For the pleonasm 'referas . . . respectum' cf. note 11 8. *Respectus* in the sense of 'in reference to' is a 'vox Liviana.'

Respectu, though an easy emendation and accepted by many editors, violates the stylistic usage of the Dialogus, which does not admit the collocation of a prepositional phrase and a simple case, unless as in c. 21 32 and 31 ext. a difference in meaning is involved. This peculiar inconcinnity, highly characteristic of Tacitean style, is practically confined to his larger works. In the minor writings only Ag. 1. 19. 31 G. 2. 7. 17. 20. 32. Cp. E. Kučera, *Die tacit. Inconcinnität* p. 16 Dr. *Stil* p. 43.

27 **aevi**: Observe the variety of expressions for time: aetas, tempus, saecula, aevum. Cf. Quint. XI 1, 10 ab hominibus sui *temporis* . . . ultimae senectutis *aevum saeculorum*. — **in proximo**: Another slight inaccuracy, for 'in proximo' must be taken with 'Demosthenis aetatem,' though it belongs grammatically to 'spatium.' See note c. 15 14.

28 **Cicero in Hortensio scribit** etc.: Servius ad Aen. I 269 III 284 also quotes the *Hortensius* for this identical piece of information. Concerning the 'magnus annus' often referred to by the ancients from Plato downward (Tim. 39 D), see Madvig, Cic. de fin. II 30, 102 Censorin. de d. n. 18, 11 and Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII p. 390 ff. Plasberg l. c. p. 63 f.

29 **caeli siderumque**: *Siderum* is added to *caeli* as the more specific term, in accordance with the usage pointed out c. 9 1. So Ag. 12 infra caelum ac sidera. — **cum maxime** = νῦν γε μάλιστα, 'at this particular time,' occurs more frequently in Tacitus than in

other writers. Cf. c. 37 7 H. I 29. 84 III 4 IV 55. 58. 65 Ann. III 59 IV 27. A few instances are also found in Cicero and Livy. See Hand, *Tursell.* III 599 ff. and Wilkins, Cic. de orat. I 18, 84.

30 **rursus:** According to Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV p. 102 *rursus* is the only permissible form in the Dialogus. In the first part of the Annals, 'rursum' largely preponderates, while in the last six books both forms are used in about equal proportion. It may be doubted, however, whether this discrimination was consciously made by the writer. For our MSS. are very untrustworthy guides to follow in such matters, and the long list of examples cited by Neue II 748–50 seems rather to establish the presumption that both 'rursus' and 'rursum' were used promiscuously and without consistency, although euphonic reasons in prose (cp. E. Wolff, *Die Sprache des T.* p. 10), or metrical exigency in poetry may sometimes have decided the choice of the particular form. The same applies to the use of 'adversus, -um' (cf. c. 4 5) and other similar adverbs, on which see Neue II p. 743 ff. — **isque annus . . . complectitur:** According to the most recent modern calculations, the phenomenon in question takes place in periods of 25816 solar years.

32 **incipit . . . extitisse:** Only apparently tautological, for *incipit* is here practically equivalent to 'sequitur,' in which sense the verb is used in Seneca: e. g. de ira I 10, 3 si nihil potest sine adfectu et incipit par illi similisque esse de otio 8, 3 incipit omnibus esse otium necessarium. Ps. Quint. Decl. 26, 5. 166, 5. 213, 8.

33 **quo nos** sc. 'extitimus.' A common ellipsis in Tacitus, e. g. Ag. 23 G. 36 H. I 37 II 76. Cp. G. Clemm, p. 102 and note c. 7 4.

17. 1 **Sed transeo:** 'But this may suffice by way of introduction. I now pass on to show the injustice of the appellation 'antiqui,' when applied to the great Roman orators themselves.' *Sed* is essential to the context, and ought not, therefore, to have been bracketed by Baehrens.—**Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam:** Cf. Liv. II 32 placuit *oratorem* ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam (260 B. C.) . . . *prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo* nihil aliud quam hoc (the celebrated fable of the rebellious members of the body) narrasse fertur . . . flexisse eum hominum mentes . . . Agrippam facundum virum. Cf. also Dionys. Arch. VI 83 ff.

2 **potest videri antiquus:** Aper having no further use for the rigid interpretation of 'antiquus' is now not averse to applying

the term to Agrippa, although he lived some seventy years after Demosthenes and Hyperides. This in itself is sufficient to betray the casuistical character of his previous contention. Cf. also c. 18 4, where he even includes Serv. Galba and C. Carbo among those who may properly be styled 'antiqui.'

To the argument in favor of the easy emendation 'voletis,' adduced c. 1 6, we may add that 'soletis' is also not in keeping with 'ut puto,' which does not express a genuine doubt, but is used with evident irony. 'For I don't suppose that, notwithstanding your blind partiality for the ancients, you would go so far as to prefer even Menenius Agrippa to the eloquent speakers of our day!'

3 **Caesarem** etc: C. Julius *Caesar* (B. C. July 13. 100 — March 15. 44), M. *Caelius* Rufus (c. 88 — 48), C. Licinius Macer *Calvus* (March 28. 82 — c. 47), M. Junius *Brutus* (c. 79 — 42), C. *Asinius* Pollio (76 B. C. — 5 A. D.), M. Valerius *Messalla* Corvinus (c. 64 B. C. — c. 8 A. D.). On the oratorical characteristics of these men, see below.

5 **quid** = 'cur,' in indirect questions is common in poetry, especially in pre-classic writers, but, with the exception of Livy, very rare in prose. Cf. e. g. Plaut. Amphit. 377 loquere quid venisti (numerous other instances are collected by F. W. Holtze, *Synt. prisc. script. latin.* p. 337 ff.) Ovid Met. XI 622 quid veniat . . . scitatur Caes. B. G. I 47 conclamavit, quid . . . venirent Liv. XXXI 39 quid venisset, nuntiatum XXXIV 61 XL 15. (Cp. Kühnast, *Liv. Synt.* p. 18 ff.) Val. Max. I 5, 3 interrogavit quid ita eo vultu esset I 7, 5 (Dr. *H. S.* II 482 f.). Peter's examples from Horace (partly cited incorrectly) are irrelevant, as they pertain to direct questions, in which quid = cur is frequent in all periods. — *ipso* not 'ipse' because Cicero is especially singled out from the rest. — Consistent usage in the Dialogus leaves no doubt as to the inadmissibility of the collocation 'ant. temp. potius.' Cf. e. g. c. 1 3. 15 6 2 12 7 13 7 22 15 29 4 34 13.

6 **Hirtio nempe et Pansa coss.**: They fell together at the battle of Mutina, B. C. $^{43}/_{711}$. Cf. Ov. Trist. IV 10, 5 editus hinc ego sum, nec non ut tempora noris | Cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari (= Ps. Tib. III 5, 17).

7 **Tiro libertus eius**: *M. Tullius Tiro*, Cicero's Boswell, was manumitted in 54 B. C. and died, according to Hieronymus, nearly a hundred years old. He became Cicero's literary executor, and

wrote a voluminous and eulogistic biography of his patron, the fourth book, as we learn from Asconius p. 49 Or., treating of the Clodian episode. Cp. Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.*[5] § 191. Plutarch, though he cites Tiro but twice (Cic. c. 41. 49) made very extensive use of this work. — **scripsit:** 'has recorded.' The perfect expresses the authoritative character of this information. The exclusive use of the present tense, in citations from extant writers is a modern idiom. Cf. Tac. Ann. XIV 2 tradit Cluvius . . . sed quae Cluvius ceterique quoque auctores prodidere XV 54 ut plerique tradidere. So also in Greek e. g. Plat. Men. 76 D ἔφη Πίνδαρος Lach. 291 b Ὅμηρός που ἔφη. The present e. g. Prot. 339 a. — **Decembres:** Cicero was assassinated in the year 43 B. C., but the day and the month (Dec. 7) are known only from this passage. That it was the month of December, for this is omitted in our MSS. and was inserted into the text by Lipsius, is proved by the date of the formation of the second triumvirate which proscribed the orator, *Nov.* 27, 43.

9 **Q. Pedium . . . suffecit:** This occurred Aug. 19, 43, and from this day, Tac. Ann. I 9 Suet. Octav. 100 and Cass. Dio LVI 30 date the reign of Augustus. Cp. Furneaux, Ann. Vol. I 64 ff. and the authorities there cited. *Q. Pedius*, a nephew of C. Julius Caesar, was praetor 48; was sent in 45 as legatus against the Pompeian forces in Spain, receiving the honors of a triumph in the same year. On his election to the consulship, he passed the so-called lex Pedia, by which the assassins of Caesar were punished with 'aquae et ignis interdictio.' He was in charge of Rome when the news of the formation of the second triumvirate and the proscriptions reached him. He with great difficulty prevented an open insurrection, but overcome with fatigue expired suddenly on the following night.

10 **Statue sex et quinquaginta**, etc :

Augustus	Aug. 19.	43 B. C.	to Aug. 19........	14 A. D.	56
Tiberius		14 A. D.	" Spring	37	...... 22½
Gaius Caligula		37	"	40	...... 3⅚
{ *Claudius*	Jan. 24.	41	" Oct. 13	54	...... 13¾
{ *Nero*		54	" June 6.	68	...... 13⅔
Galba, Otho, Vitellius..		68	" Dec. 20.	69	...... 1½
Vespasian	Jan. 1.	70	" Date of Dial.	75 (4)	...... 6 (5)
				Total..................	117 (6)¼

It has long ago been noticed that this addition does not agree with the statement of Aper '*centum et viginti* anni ab interitu

Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur.' As the dates of the completed reigns are indisputably historical (cp. Violet, *Leipz. Stud.* V p. 172. 186 f. 219. 229), the error was supposed to lurk in the date of Vespasian's still incompleted reign. The various attempts at emendation are enumerated on p. 21. They are all intrinsically or palaeographically improbable, and have consequently met with no favor save in the eyes of their respective authors. Nor does the interpretation of sextam 'sixthly' proposed by Steiner p. 17 note 33 and revived by Kleiber p. 45–48 merit serious attention, as Jansen and others have shown. The great majority of critics have accordingly taken 'centum et viginti' as a *round* number. Cp. Eckstein, *Proleg.* p. 36 Jansen p. 11–18 Violet p. 230 John, *Correspbl.* p. 25 ff. Peter ad loc. This supposition is, however, also open to grave objections (1) If Aper was satisfied with a round number, the carefully elaborate enumeration was wholly out of place. (2) It is not probable that, if 'centum et viginti anni' was intended as a round number, the author would have employed still another round number, side by side, in reference to this very passage, as he does in c. 25 ext. *centum et viginti* annos ab interitu Cic. etc. in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit and c. 26 4 quos satis constat ante *centum* annos fuisse. I am convinced that the alleged difficulty is imaginary, being based upon the erroneous assumption that the words 'centum et viginti etc.' solely express the sum total of a preceding enumeration, for this is so far from being the case, that the very opposite holds good. In other words, the sentence 'centum . . . aetas' is in reality *the pivotal point upon which Aper's entire argumentation rests*, the enumeration of reigns from Augustus to Vespasian being brought in solely for the purpose of verification. This interpretation would doubtless have been suggested long ago, had not the very existence of the Roman belief that 120 years constituted the limits of a man's lifetime been overlooked. The indisputable evidence upon this point, so far as it has come under my observation, is furnished by the following passages: Treb. Poll. Vita Claud. 2 Doctissimi mathematicorum CENTUM ET VIGINTI ANNOS HOMINI AD VIVENDUM DATOS iudicant neque amplius cuiquam iactitant esse concessos, etiam illud addentes, Mosen solum dei, ut Iudaeorum libri locuntur, familiarem CXXV * annos vixisse, qui

* The context no less than the passage to Deuteronomy expressly alluded to (34, 7) proves that 125 is a mere scribal error for 120. Cp. also Gen. 6, 3.

cum quereretur quod iuvenis interiret responsum ei ab incerto ferunt numine neminem plus esse victurum Serv. ad Verg. Aen. IV 653 (from Varro) Tribus humana vita continetur; natura CUI ULTRA CENTUM ET VIGINTI SOLSTITIALES ANNOS CONCESSUM NON EST; fato . . . fortuna Cic. de sen. 19, 69 fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui octoginta regnaverat annos, CENTUM VIGINTI vixerat Plin. N. H. VII 48, 156 Arganthonium LXXX annos regnasse prope certum est. *putant* quadragesimo coepisse Ps. Plut. Placit. V 30, 6 *ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν γηρᾶν.* The same belief is implied in Censor. de d. n. 17 (cited from Varro's Antiquitates, Bk. XVIII) ut traderent historici de Romuli urbis condendae auguriis ac duodecim vulturiis, quoniam *CXX annos* incolumis praeterisset, populum Romanum ad MCC perventurum Flav. Vop. Vita Floriani 15 (2) 2 Responsum est ab haruspicibus quandoque . . . imperatorem Romanum futurum qui . . . faciat, ipse *victurus annis centum viginti.* We may finally compare Tac. Ag. 44 excessit LVI anno . . . medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, which seems to point to the same belief. With the acceptance of this interpretation all difficulties vanish, and we can now also see the relevancy of the following paragraph, which by the view hitherto held lacked all organic connection with the preceding. A paraphrase will make this clear: Cicero, says Aper, is unjustly reckoned among 'antiqui,' for, as an enumeration of the duration of the reigns of the emperors from Augustus to Vespasian shows, the total number of years that have passed since the death of the orator are comprised within a period of 120 years, which, according to a prevalent belief, marks the limit of a man's lifetime. Nor is this belief a mere superstition unsupported by actual experience, for I myself saw a man in Britain (cf. Plut. l. c.), etc., and instances of similar longevity have only recently come under your own observation, ne dividatis etc. — **statue . . . adice**: The paratactical use of a principal clause (here an imperative) in place of a conditional clause with *si* is extremely common not only in the more colloquial language of the comic poets, the Satires and Epistles of Horace, the Letters of Cicero and the like, but even in the most careful prose writers. E. g. Plaut. Merc. 759 cras petito; dabitur Ter. Adel. 123 aut desine aut cedo . . . : te plura in hac re peccare ostendam Cic. Tusc. Disp. I 13, 29 tolle hanc opinionem, luctum sustuleris Orat. 48, 159 consule veritatem, repre-

hendet Brut. 17, 68 muta . . . et adde numeros et . . . ipsa verba compone . . . : iam neminem antepones. Cp. the many illustrations given by Kühner II p. 757–764 (esp. p. 760 f.) Dr. *H. S.* II 213–221 (esp. p. 218 f.). On parataxis for hypotaxis in Tacitus, see Dr. *Stil* § 237, who cites only a few instances of a principal clause in place of a hypothetical one: Ann. XIV 44 sane consilium occuluit (i. e. 'etiamsi,' etc.) telum inter ignaros paravit XV 5 omitteret potius obsidionem aut se quoque . . . positurum, for nisi omitteret. The other examples (H. IV 58 Ann. XIII 21) appear to me less relevant. — **mox**, 'subsequently.' In this sense *mox*, uncommonly frequent in Tacitus (cf. Lex. Tac. p. 873 f.), seems to occur first in the elder Pliny e. g. N. H. XVIII 35, 78, 341. Cf. also Suet. Octav. 47 Nero 6 a quo mox principe. The word is sometimes placed between attributive and substantive, but in other cases it is never post-positive in Tacitus. Cp. Heraeus, Tac. H. I 72.

12 **Claudii et Neronis**: The two Claudian Caesars, who by a peculiar coincidence reigned the same number of years, are here closely combined; the two Julian emperors are also grouped and separated from Augustus, as indicated by *ac* (see following note) and the introduction of another verb (adice). Precisely the same arrangement is found in Tac. Ann. I 1 temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia . . . Tiberii Gaique *et* Claudii ac Neronis res H. II 76 non adversus Divi Augusti mentem *nec* adversus . . . Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem *aut* Claudii vel Neronis. It is in the highest degree improbable that the same and by no means obvious order of grouping should have occurred to two authors independently of each other, and I cannot but recognise in this remarkable parallelism one of the many clear indications of the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus. — **ac** . . . **atque** . . . **ac**: Observe the formal symmetry of collocation. 'ac, atque' joining the various groups, while 'et' combines the words within these groups. Such polysyndeta with 'ac, atque' are rare. Cato is said to have employed them frequently (Fronto, Ep. ad M. Caes. II 16 nam uni M. Porcio me dedicavi atque despondi atque delegavi. Hoc etiam 'atque' unde putes. Ex ipso furor). A very cacophonous instance is cited by Dr. *H. S.* II 55 from Catull. LXVIII 15 2 haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia. In Tacitus, cf. c. 39 16 and Ag. 31 ager atque annus . . . corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias.

13 **longum et unum**: The reigns of these three emperors exceeded one year but lasted less than two (June 6. 68 — Dec. 20. 69), hence styled 'that one memorably long year'; memorable, because so many stirring events occurred within so short a period. Observe that 'unus' in Tac. does not precede, except when joined to a numeral, so always in the phrase 'unus . . . alter,' or to 'idem' (e. g. c. 22 26 G. 24). Cf. c. 34 31 with note and 41 16.

14 **stationem**: 'sixth year of the reign of Vespasian.' In this sense, the word is not used elsewhere. See Dict., Kleiber, Jansen ll. cc. No valid reason, however, has been or can be adduced against the admissibility of this interpretation, for it alone brings out the intended meaning of the passage without arbitrary alterations of the text. The Dialogus — and Aper's speeches in particular — furnish numerous instances of words used in peculiar significations. Cf. e. g. c. 9 28 genium propitiare 12 9 sanguinans 13 1 contubernium 17 29 adgnoscere 18 12 elaboratus (of persons) 19 10 spatia 19 15 odoratus 20 cortina 28 15 educabatur 31 22 collectum genus dicendi.

16 **in hunc diem**: 'to the present day.' So constantly e. g. c. 24 ext. Ag. 30 H. I 30 IV 64 Ann. XII 42. The interpretation of Andresen and others 'down to this very day' is based upon the assumption, discussed at length in a previous note, that 'centum et viginti' represents the exact sum total of a preceding enumeration, but this implies an error which has been shown not to exist, and compels us to place the debate in the year 77, a date rendered impossible by c. 37 7, where see note. Cp. also Proleg. xxiv n. 23.

17 **ipse ego**: *Ego* is made purposely emphatic by position, in order to add strong confirmation to what might seem an exaggerated statement. In c. 15 17, such emphasis would have been of too direct and personal a nature, hence 'vos ipsi.' On the position of 'ipsi,' when joined to the oblique cases of the personal pronoun, see note c. 3 12. — **fateretur**: Usually explained as a consecutive subj. 'so old was he that he was able to say,' but is perhaps better taken as a subj. of characteristic. — On the alleged longevity of the Britons, see Plut. l. c. *ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν γηρᾶν.* — The invasions of Britain by Julius Caesar took place in 55 and 54 B.C. 'Arcere litoribus' and Caesar's own narrative (B. G. IV 20–36 V 4–23) leave no doubt that the earlier of these is here meant. — **Britanniae . . . adgressi sunt**: The subject 'Britanni'

must be supplied from the preceding 'Britanniae' by a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, common in both Greek (cp. Mayor, Iuv. XIV 241) and Latin, and particularly frequent in Livy. Cf. e. g. Liv. XXXII 18 Elatia clausit portas nec nisi vi cogerentur, recepturi moenibus videbantur aut ducem aut exercitum Romanum XXXVII 8 In Gallograeciam miserat, bellicosiores erant XLIV 30, 7 ad Bassaniam urbem quinque milia . . ducit: socii erant Romanorum and analogously Cic. Acad. Pr. II 32, 103 ab Academia, a quibus dictum sit Caes. B. C. I 36 Domitius navibus Massiliam pervenit atque ab iis receptus Suet. Cal. 51 audita rebellione Germaniae . . . si victores (sc. Germani) occuparent. Cp. Drakenborch, Livy XXXIX 14, 9 Kühnast, *Liv. Synt.* p. 61 ff. Madvig, Cic. de fin. V 6, 16 (p. 629[a]) Kühner II 16 ff.

19 **pellere** = depellere. So again Tac. H. IV 46 ne Vitelliani quidem . . . pelli (*cod. Med.* depelli — *Halm*, Lex. Tac.) poterant. On the simple verb for the compound, see note c. 1 18. — **adgressi sunt**: We should expect the subjunctive, but the abandonment of the oratio obliqua is highly characteristic of Tacitus. See notes to c. 25 4 30 17 32 32. Cp. in general Dr. *H. S.* II 442 ff. *Stil* p. 62 Kühner II p. 1035 f. note 2 Nipp. Ann. I 10. 42 and especially the exhaustive discussion and analysis of examples in Pfitzner, *Die Ann. des Tac. kritisch beleuchtet* p. 178 ff. — **ita** = itaque. So Cic. de off. III 15, 61 Lael. 21, 80 (where see Seyff.-Müll. p. 482 : *ita* = 'hoc cum ita sit,' or 'hoc cum fit'; *itaque* 'and therefore,' a *subjective* inference of the writer) Caes. B. G. VI 12 Sall. Cat. 8, 4. More frequent in Tacitus than in any other writer. Cf. c. 1 13 34 18 36 31 Ag. 7 (13 times in all) G. 2. 29. 36 H. I 1 (19) Ann. I 78 XII 22 (16 passages in Bks. I–VI, 9 in the second part). Cp. Lex. Tac. p. 713[b] f. In general, Schmalz, *Karlsruhe Philol. Versamml.* 1882 p. 97.

21 **pertraxisset** = traxisset. Cp. note c. 7 17. — **ipsum**: i. e. cui armatus restiterat (Andresen).

'Aeque idem' has justly been preferred to the many other emendations proposed for the untenable 'et quidem' of the MSS. John objects to this reading on the ground that 'idem' by the side of 'et — et' and 'quoque' would be intolerably tautological. To me this fullness of expression seems on the contrary admirably suited to emphasise the remarkable fact pointed out by the speaker. 'Ecquid idem,' though sometimes used as an interrogative, implying an affirmative answer, as John has shown, would state what Aper regards as a conclusive proof altogether too mildly.

22 **potuit**: The indicative of posse and debere in unreal conditional clauses, is found in all periods of the language. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 721 ff. Kühner II p. 930. In Tacitus: Ag. 31 nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuerunt. H. III 9 quodsi adfuisset fides ... potuere IV 19 poterant, si ... clausissent. 34 si ... maturasset ... potuit. See Nipp. Ann. I 42. — **actionibus**: Lex. Tac. s. v. wrongly interprets the word to mean 'causae privatae oratorum.' The context shows, however, that 'actiones' signifies simply 'orationes,' as again in c. 32 13 and frequently in Quintilian e. g. X 1, 21. 22 (see Bonnell, Lex.) and Plin. Ep. II 5, 1 IX 13, 23. The word in this sense, like actor = orator (c. 26 7) is post-Augustan, for the designation 'prima actio in Verrem,' cited by Peterson l. c., is certainly not due to Cicero.

23 **proximo ... congiario**: The name originally designated a vessel that held a congius (about 3 qts.). It was subsequently applied to largesses given to the people (cf. Quint. VI 3, 52 congiarium commune liberalitatis atque mensurae), or even to the soldiers, though these gifts generally went by the name of 'donativa' (cf. Cic. ad Att. XVI 8 Curt. VI 8). Cp. Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* II 132 ff. Smith, *Dict. Ant.* I 528 f. — The 'proximum' congiarium here referred to is probably that distributed by Titus in the year 72 A.D. Cp. the inscription of a coin in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* VI 353 f. T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. PONT. TR. POT. COS. II. and on the obverse CONGIAR. PRIMVM P. R. DAT. — **plerosque**: 'a number of.' Cf. note c. 2 10.

24 **Divo quoque**: The epithet 'Divo' is here used as a proper name. Cf. Ann. XIV 20 Gnaeum quoque Pompeium.

25 **narrabant**: The indicative is noteworthy only because the subj. was used in a very analogous clause a few lines previous. Uniformity could be easily restored by writing 'fatebatur' with Baehrens or 'narrarent' here, but neither emendation seems necessary. Cp. W. G. Hale *Cum Constr.* p. 122 ff.

'Nam ... duravit.' This parenthetical clause is open to the gravest objections, both internal and external. (1) 'Corvinus in medium usque ... duravit' involves a gross chronological error which we cannot for an instant attribute to the author, as Andresen is inclined to do, for Tacitus shows himself fully conversant with the biographical data of Corvinus (cp. John, *Correspbl.* I p. 8 ff.). The middle of Augustus' reign, which according to c. 17 10 began in 43 B. C., was reached in 14 B. C., but Corvinus was still before the public as late as 2 A. D. (cf. Suet. Octav. 58), and he died six

years later, three years after Asinius, who according to our text is made to survive him! Neither Clinton's suggestion to take 'durare' in the sense of 'florere,' a meaning not found elsewhere, nor Borghesi's transposition of the proper names, removes the historical error involved in 'in medium usque,' etc.; and even granting that it did, it would still remain highly doubtful whether a difference of only three years between the deaths of Asinius and Messalla could have been properly distinguished by 'in medium' and 'ad extremum.' Nipperdey proposed to read 'extremum' for 'medium,' but this is a most violent change, which, at the same time, leaves the origin of the alleged corruption unexplained. (2) It is a suspicious circumstance to find 'durare' construed with two different prepositions within the same sentence, and to observe at the same time that 'in . . . usque' is *never* used in Tacitus in a *temporal* sense and but rarely so elsewhere (cp. Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVI 139 Thielmann, *Archiv* VI 480–507 VII 105 ff.). (3) The information, even granting it to be correct, is quite superfluous, because the words 'ex . . . potuisse' possess all the requisite precision to enable Aper's hearers to appreciate the point which he desires to establish. The entire clause is due to a marginal gloss of some ancient reader, perhaps suggested by the passage in c. 38 16. With this objectionable parenthesis out of the way, the ellipsis before 'ne dividatis,' which has been repeatedly misinterpreted, is now also more natural and easy. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII. p. 338 f.

27 **ne dividatis**: 'This I want to impress upon you, lest.' Cf. the similar ellipsis in Cic. de orat. II 12, 51 'Atqui ne nostros contemnas,' inquit Antonius de sen. 16, 55 senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare de fin. II 24, 77 eae verae videntur opiniones quae honestae . . . ne id non pudeat sentire quod pudeat dicere Ver. II 4, 23, 52 scuta . . . homines inviti dant . . . ne quem putetis ad fam. I 9, 23 sunt orationes quaedam . . . neque ita multae; ne pertimescas. Quint. X 1, 45 facile est autem studiosis . . . iudicare ne quisquam queratur.

The insertion of 'itaque' or 'igitur' rests upon the non-recognition of this brachylogy.

28 **antiquos ac veteres . . . potuerunt** etc.: The entire statement is somewhat strained in expression, but quite in conformity with Aper's style. The speaker's main object was to show that Cicero and his contemporaries were not entitled to the name 'antiqui,' because they are not removed from the orators of the present time by more than an ordinary lifetime. In accordance with this view, he regards the possibility that both Cicero and the modern orators might have been *heard* by the *same* audiences, as the chronological connecting-link between them. This idea is slightly obscured by

the fact that these modern orators are not *expressly* mentioned as the men with whom this close union is established. But this was not essential, because Aper's hearers clearly understand that the propriety of the term 'antiquos ac veteres' was not called into question, unless applied to Cicero and his *immediate* contemporaries, and so similarly, it is to them only that 'ex *horum* oratorum fama' in the succeeding chapter can be made to refer.

For this reason, the emendation of 'recentes' for 'veteres' must be rejected, quite apart from the circumstance that it is objectionable on other grounds, for (1) 'recentes' would require the additional change of 'ac' into 'aut'; (2) the modern orators are not so designated in the Dialogus, being called either 'horum (nostrorum) temporum diserti (c. 1 5 14 15 36 4) 'novi rhetores' (c. 14 24) or 'nostri' (c. 20 21 23 10 26 7). Cp. John's excellent and convincing note to this passage.

29 **adgnoscere**: In c. 3 9 and 7 10 it signified 'to recognise by the sense of sight.' Here the word is used of sense-perception generally, or, more particularly, with reference to the sense of hearing. No other instance of this latter meaning seems to occur. — **coniungere et copulare**: The same verbs are combined in Cic. de orat. I 51, 222 coniungi (so Dr. J. S. Reid, iungi — MSS. edd.) copularique. 'Adgnoscere' stands in *causal* relation to 'coniungere,' hence joined by 'ac'; the *synonyms* coni. and cop. by 'et.' So similarly c. 32 5 scientia nos ornat *atque* . . . eminet *et* excellit. Cp. note c. 4 3.

18. 1 **praedixi**: 'premised.' In this sense chiefly post-Augustan and remarkably frequent in Velleius. Kleiber p. 63, who cites many examples, is, however, wrong in supposing that this meaning was introduced by Velleius, for we find it repeatedly in Terence e. g. And. IV 4, 54 hoc primum praedico tibi. In Cicero it is used as a synonym of 'vaticinari' or of 'praecipere.' — **fama gloriaque laus**: These synonyms are very frequently grouped together. Cf. e. g. Cic. Verr. I 17, 51 pro Arch. 11, 26 de fin. III 17, 57 where 'gloria' is distinguished from 'bona fama.' Sall. Jug. 4. 48 Plin. Pan. 10 Ep. IV 12, 6 VI 29, 3 VII 20, 4 and Tac. c. 7 11 fama et laus . . . gloria G. 37 H. IV 6 Ann. XII 28 honos . . . famae . . . gloria.

2 **adquiritur**: Cp. Tac. H. II 76 cui summum decus adquiritur. — **in medio sitam**: ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται, i. e. the glory that Cicero and his contemporaries shed upon their age belongs equally to the present, because of the close temporal proximity between the two

epochs. — The figure itself is extremely frequent. Cf. e. g. Ter. Phorm. Prol. 17 Cic. Div. in Caec. 11, 33 de orat. I 3, 12 Hor. Sat. I 2, 108 Ep. I 12, 7 Sen. De consol. ad Polyb. 17, 2 (wrongly cited by Peter) Tac. H. II 5. 37. *Sitam* for 'positam,' which is the verb generally used in this phrase, is very rare. It occurs, however, in Cic. Tusc. V 33, 94 in medio sitas esse (sc. voluptates) dicunt. Cf. also Tac. H. IV 74 cetera in communi sita sunt.

3 **Servio Galbae**: *Servius Sulpicius Galba* was born about 189 B. C. and was an older contemporary of Laelius and the younger Africanus. Elected Praetor in 151, he received Spain for his province. His campaign is made memorable by his massacre of the Lusitanians, one of the most scandalous acts of treachery and cold-blooded cruelty recorded in history. Cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* III 8. Though accused in consequence and attacked by the aged Cato, he secured his acquittal through bribery and by an appeal to the sympathy of the people by bringing his children into court. He was elected consul in 144, and survived the year 138. Of his eloquence Cicero always speaks in terms of highest praise, although he was not blind to his many stylistic shortcomings. Cf. de orat. I 10, 40 Ser. Galbam memoria teneo divinum hominem in dicendo Brut. 26, 98 summo illo oratore S. G. Brut. 21, 82 Inter hos aetate paullum his antecedens (sc. Laelius and Scipio) sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquentia praestitit, et nimirum is princeps ex Latinis illa oratorum propria et quasi legitima opera tractavit . . . sed nescio quomodo huius quem constat eloquentia praestitisse, exiliores orationes sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem quam aut Laeli aut Scipionis aut etiam ipsius Catonis ; itaque exaruerunt, vix iam ut appareant de orat. III 8, 28 asperitatem Galba Suet. Galb. 3 temporum suorum eloquentissimus. — **C. Carboni**: *Gaius Papirius Carbo*, trib. pleb. 131 B. C. praet. 125 cons. 120, a man of great talents but worthless character, was the friend and companion of C. Gracchus, whose murderer, L. Opimius, he subsequently, however, when consul, eulogised. The young Crassus successfully prosecuted him, but he forestalled impending conviction by committing suicide. Cp. c. 34 32 Cic. Brut. 27, 103 ad fam. IX 21, 3 de orat. II 25, 106, where see Wilkins, *Introd.* p. 8 Piderit, *Einleit.* p. 20. Cicero praises his eloquence in the Brut. l. c. nam et Carbonis et Gracchi habemus orationes nondum satis splendidas verbis 105 Carbo est in multis iudiciis causisque cognitus, hunc . . . L. Gellius . . .

canorum oratorem et volubilem et satis acrem . . . et vehementem et valde dulcem et perfacetum fuisse dicebat. Cp. Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.* § 136, 4. — **aut,** does not here introduce an alternative, but is practically equivalent to a copulative conjunction. Cf. c. 11 13 comitatus et egressus aut frequentiam 40 3 ne a Publio quidem Scipione aut L. Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent Cic. Orat. 1, 4 in poetis non Homero soli locus est aut Archilocho aut Sophocli aut Pindaro sed horum vel secundis vel etiam infra secundos.

Recent editors, with the laudable exception of Wolff, insert *C. Laelio aut* on the basis of Messalla's answer in c. 25 32 quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet et si quos alios antiquiorum Aper agitare non destitit. But this would consistently require the insertion of *C. Carbonem* in the later passage, a suggestion actually made by Classen, thus furnishing a unique instance of what may be called a reciprocal corruption! Vahlen, *Prooem.* 1878–9 p. 5 f. has, moreover, drawn attention to two passages which show an analogous negligence, if such it be. Cf. c. 21 f. with c. 26 24 f., where Messalla does not conform in his answer to Aper's line of argument, and again c. 25 15, where Asinius is added to the detractors of Cicero, although omitted by Aper, c. 18 22.

4 **merito antiquos vocaverimus**: This marks the complete abandonment of Aper's interpretation of 'antiquus' advocated with an apparent show of sincere conviction in c. 16 18 ff. His final retreat had already been prepared by c. 17 2, where see note. — **quosque alios,** by a common attraction for aliis quos. Cf. c. 21 4 H. I 53 et Treveri ac Lingones quasque alias civitates . . . perculerat . . . miscentur Ann. II 74 consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii . . . aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. — **horridi et impoliti** etc.: The intentional accumulation of opprobrious epithets serves the purpose of emphasising the low opinion which the speaker has of these early orators. These rhetorical synonyms are often variously combined in Cicero and Quint. e. g. de orat. I 8, 32. 49, 214 III 14, 51. 48, 185 Orat. 5, 20. 6, 20. 11, 36 Brut. 21, 83. 28, 107. 31, 117. 85, 294 Quint. IX 4, 17 X 2, 17 (see Bonnell Lex.), Cp. the commentators ll. cc. and Causeret l. c. p. 175. Still other synonyms are 'asper, tristis, severus, ieiunus' opposed to 'ornatus, elegans, politus, nitidus, limatus, laetus.' *informis,* also Tac. Ann. XII 35.

6 **Calvus** the friend of Catullus (C. LIII) and himself a poet of great distinction, was the leading representative of those who in open opposition to Cicero's eclectic style of oratory took the Atti-

cists, primarily Lysias and Hyperides, as their models. Cf. Cic. Brut. 17, 67. In the verdict of posterity, Cicero won a complete triumph, although there were some in Quintilian's day who preferred his rival to all others. In the elaboration and polish of his diction, Calvus was painstaking to a fault, so that his style lacked spontaneity and force. Cf. Sen. Contr. VII 4, 6 compositio quoque eius in actionibus ad *exemplum Demosthenis* riget Quint. X 1, 115 Inveni qui Calvum praeferrent omnibus, inveni qui Ciceroni crederent eum nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdidisse, sed est et sancta et gravis oratio et castigata et frequenter vehemens quoque. *Imitator autem est Atticorum* and Cic. Brut. 82, 283 adcuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitius adferebat genus quod, quamquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, *nimium tamen inquirens in se atque ipse sese observans metuensque, ne vitiosum colligeret.* etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat . . . 284 *Atticum* se, inquit, Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat. For other details concerning Calvus, cf. c. 21 12 25 17 and Teuffel[5] *Röm. Lit.* § 213, 5–7 Schanz *Röm. Lit.* I p. 192 Blass *Griech. Bereds. bis auf. Aug.* p. 134 ff. Sandys' Orat. *Introd.* p. XLV–XLVIII Peterson, Quint. l. c. — **Caelius**: *M. Caelius Rufus* (on the form Caelius, see Sandys, Cic. Orat. 69, 230) born c. 88 trib. pleb. 52 curule aedile 50 praetor 48, a man of profligate habits and unprincipled character. Cf. Quint. X 1, 115 Vell. Paterc. II 68. He was defended by Cicero against a charge of murder in a speech still extant. Having conspired with Milo to stir up a rebellion, he was killed by Caesar's soldiers near Thurii 48 B. C. Cf. Caes. B. C. III 20 ff. His eloquence is praised by Cicero in Brut. 79, 273. The style of Caelius is characterised as harsh by Quint. X 2, 25 (see also c. 25 18) and as not free from archaisms. (c. 21, 15–20. Cp. Teuffel § 209, 5–7. His letters to Cicero, filling Bk. VIII of the Epp. ad Fam. naturally do not furnish any criteria for verifying these criticisms. So much seems, however, clear from the stylistic characteristics of Caelius and Calvus cited above, that the uncouth diction of Galba, Carbo, etc., can never have been to them an object of *imitation*, and when this is asserted even of Cicero, the statement becomes so palpably false that it is difficult to believe that it can have been put into Aper's mouth by Tacitus. Cicero's earlier orations unquestionably lacked the finish and purity of his maturer works, and he himself confessed to have profited greatly from the study of his predecessors (cf. Quint. X 1, 41 cum

se Cicero ab illis quoque vetustissimis auctoribus, ingeniosis quidem sed arte carentibus plurimum fateatur adiutum Sen. ap. Gell. XII 2, 6 apud ipsum quoque Ciceronem invenies etiam in prosa oratione quaedam ex quibus intellegas non perdidisse operam quod Ennium legit), but the high *admiration* which he in all his rhetorical writings, but notably in the Brutus (e. g. 15, 61–16, 66. 86, 295 ff.) expresses for the oratorical excellences of the ancients, at no time blinded him to their very glaring stylistic deficiencies (e. g. Brut. 17, 68. 18, 69 de orat. III 10, 39),—in itself a fact which precludes conscious imitation.

This idea of 'admiration' for the ancients, pervading the entire treatise, furnishes the key to the solution of the difficulty just pointed out. Tacitus, I feel convinced, wrote '*miratus*' in place of the absurd '*imitatus*.' The two words are frequently confounded in our MSS. e. g. Ovid, Her. II 77 Quint. X 2, 7 Luc. Phars. IX 807 Mart. I 39, 5 Serv. ad Aen. VIII 517. Aper pretends not to be able to understand how such orators as Galba, Carbo, Cato, Scipio, Laelius, etc., could ever have elicited admiration, being all so deplorably deficient in that polished and sententious diction which from his point of view constituted the essential and prerequisite characteristic of the true orator. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 339–42.

7 **fortius iam et audentius**: On the position of 'iam' between the two words which it modifies, see note c. 12 19. — The comparative of *audens* occurs Verg. Aen. VI 95 Quint. XII 10, 23 Plin. Ep. IX 33, 4 Tac. H. II 2; of *audenter* only in Quint. VIII 3, 27 (by conjecture), but in Tacitus in five other passages: H. I 79 II 78 Ann. IV 47. 68 XIII 40. In c. 14 12 the proper reading is 'ardentior,' where see note. — **ante praedixero**: A common pleonasm. Cf. c. 28 12 prius . . . praedixero Ann. XI 7 ante providerit XIII 17, XV 4 Cic. Phil. VI 3, 5 ante praedico Caes. B. G. V 33, 1 ante providisset Bell. Hisp. 4 ante praemisit Liv. XL 4, 13 ante praecogitatum (see Drakenborch, Index s. v. ante) Quint. II 4, 28 ante praeparatis Plin. Ep. ad Trai. 67, 2 ante praedixi.

8 **mutari cum temporibus**: On the thought, repeated in an amplified form in c. 19 7, cf. Cic. de orat. III 9, 34 quodsi in nobis, qui adsumus, tantae dissimilitudines sunt, tam certae res cuiusque propriae et in ea varietate fere melius a deteriore facultate magis quam genere distinguitur . . . quid censetis, si omnes qui ubique sunt aut fuerunt oratores, amplecti voluerimus, nonne fore, ut, quot oratores, totidem paene reperiantur genera dicendi? Ex qua mea disputatione forsitan occurrat illud, si paene innumerabiles sint

quasi formae figuraeque dicendi, specie dispares, genere laudabiles, non posse ea quae inter se discrepant, eisdem praeceptis atque una institutione formari. — As the following shows, *formas* . . . *genera* refer to the various 'types' of oratory, usually divided into the three classes of the *subtile* ἰσχνόν, *grande* ἁδρόν, *medium* ἀνθηρόν (cf. Sandys' note to Orat. 5, 20 Causeret p. 151 and Volkmann, *Rhetor.* p. 532–562) which in the judgment of Quint. (XII, 10, 66) ought to have been still further subdivided : Sed neque his tribus quasi formis inclusa eloquentia est. nam ut inter gracile validumque tertium aliquid constitutum est, ita horum inter se intervalla sunt atque inter haec ipsa mixtum quiddam ex duobus medium est eorum. nam et subtili plenius aliquid atque subtilius et vehementi remissius atque vehementius invenitur, ut illud lene aut adscendit ad fortiora aut ad tenuiora submittur. ac sic prope innumerabiles species reperiuntur quae utique aliquo momento inter se differant. — **Catoni**: *M. Porcius Cato Censorius*, born 234 cons. 195 cens. 184 died 149, was, according to Cicero, the oldest Roman orator worthy the name. Cf. Brut. 16, 61 nec vero habeo quemquam antiquiorem cuius quidem scripta proferenda putem nisi quem Appi Caeci oratio haec ipsa de Pyrrho et nonnullae mortuorum laudationes forte delectant 17, 68 antiquior et huius sermo et quaedam horridiora verba : ita enim tum loquebantur Orat. 45, 152, and, in general, Teuffel § 118 ff. — **seni**, here used in reference to the time in which he lived, not to his advanced years. So similarly 'antiqui Catonis' in an epigram cited by Quint. VIII 3, 29. The commentators also compare Cic. Brut. 10, 39 quoted in note c. 16 17 but have overlooked Stat. Silv. IV 9, 20 Bruti senis oscitationes († 37 years of age) I 2, 253 Callimachus s. V 3, 151 Ascraeus Siculusque Hor. Sat. II 1, 34 Ep. II 1, 56. — **C. Gracchus**: *C. Sempronius Gracchus*, born 154/3 trib. pleb. 123–121, in which latter year he was assassinated. On his eloquence, cf. Cic. Brut. 33, 125 ff. Noli . . . putare quemquam, Brute, *pleniorem* aut *uberiorem* ad dicendum fuisse . . . eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem. Grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere toto gravis : manus extrema non accessit operibus eius; praeclare incohata multa, perfecta non plane. Plut. C. Gracch. 3 ἰσχύων τῷ λέγειν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδείς. Cp. Teuffel § 135, 4 f. and note c. 26 2. — *plenus* and *uber* also combined in Tac. Ann. XII 60.

10 **Crassus**: *L. Licinius Crassus*, born B. C. 119 cons. 95 cens. 92 died 91, one of the principal interlocutors in the De Oratore, in

which Cicero's criticism of his eloquence is that of fulsome eulogy throughout. But his style, unlike that of Gracchus, did not appeal to the taste of a later age and hence we must rely almost wholly upon what his great admirer tells us. Cf. the detailed characteristic in the Brutus 38, 143 ff. erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate iunctus facetiarum et *urbanitatis* oratorius non scurrilis lepos; Latine loquendi accurata et sine molestia *diligens elegantia* 158 *perornatus* et perbrevis. Cp. Teuffel § 152, 3–5 Wilkins, Cic. de orat. *Introd.* p. 8–13 and note c. 26 3. — **distinctior,** virtually synonymous with 'ornatus.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 12, 50 orationem et ornatam et . . . expolitione distinctam III 25, 96 de nat. deor. II 37 ext. distinctum et ornatum caelum astris. In a different sense in Quint. XI 3, 35 oratio distincta id est, ut qui dicit, et incipiat ubi oportet et desinat.

11 **urbanior:** Here of refined *wit* and with special reference to Crassus, who possessed this accomplishment in a very high degree. See Brut. l. c. On the wit of Cicero, see note c. 23 init., where the criticism of Aper is less complimentary. — **altior** 'impassioned' a characteristic feature of the oratory of Gracchus, and of Antonius, less so of Crassus. Cf. Brut. 43, 158 non multa iactatio corporis, non inclinatio vocis, nulla inambulatio, non crebra supplosio pedis, vehemens et interdum irata et plena iusti doloris oratio. — Both Antonius and Hortensius are studiously ignored, not only here but throughout the Dialogus, although their oratory had much that would in particular have commended itself to Aper. One reason for this certainly remarkable omission may perhaps be found in the circumstance that Antonius never published his speeches, while those of Hortensius are said to have lost their vitality by being transferred to the written page. Cf. Cic. Orat. 38, 132 Crassi perpauca sunt nec ea iudiciorum, nihil Antoni . . . dicebat melius quam scripsit Hortensius pro Cluent. 50, 140 Quint. III 1, 19 hoc solum opus (de dicendi ratione) eius atque id ipsum imperfectum manet XI 3, 8 actione valuisse plurimum (sc. Hortensium) . . . fides est quod eius scripta tantum intra famam sunt . . . ut appareat placuisse aliquid eo dicente quod legentes non invenimus. — **mitior,** virtually synonymous with 'comis, lenis, dulcis, placidus, summissus,' and opposed to 'vehemens, asper, incensus, concitatus, intentus, fervidus.' Cf. Quint. XI 1, 31 eloquentiae genus mite Cic. Brut. 83, 288 Thucydides si posterius fuisset, multo maturior fuisset et mitior.

Quintilian styles the same Corvinus twice *nitidus* (I 7, 35 X 1, 113) which Michaelis proposed to substitute for 'mitis,' but in view of the promiscuous use of these rhetorical epithets, this is not absolutely necessary.

12 **elaboratus,** of persons, is apparently found only here and in late Latin e. g. Macr. Sat. III 13, 5 cum incederet elaboratus ad speciem. — Cf. Sen. Contr. II 12, 8 fuit Messalla exactissimi ingenii quidem in omni studiorum parte, Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus and note c. 21 37. — **disertissimus** sc. fuerit. The ellipsis of a subjunctive of 'esse' in indirect questions is common, but the perf. subj. is very rarely omitted. Cf. Verg. Aen. I 517 speculantur amicti, | quae fortuna viri, where we may, however, also supply *sit* Cic. de div. II 68, 141 quaero autem cur Alexandro tam inlustre somnium Tac. Ann. XI 35 tum quidquid avitum Neronibus et Drusis (sc. fuerit) in pretium probri cessisse XV 49 nec tamen facile memoraverim, quis primus auctor (sc. fuerit) cuius instinctu concitum sit. Cp. in general, C. Wetzell, *De usu verbi subst. Tac.* p. 48 ff. Dr. *H. S.* I 204 ff. *Stil* p. 18.

13 **interim**: 'for the present.' — **probasse contentus**: *contentus* with infinitive is first found in Ovid (e. g. Met. I 461 II 638), whence it passed into prose, being especially common in Velleius, the two Senecas and Quintilian. In Tacitus again, c. 23 6 26 28 and H. I 36 non contenti ... circumdedisse (omitted by Dr. *H. S.* II 379). Similar examples in Tac. of the so called perfectum logicum are c. 31 24 dedisse ... proficiet Ag. 3 pigebit ... composuisse G. 43 nominasse sufficiet H. IV 73 utilius sit ... audisse ... dixisse. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 256. — **non esse unum eloquentiae vultum**: Cf. Quint. XII 10, 69 plures ... eloquentiae facies. On the thought, repeated with approval by Messalla (c. 25 9), cf. Cic. de orat. III 9, 34 (cited c. 18 8). — **deprehendi**: 'are found.' So c. 30 20 32 14 In c. 3 3 = 'came upon.' In post-Aug. authors, the word is commonly used figuratively in the sense of 'intellegere,' once in Cic. pro Cael. 6 ext. Especially frequent in Quintilian. In Tacitus c. 18 23 34 17 H. IV 86. See Bonnell, Lex. Quint. and Kleiber p. 58.

15 **nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est**: For a similar sentiment, cf. Cic. de orat. II 23, 94 Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, Dinarchus ... etsi inter se pares non fuerunt, tamen omnes sunt in eodem veritatis imitandae genere versati. Brut. 56, 204 atque in his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est,

posse esse summos qui inter se sunt dissimiles and esp. de orat. III 7, 25 — 9, 36, where the truth of the thesis 'natura nulla est . . . quae non habeat in suo genere res complures dissimiles inter se quae tamen consimili laude dignentur' is established by illustrations from art, poetry and oratory. Quint. X 5, 7 si uno genere bene diceretur, fas erat existimari praeclusam nobis a prioribus viam. Nunc vero innumerabiles sunt modi plurimaeque eodem viae ducunt VIII 5, 34 ne, dum volumus esse meliores veteribus, simus tantum dissimiles. The same alliterative collocation of 'deterius' and 'diversus' occurs Tac. Ann. XV 10 in diversa ac deteriora transibat. — **statim**: 'straightway,' i. e. nor does it follow necessarily. Apparently colloquial usage. Cf. Quint. I 4, 24 nec statim diligentem putabo and his inferential use of 'protinus' e. g. VIII 2, 4 non quidquid non erit proprium, protinus et improprii vitio laborabit.

16 **vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude** etc: The golden age has always been placed in the past and the idea that 'blessings brighten as they take their flight' has accordingly very frequently found epigrammatic expression, though not without decided protests, especially common in post-Aug. writers. In addition to the passages already cited to c. 12 12 and 15 2, cf. Menander (?) ap. Stob. 125, 3 *δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμὲν εὐκλεεῖ* | *Ζῶντι φθονῆσαι, κατθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι*, imitated by Hor. C. III 24, 31 virtutem incolumem odimus | sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi. Plut. Per. 39 *οἱ ζῶντος βαρυνόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἀμαυροῦσαν αὐτούς, εὐθὺς ἐκ ποδῶν γενομένου . . . ἀνωμολογοῦντο μετριώτερον ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν πρᾳότητι μὴ φῦναι τρόπον.* Cic. Lael. 1, 4 in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur . . . gravitatis Vell. Pat. II 92, 4 praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur Sen. ad Marc. 16, 9 est quidem haec natura mortalium, ut nihil magis placeat quam quod amissum est, iniquiores sumus adversus relicta ereptorum desiderio de benef. I 10, 1 sic finiamus, ne in nostro saeculo culpa subsidat. Hoc maiores nostri questi sunt, hoc nos querimur, hoc posteri nostri querentur, eversos mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas et omne nefas labi. VI 32, 4 Ep. 97, 1 erras, mi Lucili, si existimas nostri saeculi esse vitium luxuriam et negligentiam boni moris et alia quae obiecit suus quisque temporibus: hominum ista sunt non temporum. nulla aetas vacavit a culpa. et si aestimare

licentiam cuiusque saeculi incipias, pudet dicere **numquam apertius** quam coram Catone peccatum est Tac. H. I 3 non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. Furneaux to Ann. II 88 cites Hobbes, Leviathan, "The praise of ancient authors proceeds not from the reverence of the dead, but from the competition and mutual envy of the living." — **vitio** = 'culpa.' So frequently e. g. Cic. Phil. II 18, 44 fortunae v. de div. 1 52, 118 rerum v. Petron. 111 v. gentis humanae Iuv. III 121, where Mayor (vol. I p. 367) quotes other examples. — **autem,** as a connective particle also c. 21 33 35 17 G. 13. Cp. Spitta p. 147 Gerber, *Kaschau Progr.* 1863 p. 21.

17 **in fastidio**: These prepositional phrases are common in Tacitus e. g. in laude. c. 19 15 Ann. XIII 18 in honore. c. 32 31 mihi in consuetudine est, Ann. IV 6 leges . . . bono in usu (erant). 'in fastidio' also occurs in Plin. N. H. XII 32, 58, 134 lignum in fastidio est. — **num dubitamus inventos**: The acc. with inf. after 'non dubito, non dubium' and the like is frequent in Tacitus. Cf. H. II 46 Ann. II 26. 36. 43 III 29. 67 IV 70 VI 19. 23 XII 61 XIV 43 XV 73. It is first found in some of the correspondents of Cicero, who himself consistently avoided the construction. Cf. Pollio, ad fam. X 31, 5 Trebonius XII 16, 2 and Q. Cicero, XVI 21, 2. It is never used by Caesar or Sallust, but beginning with Nepos and Livy instances multiply, and in the Silver Age, it was a generally accepted idiom. Cp. besides Dr. *H. S.* II 390 *Stil* p. 61 R. V. III p. 460 f., the discussion of Schmalz, *Sprachgebr. des Asin. Pollio* p. 88 *Antib.* I 432.

The MSS. have 'pro Catone.' But 'pro' with the comparative is not found elsewhere. It has therefore been proposed to read 'prae C. . . . magis,' *pro* being the false solution of a compendium (pr.) This construction occurs once in Plaut. Epid. III 4, 85 atque me minoris facio prae illo and then only in very late Latin e. g. Gell. I 3, 5 Fronto p. 95, 4 N. Amm. Marc. XXVI 2, 5. See Woelfflin, *Archiv* VII 124. 129 f. Schmalz, *Antib.* II 312. More or less analogous pleonasms, both in Greek and Latin, are not rare e. g. Soph. Ant. 182 Xen. Mem. II 5, 4 Plat. Phaed. 99a Symp. 179a, (Kühner *Gr. Gram.* II § 420) Ter. Hecyr. IV 1, 17 Verg. Aen. I 347. The emendation 'prae Catone' might, therefore, be plausibly defended. The observation, however, that Tacitean usage in the grouping of proper names demands either 'Catone . . . Appium' or 'Porcio Catone . . . Appium Caecum,' leaves no doubt in my mind that 'pro' is simply the abbreviation of Porcio,' a reading found in the edit. Bipont. and independently conjectured by Helmreich. The rule that T. gives two names only at the first

mention of an individual, or to avoid confusion (see Macke *Die Eigennamen bei Tac.*) does not hold good for the Dial. Cf. c. 18 Graccho . . . Crasso but c. 26 C. G. . . . L. C. c. 21 20 C. Caesari 23 8 f. Aufidii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis. Neither S. nor V. had been mentioned previously. 34 ext. where see note 40 3 P. . . Scipione aut L. Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio. Here L., omitted in the MSS., has been received into the text by all editors, for no other reason than for the sake of symmetry. This design and no other is at the basis of all the collocations of proper names in the Dialogus.

18 **Appium Caecum**: *Appius Claudius Caecus*, cens. 312–308 B. C. cons. 307 and 296, statesman, poet and orator, the builder of the earliest aqueduct and the Appian way. Roman literature, jurisprudence and grammar ('R litteram invenit ut pro Valesiis Valerii essent,' cp. Teuffel, § 90, 2) may be said to begin with him. His famous speech against Pyrrhus (B. C. 280) was long extant and constituted the earliest specimen of literary Latin prose. The present comparison with Cato was perhaps suggested by Cic. Brut. 16, 61 cited c. 18 8.

19 **obtrectatores**: On the defamers of Cicero, see note c. 12 23.— **inflatus** etc: The very similar language of Quint. XII 10, 12 ff. seems to show that many of the opprobrious epithets here accumulated actually occurred in the very correspondence, expressly cited immediately below, both Tacitus and Quintilian having probably taken them at second hand from Mucianus' 'Epistolae.' Cf. Proleg. xcvi ff. 'Quem (sc. Ciceronem) tamen et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut *tumidiorem* et Asianum (corresponding to 'parum Atticum') et redundantem (= nec satis pressus) et in repetitionibus nimium et in salibus aliquando frigidum (cf. c. 23 7) et in compositione fractum, *exsultantem* ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliorem (= enervem) 14 praecipue vero presserunt eum qui videri Atticorum imitatores concupierant 16 antiqua quidem illa divisio inter Atticos atque Asianos fuit, cum hi *pressi* et integri, contra *inflati* illi et inanes haberentur in his nihil *superflueret*. Cicero freely confessed to have been given to rhetorical exuberance of diction, especially in his earlier days. Cf. Brut. 91, 316 Is (Molo) dedit operam . . . ut nimis redundantes nos et superfluentes iuvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret Orat. 29, 104 (speaking of Dem.) semper aliquid immensum infinitumque desiderant, where see Piderit. — **exsultans**: Metaphor taken from a fiery horse. Cf. Cic. Acad.

Prior. 35, 112 campus in quo exsultare possit orator, where Reid cites many other examples.

'Atticus' is the evident emendation of Lipsius for 'antiquus,' as is clear from the context, for Aper is repeating some hostile criticisms on Cicero, among which no such absurd charge as 'parum antiquus' would imply, could ever have been made; it is confirmed by Quint. XII 10, 12. 14. 16 ff., and by everything that we can ascertain concerning the great struggle between Cicero and the Atticists headed by Calvus; the emendation is finally externally supported by the demonstrable interchange of 'antiquus' and 'Atticus' in other MSS. See the variants quoted p. 22.

21 **legistis . . . Calvi et Bruti . . . epistulas:** None of these letters have come down to us, and they may have belonged to that class which, together with their answers, Cicero himself did not expect to see published. Cf. ad fam. XV 21, 4 primum ego illas *Calvo* litteras misi non plus quam has quas nunc legis existimans exituras. Aliter enim scribimus quod eos solos quibus mittimus, aliter quod multos lecturos putamus. But Tiro, his literary executor, like a modern Froude, did not share these scruples. Quintilian has two unmistakable references to this very correspondence: IX 4, 1 de compositione non equidem post M. Tullium scribere auderem . . . nisi et eiusdem aetatis homines *scriptis ad ipsum etiam litteris* reprehendere id collocandi genus ausi fuissent XII 1, 22 nec Cicero *Bruto Calvoque* qui certe compositionem illius etiam *apud ipsum* reprehendunt. The remark of Cicero, quoted by Plut. Cic. 24, was in my judgment also taken from the same source: *πρός τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψας ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν τὸν Δημοσθένη* (cf. Quint. X 1, 24 XII 1, 22), for in the Orat. 30, 104, Cicero speaking quite generally only says that D. did not satisfy his exacting taste.

23 **Calvum . . . Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum:** Cf. Quint. l. c. haec manus (sc. Atticorum imitatores) quasi quibusdam sacris initiata ut alienigenam et parum superstitiosum devinctumque illis legibus insequebantur, unde nunc quoque *aridi* et exsucci et *exsangues* . . . quibus . . . multa et pluribus locis Cicero ipse respondit Auct. ad Heren. IV 11, 16 qui non possunt in illa facetissima verborum attenuatione commode versari, veniunt ad *aridum* et *exsangue* genus orationis quod non alienum est exile nominari. — *exsanguis*, *ἄψυχος aridus*, *ξηρός*. Cicero often insists upon 'strength' as an essential quality in an orator. Cf. Brut. 9, 36. 82, 283 (in reference to Calvus) de orat. I 13, 56. — Other synonyms are *ener-*

vatus (pro Sest. 10, 24 enervati atque exsangues), ***exilis, ieiunus*** (Sen. Ep. 75, 3 non . . . ieiuna et arida volo), ***concisum, minutum*** (de orat. II 38, 159 III 18, 66), ***siccus*** (Quint. XI 1, 32), opposed to ***vis, virilis, lacerti, nervi, sucus.*** See below.

The passages just cited, and the remarkable general agreement between Tacitus and Quintilian, pointing unmistakably to a common source, ought to leave no doubt that 'exsanguem et aridum' represents the genuine reading. The examples usually adduced from Quintilian in support of 'attritus,' e. g. X 1, 27 attrita cotidiano actu forensi ingenia 4, 4 sit ergo aliquando quod placeat . . . ut opus poliat, non exterat, seem to have little, if anything, in common with the passage under notice, and are in any case not sufficient to offset the convincing evidence in favor of the repeatedly-occurring collocation in the text. Cp. also Peter ad loc.

24 **otiosum**: 'tedious, dull, monotonous,' c. 22 12 otiosus circa excessus 'wordy.' Often synonymous with 'supinus, lentus, tardus.' Peterson, to Quint. X 1, 27, renders the word in both passages by 'wearisome, spiritless,' but it is not likely that Cicero and Brutus accused each other of the identical fault. See below. 'Otiosum' is used in particular reference, it would seem, to the *philosophic* discursiveness of Brutus, while in c. 22 it pertains to Cicero's lack of succinctness and conciseness of expression. Cf. Stat. Silv. IV 9, 20 Bruti senis oscitationes and Quint. X 2, 17 tristes ac ieiuni Pollionem aemulantur, otiosi ac supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse. — **diiunctum**: 'disjointed.' Sandys in his excellent account of Brutus in Cic. Orat. p. LVIII thinks this epithet refers to 'the absence of a flowing and harmonious rhythm.' I am rather inclined to understand it of the epigrammatic and laconic style which Brutus, according to Plut. Brut. 2, affected in his Greek writings, for of his Latin diction the biographer expresses no opinion, being no competent critic (Cf. Life of Dem. 2): *Ῥωμαϊστὶ μὲν οὖν ἤσκητο πρὸς τὰς διεξόδους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἱκανῶς ὁ Βροῦτος Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ τὴν ἀποφθεγματικὴν καὶ Λακωνικὴν ἐπιτηδεύων βραχυλογίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνιαχοῦ παράσημός ἐστιν.* This view seems confirmed by the use of 'fractum,' which, like 'dissolutus, dissipatus,' would be synonymous with 'diiunctum.' All is perfectly clear, if we refer Cicero's strictures, more particularly to the *matter*, those of Brutus to the *style*. Cp. note c. 26 3 f. *diiunctum* and *aridus*, like 'elaboratus' (l. 12), are not yet used by Cicero of persons. — **rursusque** = 'On the other hand,' *αὖ*, is common in Tac. e. g. Ag. 29 H. III 52 IV 14 V 4 Ann. I 12. 80 II 39 XI 28 XIII 13. 14.

25 **male audisse:** '*κακῶς ἀκούειν*' (Herod. VII 16, 1 Lysias VIII 3 Lucian, Fugit. 29). Cf. Ter. Hec. 600 (earliest Latin instance) Cic. de orat. II 68, 277 III 75, 305 Tusc. Disp. V 40, 116 Sen. Cont. VII 3 (18) 9 Cicero male audiebat tamquam nec Pompeio certus amicus. By a somewhat remarkable coincidence this phrase is again found in Quint. XII 10, 13 in the very passage in which these criticisms on Cicero are also discussed: ille tamen, qui ieiunus a quibusdam et aridus habetur, non aliter ab ipsis inimicis *male audire* quam nimiis floribus et ingenii adfluentia potuit. — For this classical idiom in English, Wilkins quotes Milton, *Areopag.* p. 24 (Hales): 'What more national corruption, for which Britain hears ill abroad, than household gluttony.' It occurs, however, much earlier e. g. Ben Jonson, *Love Restored:* 'I will no more of these superfluous excesses. They are these make me hear so ill both in town and country.' Spenser, *F. Q.* I 5, 23: 'If old Aveugles sonnes so evil hear.' — **solutum:** 'without the proper rhythmic cadence,' synonymous with 'dissolutus, fusus, immoderatus, dissipatus, vagus, fluctuans,' and opp. to 'numerosus, numero adstrictus, coactus, vinctus.' Cp. Causeret, l. c. p. 130 ff. Sandys, Orat. l. c. and note to 13 42.

26 **enervem:** Probably the very word used by Calvus for the more usual 'enervatus.' Cf. Sen. Contr. I Praef. 9 Quint. IX 4, 142 asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et enervem.

27 **fractum atque elumbem:** Synonymous with 'solutum' and 'enervem.' Cf. Sen. Vit. beat. 13, 4 videtur enervis, fractus. 'elumbis' is ἀπ. εἰρ. — Notice the carefully observed oratio bimembris throughout this paragraph, 'et' and 'atque' being also symmetrically varied.

19. 1 **nam,** marking the transition to a new topic as in c. 2 1, where see note. — **quatenus** = quoniam. Cf. note c. 5 11. — **admiratores:** a post-Aug. word, first found in Phaedr. IV 21 and Vell. Pat. I 13, 3. In Tac. only here and c. 21 24. — **hunc velut terminum:** Cf. Cic. Lael. 16, 56 constituendi sunt, qui sint in amicitia fines ut quasi *termini* diligendi. Without the apologetic particle, pro Quint. 10, 35 certos mihi fines terminosque constituam de orat. I 49, 214 Crassus . . . oratoris facultatem non illius artis terminis sed ingenii sui finibus immensis paene describere.

2 **Cassium Severum:** *Cassius Severus* was born, of low origin, about 44 B. C. He was 'relegated' to Crete by Augustus about 8 A. D for defaming Roman nobles in his writings. On continuing

his libellous attacks, he was banished to the desert island of Seriphos by Tiberius, where he died in most abject poverty in 32 A. D. Cf. Tac. Ann. I 72 IV 21. The frequent allusions to him in Seneca Rhetor, Tacitus, and Quintilian bear ample testimony to the enduring impression which his eloquence made, and justify, in a partial measure, the great importance which Aper and even Messalla (c. 26, where see notes) attach to him. Cp. Teuffel, § 267, 11 and esp. P. Robert, *De Cassii Severi eloquentia*, Paris 1890, pp. 83. Cassius Severus occupies the same position in the development of Roman eloquence that Demetrius Phalereus does among the Greeks. Cp. note c. 14 14.

The opening paragraph of this chapter is beset with very great difficulties, owing to a corruption and lacuna in the text, which scholars have with but indifferent success attempted to solve (see p. 23). The insertion of 'Severum' after Cassium is an evident emendation, for the orator is everywhere cited with his full name, with but three exceptions in Quint. (VI 1, 43 X 1, 22 XII, 10, 11), where the context, however, precludes the possibility of a misunderstanding. 'Qui usque' points unmistakably to a lacuna. Vahlen's and John's restorations give, it must be admitted, a very satisfactory sense, and at the same time account for the origin of the corruption, but the emendation of the former, as John points out, involves the necessity of referring 'qui' to the distant antecedent 'admiratores,'—in my judgment a fatal objection. To obviate this difficulty, it has been suggested to take 'hunc' as the personal pronoun referring to Cassius Severus, but this seems improbable, because the relative 'qui' clause would in that case be out of place. John, therefore, substitutes 'ut' for 'qui,' which is too bold a change. The possibility of a proper interpretation of 'reum faciunt,' which bears all the marks of genuineness, appears to have been lost with the missing words in the lacuna. Michaelis, followed by Peter, Wolff and Andresen, takes 'quatenus . . . solent' as a parenthesis, and omits 'qui usque ad' and 'quem reum faciunt,' an emendation without a shadow of intrinsic probability. The difficulties seem to me to be insuperable, without the accession of new MS. material. Cp. on the whole question Vahlen, *Prooem. Berl.* 1878–9, p. 13 f., and the detailed discussion of John, *Correspbl.* p. 27 f.

4 **flexisse** = deflexisse. Cf. note c. 1 17.

Directa admits of no satisfactory explanation. In the present context, it could only designate a mode of speaking that makes straight for the point at issue, indulging in no irrelevant episodes; but this is precisely the characteristic feature of the modern style of eloquence, as Aper proceeds to point out. Cf. below l. 9 impeditissimarum . . . eximeret 25 expectandum . . . testantur, a fact which both Messalla and Secundus admit and deplore in their replies. Cf. c. 32 17 ff. 38 3 ff. When, therefore, Aper is made in

our text to speak of the ancient style of eloquence as 'directa,' he involves himself in an irreconcilable contradiction, which cannot well be attributed to the author. This conclusion, reached on internal grounds alone, is confirmed, in my judgment, by the significant 'transposition variant' in our MSS., which in the great majority of cases is a clear indication of interlinear glosses. The interpolation itself was caused by the verb 'flexisse,' which naturally suggests a departure from a *straight* course. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII p. 448-450.

5 **inscitia**: The subtle distinctions drawn between 'inscitia' and 'inscientia' (R. V. I 165, note 118 Madvig, de fin. I 14, 46 Heraeus, Tac. H. I 1 Woelfflin, *Archiv* III 565 Schmalz, *Antib.* I p. 688 f.), while possibly true for Cicero, although the constant confusion of both forms in our MSS. ought to warn us against any sweeping generalisations, are apparently not applicable to Tacitus. He seems to use both words quite promiscuously, with a decided preference, however, in the historical writings for 'inscitia.' Lex. Tac. s. v.

'Aliud' is an evident emendation of Andresen (*Emend.* p. 119), for 'illud' would lack a proper antecedent, the previous discussion turning wholly upon the ancient type of eloquence, which Cassius Severus was the first to abandon.

6 **iudicio et intellectu**: i. e. with a clear *appreciation* of the issues involved and a full *understanding* of the importance of the change made necessary by the altered conditions of the taste and culture of his time. As Cassius Severus was an intense admirer of Cicero (cf. Sen. Contr. III praef. 15 f.), Aper's statement must be taken cum grano salis. — **namque** is postpositive in Tacitus in three other passages: Ann. I 5 II 43 IV 43. Schmalz, *Antib.* II 110 errs greatly when he asserts that this particle is elsewhere in Tac. *invariably* found before consonants. As a matter of fact, it precedes a vowel no fewer than 28 times (out of a total of 50)! Dr. *H. S.* II 162 also wrongly quotes Virgil and Livy for the first instances of 'namque' in anastrophe. It is met with as early as Catull. LXIV 383, where see Riese's note, and in prose in Varro (ap. Gell. III 10). Cp. in general, Schmalz, Dr. ll. cc. R. V. III 286 note 431[e] and note to c. 6 7.

7 **paulo ante dicebam**: viz. c. 18 8. — **cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium**: These two statements do not convey two independent assertions, which indeed would be slightly illogical, but the second is simply added, as one of the many phenomena in

which the changed condition of the period manifests itself. This manner of combining a general and more specific idea is peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. note c. 9 1.

8 **formam . . . speciem,** belong closely together, as indicated by the sing. predicate. Translate: 'stylistic type of oratory.' On the thought, cf. Quint. VIII 3, 52 qui dandum putant nonnihil etiam temporibus atque auribus. Tac. Ann. XIII 3 ingenium (sc. Senecae) amoenum et temporibus eius auribus adcommodatum.

9 **prior ille populus:** *Prior*, i. e. of the Republican period, is opposed to 'nostra aetas.' Cf. Ann. XI 24 priori populo, and similarly Ann. I 1 vetus populus IV 32 veteres populi R. res. *populus*, 'listening public in the forum or the law courts,' as in c. 6 16 23 12 32 8 34 30 41 15 H. I 90; = 'audience in the theatre,' c. 13 7 40 5 Ann. XIV 20 XV 34. — **imperitus et rudis:** Cf. Liv. I 19, 4 multitudinem i. . . illis saeculis r.; c. 7 16 vulgus imp. H. I 35 non populus tantum et imperita plebs II 16 imperitorum turba Ann. II 77 vulgus imperitum Sen. Ep. 72, 9 imperitis ac rudibus.

10 **impeditissimarum orationum spatia:** i. e. length of speeches drawn out by superfluous verbiage. 'Spatium' in this sense is rare and chiefly poetic. Cp. also Plat. Prot. 329a δόλιχον κατατείνουσι (sc. οἱ ῥήτορες) τοῦ λόγου. On the thought, cf. Quint. VIII 6, 42 fit longa et impedita (sc. oratio) ubi congestioribus eam iungas similem agmini totidem lixas habenti quot milites, cui et numerus est duplex nec duplum virium. See also note to c. 19 26.

11 **si dicendo quis diem eximeret:** 'Diem eximere' (also Tac. H. III 81), more rarely 'consumere' (Cic. in Verr. II 2, 39, 96 dicendo tempus consumere) or 'extrahere' (Caes. B. C. I 32 Liv. XLV 36, 3 Val. Max. II 10, 7) is the technical phrase for certain filibustering or dilatory tactics by which a speaker desirous of preventing or postponing the passage of a measure 'talked against time,' the Roman presiding officer possessing no power to compel him to speak to the question. Only one instance is recorded in which the presiding magistrate endeavored to silence a member of the senate by ordering his arrest. Cf. Capito ap. Gell. IV 10, 8 Cato rem quae consulebatur . . . perfici nolebat. Eius rei ducendae gratia *longa oratione utebatur eximebatque dicendo diem.* Erat enim ius senatori ut sententiam rogatus diceret ante quicquid vellet aliae rei et quoad vellet. Caesar consul viatorem vocavit eumque cum finem non faceret, prendi loquentem et in carcerem duci iussit.

Senatus consurrexit et prosequebatur Catonem in carcerem. Hac invidia facta, Caesar destitit et mitti Catonem iussit.' The first attempt at 'closure' with a view to checking this abuse was made by the lex Pompeia de vi et ambitu (52 B. C.), mentioned c. 38 6, where see note. Cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* III 919. 934. 985 Lange, *Röm. Alterth.* II 384. 452. — By these long-winded speeches we can strictly, it would seem, understand only those delivered in the 'comitia,' for, if we include the senate, '*pop.* ut *imperitus*' is out of place, if the law courts, 'diem dicendo eximere' is inapplicable, because the time allotted to speakers in a *judicial trial* was apparently limited by the clepsydra, at least as far back as 70 B. C. (Cic. Verr. I 9, 25 legitimae horae). Cp. Marquardt, *Privatleb.* 370 ff. Smith, *Dict. Ant.* I 775. On the other hand, it is not probable that Aper's remark should, for no apparent reason, have been intentionally confined to the orators in the comitia. We must, therefore, add this passage to the examples of inconsistency enumerated in c. 3 20. — *Eximeret* and *videretur* (below) in the protasis, the apodosis being usually in the imperf. indicative, are subjunctives of indefinite frequency. This construction is extremely rare in pre-Aug. prose. In Cicero only de orat. I 54, 232 erat enim Athenis reo damnato, si fraus capitalis non esset, quasi poenae aestimatio, but here Sorof, followed by Wilkins, assume an oratio obliqua. There is an indisputable instance, however, in Caes. B. G. V 35 sin . . . tenere vellent . . . relinquebatur, and Livy furnishes a number of examples. In Silver Latin, finally, this so-called iterative subj. is most frequent in Suetonius and quite common in Tacitus. Cf. H. I 49 II 5 IV 1 Ann. II 57 III 69 IV 7. 46 V 11 VI 30 XV 45. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 733 *Stil* p. 77 f. (who omits our passage), Hoffmann, *Zeitpartikeln* p. 52 ff. — **longa principiorum praeparatio**: *praeparatio*, *προπαρασκευή*, is a technical term referring to the attempts of an orator to render his hearers or the judge favorably disposed toward him at the outset. Cf. Quint. IV 1, 1 (cited below) 72; 2, 26. Aper does not condemn this practice, and it is expressly recommended by Quint. (cf. IV 2 VII 10, 12 IX 2, 17 etc.), but he objects to what seem to him excessively long introductions of this kind, tolerated by the audiences of the Republic. Cf. Quint. IV 1, 62 nec minus evitanda est immodica eius (principii) *longitudo* ne in caput excrevisse videatur et quo *praeparare* debet, fatiget. — *Longa* for 'longorum' by hypallage. Cf. note c. 2 3.

On 'principium' cf. Q. IV 1, 1 ff. Causa principii nulla alia est quam ut auditorem, quo sit nobis in ceteris partibus accomodatior, *praeparemus* id fieri . . . constat si benevolum, attentum, docilem fecerimus. The term is not strictly synonymous with exordium (or prooemium), though often so used, for the latter was by some divided into two parts, 'principium' and 'insinuatio.' Cf. Quint. IV 1, 42. 76, and in general Auct. ad Her. I 4 Cic. de inv. I 15–18 Piderit, Cic. de orat. *Einleit.* p. 65 f.

12 **narrationum**: The *narratio*, διήγησις, usually followed the 'praeparatio principii.' Cf. Quint. IV 2, 1 maxime naturale est et fieri frequentissime debet, ut praeparato . . . iudice, res, de qua pronuntiaturus est, indicetur : haec est narratio 28 nos ducit scholarum consuetudo in quibus certa quaedam ponuntur . . . ideoque prooemio narratio semper subiungitur 31 narratio est rei factae aut ut factae utilis ad persuadendum expositio sqq. — **alte repetita series** i. e. either prolix expositions ab ovo, or episodes only remotely connected with the point at issue, on which cf. Quint. IV 3, 25 Hanc partem παρέκβασιν vocant Graeci, Latini egressum vel egressionem . . . ut laus hominum locorumque, ut descriptio regionum, expositio quarundam rerum gestarum vel etiam fabulosarum sqq. See also Cic. de orat. III 24, 91 quorsum igitur haec spectat tam longa et tam alte repetita oratio ? de leg. I 6, 18 alte vero et ut oportet a capite repetis quod quaerimus de inv. I 20, 28 brevis est narratio si non ab ultimo repetitur. — On this use of 'alte' in Tacitus, see note c. 12 18.

'Narrationum' in place of 'narrationis,' is necessitated by the meaning of 'series' and by the stylistic symmetry observable in the enumeration.

14 **multarum divisionum ostentatio**: On 'divisio' or partitio, cf. Rhet. ad Her. I 10, 7 Causarum divisio in duas partes distributa est, primum perorata narratione debemus aperire, quid nobis conveniat cum adversariis et si ea quae utilia nobis erunt convenient, quid in controversia nobis relinquatur, deinde distributione uti debemus ; ea dividitur in duas partes, enumerationem et expositionem. Over-elaborated divisions and subdivisions are also censured in strong terms by Quint. IV 5 e. g. § 24 f. nec immerito multum ex diligentia partiendi tulit laudis Q. Hortensius, cuius tamen divisionem in digitos diductam nonnumquam Cicero leviter eludit (e. g. pro Caec. 14, 45) . . . vitanda utique maxime concisa nimium et velut articulosa partitio . . . et huius gloriae cupidi, quo subtilius

et copiosius divisisse videantur et supervacua adsumunt et quae natura singularia sunt secant, nec tam plura faciunt quam minora, deinde cum fecerunt mille particulas, in eandem incidunt obscuritatem, contra quam partitio inventa est. On the figure 'divisio' see also Sandys on Orat. 40, 137. — **mille argumentorum gradus:** On *argumenta* which usually formed the fourth part of a rhetorically constructed speech, known as the 'confirmatio' (and 'refutatio'), cf. Quint. V 10, 1–14. 35. Volkmann, *Rhet.* p. 38 ff. Cope, Arist. Rhet. Vol. I (*Introd.*) Causeret p. 53–98 Piderit, de orat. p. 51–61. 67–71 Wilkins, de orat. p. 58 ff. Netzker, *Hermagoras, Cicero, Cornificius quae docuerint de statibus*, Kiel 1879. — The censure implied in 'mille,' is repeated by Quint. V 10, 100 f. has fere sedes accepimus probationum in universum quas neque generatim tradere sat est cum ex qualibet earum *innumerabilis argumentorum copia* oriatur . . . plurimi cum in hos inexplicabiles laqueos inciderunt omnem . . . conatum velut adstricti certis legum vinculis perdiderunt.

Hermagorae: *Hermagoras* of *Temnos*, very frequently confounded by scholars e. g. Andresen and Wolff, with his far less illustrious namesake, the follower of Theodorus of Gadara and contemporary of Augustus, flourished about 160 B. C. and was the founder of a new system of rhetoric in opposition to the Peripatetic and Stoic doctrines then in vogue. It dealt chiefly, if not exclusively, with εὕρεσις, inventio. As Sandys, Orat. *Introd.* p. XXXVII well remarks, 'the very fact that it was confined to the consideration of subject matter, which is independent of questions of language, while it neglected the department of style in which it would have naturally limited itself to Greek alone, made the teaching of Hermagoras readily available for use by Roman students.' See also Wilkins, de orat. *Introd.* p. 46 f. The Rhet. ad Her. and Cicero's de inventione seem to be based upon his work, entitled τέχναι ῥητορικαί (in 7 bks.). Its dry character, owing to an over-subtle ingenuity of analysis, is also attested by Quint. III 11, 21 f. haec (sc. Hermagorae) affectata subtilitas circa nomina rerum ambitiose laborat . . . non est necesse per tam minutas rerum particulas rationem docendi concidere quo vitio multi quidem laborarunt, praecipue tamen Hermagoras, vir alioqui subtilis et in plurimis admirandus sqq. Cp. the exhaustive treatment of Susemihl, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit. in d. Alexand. Zeit*, Leipzig 1892 vol. II p. 471–478. —

Apollodori: *Apollodorus* of *Pergamon* was born about 104 B. C. After teaching in his native city, he emigrated to Rome and in 45 B. C. was selected by Julius Caesar as the tutor of Octavian at Apollonia. After the assassination of the dictator, he returned to the capital where he remained, highly honored by his imperial pupil, till his death at the age of 82. Cf. Strabo XIII 625 Ps. Luc. Macrob. 23. Quint. III 1, 17. Apollodorus wrote but little, but his numerous followers, known as Apollodorei, diligently spread his doctrines. Cf. Quint. III 1, 18 Apollodori praecepta magis ex discipulis cognoscas . . . nam ipsius sola videtur ars edita ad Matium, quia ceteras missa ad Domitium epistula non cognoscit. His theory, known to us chiefly from the pages of Quintilian, was exclusively confined to forensic oratory. Cf. Quint. III 1, 1 Apollodorus contentus solis iudicialibus. See Susemihl l. c. II p. 504–507 and the literature there cited.

15 **quod si**: *quod* followed by a conditional clause marks the transition to a stronger statement and usually implies an ellipsis. Here 'and hence it will not surprise us to learn that when any one' etc. This use of the relative pronoun is found occasionally in early Latin e. g. Plaut. Bacch. 742 Ter. And. 258, very frequently in Cicero, but thereafter only of sporadic occurrence. In Tac. c. 3 10 41 7 Ag. 16. 26 Ann. III 58. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 51 ff.—**odoratus** sc. esse 'to have got a mere sniff at philosophy.' The vulgar phrase is used by Aper to express his low opinion of the crude culture of that time. In this figurative sense, 'odorari' seems to occur only here and in Lactant. VII 1, 11 veritatem leviter odoratus.—**philosophiam**: On the use of the Greek word, in place of 'sapientia,' see note 5 32.

16 **locum** = locus communis, general reflections many of which are enumerated by Cic. de orat. I 13, 56 (where see Wilkins), and III 27, 106 f. Cf. also Orat. 36, 126 and Quint. X 5, 12 with Peterson's note.—**in caelum laudibus ferebatur**: Post-Aug. writers, following in the footsteps of Livy, show a very decided preference for 'ferre' in place of 'effere laudibus' which greatly preponderates in Cicero. In Tac. it occurs but once: Ann. III 72 laudibus Seianum extulit. Elsewhere the shorter form is used. Cf. H. III 3 Ann. II 13 IV 34. Laudibus tollere, extollere, adtollere, which is very rare in classical Latin (Cic. ad Att. IV 16, 14 Hor. C. I 21, 9), is quite common in Tacitus e. g. H. II 90 III 9 Ann. IV 41 XII 11, XIV 14. Cp. the excellent article by Schmalz *Antib.* II 605.

17 **nec mirum** sc. erat. The copula is usually omitted in this phrase, because, as Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 226 remarks, it is equivalent to an emphatic adverb like 'quippe.' Cf. c. 36 25. Ann. IV 40. 54 XII 37. Elsewhere in Tacitus 'dictu' is added, e. g. H. I 79 II 41 IV 84 V 6 Ann. II 17.

18 **paucissimi praecepta rhetorum**: On their introduction into Rome, cf. Suet. de gramm. et rhet. 25, 1 (p. 119 Reif.). Rhetorica quoque apud nos perinde atque grammatica *sero recepta est*, paululo etiam difficilius quippe quam constet nonnumquam etiam prohibitam exerceri (on which see note c. 35 4). The statement of Aper is again exaggerated, for the orators of the Ciceronian age, at least, all had a thorough rhetorical training.

19 **philosophorum placita**: The apathetic attitude of the Roman toward philosophy was deeply imbedded in the national character from Ennius' 'philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis, nam omnino haud placet' (Ribbeck, Fragm. p. 53 Vahlen, Enn. p. 145) down to Tac. Ag. 4 se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse and the late Gell. V 16, 5 degustandum ex philosophia, non in eam ingurgitandum. Cicero himself, who may be said to have opened up to his countrymen the tenets of Greek speculation, had to combat this ineradicable prejudice in nearly all of his philosophical treatises. Cf. esp. de off. II 1, 2 ff. Quint. XII prooem. and Reid, Cic. Acad. p. 20 f. Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.* § 50–52. Friedländer III, p. 669–684. — **placita**: A post-Aug. word. In Tacitus also H. III 81 pl. Stoicorum Ann. XIV 22 pl. maiorum XVI 19 sapientium pl. Cf. Sen. Ep. 66, 45 decreta quae Graeci vocant dogmata, nobis vel decreta (so in Cicero, cp. Reid, Acad. Pr. 9, 27) licet appellare vel scita vel *placita*.

20 **omnibus** = 'omnibus rebus.' Cf. c. 36 7 mixtis omnibus H. I 68, dirutis omnibus. Also in gen. plur.: H. V 3 omnium ignari Ann. IV 25 hostibus omnium nesciis VI 48 ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum. In G. 39 regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia H. II 80 omniumque quae Ann. II 75 omnium . . . quae . . . intolerans Sen. Ep. 5, 1 omnibus omissis hoc unum agis, the ambiguity arising out of the doubtful gender of the termination in the gen. dat. and abl. plur. is avoided by the words which follow. Similar instances are quite common, even in Cicero e. g. de inv. II 20, 61 de off. I 37, 133 Acad. Post. 7, 27. 12,

46 Lael. 4, 13. 7, 23 in Cat. II 8, 18. Cp. Seyf.-Müll. Lael. p. 74 Reid, Acad. Post. 2, 8 and note c. 8 25. — **in cortina**: Originally any caldron-shaped vessel, *cortina* came to be used, by an easy transference, of the vault of heaven (Enn. Ann. v. 9), of the tripod of Apollo (Verg. Aen. III 92 Ov. Met. 15, 635), and of the auditorium in a theatre (Aetna 294 magni cortina theatri). Here it designates a circular place in the court-room which was occupied by the general public, the 'vulgus adsistentium, et adfluens et vagus auditor' mentioned c. 20 8. The judge, the lawyers with their assistants, and the parties in the suit were probably seated 'within the railing,' to use a modern phrase.

The meaning here given (it is practically that of Lipsius) is so easily derived from the analogous uses of the word, and is withal so eminently suitable to the sense of the passage, that the emendation of Ursinus, though accepted by Peter, Baehrens, and others, need not be considered seriously, the more so, as it is inconceivable how an original 'corona' could ever have been corrupted into 'cortina.' For this word must have been unfamiliar, not to say unknown, to the scribes, at least in the sense which is here called for. — Baehrens' contention (*Comm. Crit.* p. 75) that 'vix' ought to be placed before 'quisquam' is based upon a serious misinterpretation of the passage.

21 **etsi non instructus at certe imbutus**: *Instructus* like 'institutus' and 'doctus' is used of systematic training and is opposed to *imbutus*, which denotes a superficial and desultory acquisition of knowledge. Cf. Cic. Phil. X 10, 20 a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus de orat. II 39, 162 liberaliter institutus et aliquo iam imbutus Orat. 49, 165 non instituti sed imbuti sumus. On the semasiology of 'imbutus,' see Wilkins, Sandys ll. cc. and John ad loc. — **etsi non ... at certe**: The same correlation, Ann. XII 39 etsi non proelium at certe bellum. Cf. also G. 33 si non amor nostri at certe odium sui Quint. XII 11, 31 si non magnam utilitatem at certe Suet. Cal. 12 etsi non de perfecto, at certe. 'Tamen' or 'at' alone is far more common. See Hand, *Turs.* I 427 II 604 Dr. *H. S.* II 765.

22 **itineribus** = 'rationibus,' methods. Cf. Tac. H. II 95 unum ad potentiam iter IV 49 duo itinera audenti Ann. III 66 si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum XVI 17 adquirendae pecuniae brevius iter credebat per procurationes. In this figurative sense, classic writers generally use 'via.' So ὁδός in Gk. e. g. Arist. Plut. 506, Thuc. I 122; *καθ' ὁδόν* (Plat. Rep. p. 435 A). — Observe

that 'per quae' is not strictly used for the instrumental ablative, as in c. 24 5, where see note, but in its original local sense with an accusative of extent, here facilitated by its antecedent 'itineribus.' So similarly c. 29 8 per quae . . . *inrepit* c. 32 8 per . . . numeros isse H. IV 7 per altercationem . . . *provecti* sunt, the metaphor being taken from verbs expressing motion. This usage is poetic and post-Aug. Cf. Peterson, Quint. X 5, 21.

23 **vi et potestate, non iure et legibus**: It cannot have been Aper's intention to assert, as might perhaps appear at first sight, that the monotony and prolixity of former speeches were in his day partly done away with, because the modern judge no longer presided with equity and fairness, but substituted in their place arbitrariness and despotic authority. Such a change would not have been a creditable achievement of the new era which the speaker wishes to place in as advantageous and favorable a light as possible. Hence Aper can only be understood to mean, that modern judges did not allow themselves to be tied down to the *letter* of the law, but occasionally followed their own interpretation, enforcing it by the authority vested in their office. See also following note. Peter who, alone of the commentators, seems to have felt any difficulty here, supposes Aper to refer to the trials presided over by the princeps himself whose decisions were, of course, not necessarily influenced by law or precedent, but this is intrinsically improbable for the reason just given, nor is there anything in the context that lends itself readily to so restricted an application of Aper's words. — *Vis* is power generally, *potestas* the particular authority of a magistrate. vis (or ius) and potestas combined e. g. H. III 11. 39 G. 42 vis et potentia Ter. Heaut. IV 3, 32 vim . . et potestatem Liv. XXIV 39 ius . . . potestatem Sen. Ep. 17, 2 Gell. VII 7 Dig. IX 4, 1. So similarly, *iure* 'legal code' is amplified by the more specific term *legibus*, 'provisions, enactments' (cf. Cic. Top. V 28). Both are grouped together e. g. Cic. pro Planc. 36, 88 de leg. I 5, 17 Cp. note c. 9 1 (carmina et versus). — On the quasi-instrumental or causal ablat. 'in accordance with, by means of,' see Nipp. Ann. III 24 who cites the following instances from Tacitus: G. 25. 28 H. I 28. 48 IV 12. 50 V 23 Ann. I 70 II 75 III 24. 27. 43. 48 VI 20 XII 10. 29 XIII 16 XIV 30. 31. 62 XV 65, but omits the present passage and c. 25 28 malignitate, invidia.

24 **nec accipiunt tempora sed constituunt**: Our judges do not bind themselves, Aper means to say, to the time-regulations found in

earlier laws (such as the lex de vi et ambitu, for instance) but they themselves determine, according to their discretion, the number of hours to be allotted to the several speakers. The commentators tacitly assume the meaning of 'accipiunt' to be that the magistrates do not accept the proposals as to time allowance made to them by the litigants themselves, but this seems to conflict with what we know of Roman court procedure. Cf. Plin. Ep. IV 9, 9 *e lege* accusator sex horas, novem reus *accepisset* II 11, 14 nam XII clepsydris, quas spatiosissimas *acceperam*, sunt additae quattuor (sc. a iudice) which passages lend weighty support to the interpretation advocated in the preceding note.

25 **expectandum habent:** On this gerundive construction with habere, cf. note c. 8 12.

27 **alio transgredientem:** Referring to irrelevant digressions, παρεκβάσεις. Cf. Quint. IV 3, 13 quo ex genere (sc. egressionum) est in orationibus contra Verrem compositis Siciliae laus, Proserpinae raptus, pro C. Cornelio popularis illa virtutum Cn. Pompei commemoratio, to which we may add the eulogy of poets in the pro Arch. and the banter on Stoic paradoxes in the pro Mur. § 61 f. This practice, though at times not out of place (cf. Cic. de orat. II 77, 311 digredi tamen ab eo quod proposueris atque agas, permovendorum animorum causa saepe utile est Quint. IV 3, 14 f.), is cleverly ridiculed by Mart. VI 19 non de vi neque caede nec veneno | sed lis est mihi de tribus capellis | vicini queror has abesse furto | hoc iudex sibi postulat probari | tu Cannas Mithridaticumque bellum | . . . iam dic, Postume, de tribus capellis (cf. Anth. Pal. III 46). Cp. Volkmann, *Rhet.* p. 124 ff. Mayor, Quint. X 1, 33. — **festinare se testantur:** Cf. Quint. IV 1, 72 aliquando tamen uti (sc. prooemio) nec si velimus eo licet, cum iudex occupatus, cum angusta sunt tempora, cum maior potestas ab ipsa re cogit incipere and esp. IV 5, 10 festinat enim iudex ad id quod potentissimum est, et velut obligatum promisso patronum, si est patientior, tacitus appellat; si vel occupatus vel in aliqua potestate vel etiam sic moribus incompositus, cum convicio efflagitat.

20. 1 **de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem** etc: Quint. IV 1, 8, is more tolerant of such 'captationes benevolentiae': Quaedam . . . commendatio tacita, si nos infirmos, imparatos, impares agentium contra ingeniis dixerimus, *qualia sunt pleraque Messallae prooemia.* est enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus et iudex reli-

giosus libentissime patronum audit quem iustitiae suae minime timet. inde illa veterum circa occultandam eloquentiam simulatio, multum ab hac nostrorum temporum iactatione diversa VI 3, 76 Curionem semper ab excusatione aetatis incipientem. Cf. also Mart. III 18 perfrixisse tuas est praefatio fauces | cum te excusaris, Maxime, quid recitas?

With the possible exception of Caes. B. G. VI 30 aedificio circumdato silva, ut sunt fere domicilia, neither 'fere' nor 'ferme,' the form preferred by Tac. in his later writings, ever directly modifies a substantive, not even when it signifies 'ut plerumque fit, ut fieri solet,' on which see note c. 31, 7. Taking this in connection with the remarkable parallel passage from Quint. just cited, I have had no hesitation in inserting 'omnia.' The archetypon had cũ, which either stood for 'omnia' as in c. 2 14 13 15 or was possibly a remnant of an original 'cuncta,' but as the compendium was not understood by the scribe, the syllable was dropped. So similarly in Quint. X 1, 106 omnia, though essential to the context, is omitted in some MSS. Perhaps the passage in Caesar is only another case in point.

3 **quinque in Verrem libros expectabit**: Aper sophistically ignores the fact that Cicero actually delivered only one speech in court against Verres (Aug. 5, 70 B. C.), the others having been, as is well known, subsequently composed.

There are in all *six* speeches against Verres, but Aper, according to our MSS., mentions only five, excluding, as is expressly or tacitly assumed by the commentators, the Actio Prima. But in doing so, Aper would be virtually confessing that he was well aware of the purely *literary* character of the other five, which cannot possibly have been his intention, for if his censure was to have any foundation at all, it was clearly essential to speak of *all* the *six* extant orations as having been *actually* delivered, and this I believe he did. The archetypon had either VIINVERREM or viinverrem, which reading, owing to the graphical identity of the numeral and the letter 'i' following, caused the evident corruption now existing.

expectabit: i. e. 'wait or listen patiently to the end.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 36, 166 Potes . . . oratores putare eos quos multas horas expectavit Hor. Sat. I 5, 9 cenantes . . . expectans comites Sen. de ben. V 17, 3 quis non patri suo supremum diem ut innocens sit, optat, ut moderatus expectat Quint. IX 3, 68 with a play upon the word: quod is mortem suam expectaret, et ille dixisset se vero non expectare: immo, inquit, rogo *expectes*. Cp. Mayor, Iuv. XIV 249. In Tacitus e. g. c. 19 25 H. I 33 non expectandum ut . . . invadat Ann. XVI 9 senectus eius expectabatur and so similarly 'opperiri' e. g. Ann. II 69, XI 26.—**exceptione et formula**: *Exceptio*

denoted the objections made by defendant against the statements of the plaintiff which were inserted in the praetor's edict. The *formula* contained the instructions to the judge, setting forth the points at issue. Cp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.*[3] I p. 17 ff. II 480 Pauly *R. E.* III 325. 508 I. Müller's *Handb. class. Alt.* IV 2 p. 691 ff.

4 **volumina** = libros, orationes. Cp. H. Landwehr, *Archiv* VI p. 235–242. — **M. Tullio:** Cicero made two speeches (72/1 B. C.) in behalf of this Tullius against P. Fabius, one of Sulla's veterans who had destroyed the plaintiff's villa near Thurii. The first speech is entirely lost and the second only preserved in some palimpsest fragments. — **Aulo Caecina:** This extant speech was delivered in 69 B. C. before the 'reciperatores,' and deals with an intricate will case. Its technical nature is expressly alluded to by Cicero himself in Orat. 29, 102 : tota mihi causa pro Caecina de verbis interdicti fuit: res involutas definiendo explicavimus, ius civile laudavimus, verba ambigua distinximus, where see Sandys' excellent note. — Among the fifty-five complete orations of Cicero which have come down to us, the pro Caecina ranks 11th in point of bulk, so that the epithet 'inmensa' is clearly not so great an exaggeration as Peter thinks, especially as it is not likely that very many of the numerous speeches still accessible to Aper exceeded the pro Caecina in length. Fortunat. 107, 30 H., also groups these two speeches together: cum exemplo multarum legum probamus praesentem quoque legem ita sentire ut nos defendimus, sicut M. Tullius fecit pro M. Tullio et pro A. Caecina. — **praecurrit** etc: See note c. 19 ext.

6 **cursu argumentorum:** opp. to 'mille argum. gradus' of c. 19 13. Cf. Quint. IX 4, 138 in argumentis citati atque ipso etiam motu celeres sumus? in locis ac descriptionibus fusi ac fluentes. — **colore sententiarum:** *color*, corresponding to Gk. χρῶμα, in its technical post-Aug. sense denotes 'the varnish, gloss or color by which the accused endeavors to palliate, the accuser to aggravate, the allowed facts of the case.' These 'colores' were often collected by rhetoricians. Thus the elder Seneca, for instance, arranges his Controversiae under the three heads, sententiae, divisiones and colores. Cp. Mayor, Iuv. VII 155. But as 'sententiae' is clearly distinguished from 'color' (cf. also Quint. IX 1, 18), it is best to take the word in our passage in its classical signification of 'beauty, embellishment.' The phrase 'color sententiarum' would then correspond to 'color

ipse dicendi quamlibet clarus' (Quint. VIII 5, 28) and 'colorata oratio' (Cic. Brut. 46, 170). *sententiae* here are maxims, ethical reflections. Cp. Sen. Contr. I pr. 23 has tralaticias quas proprie sententias dicimus, quae nihil habent cum ipsa controversia inplicitum sed satis apte et alio transferuntur, tamquam quae de fortuna, de crudelitate, de saeculo, de divitiis dicuntur; hoc genus sententiarum supellectilem vocabat. See also note l. 16. — On the thought itself, see Quint. l. c. § 34 ego vero haec lumina orationis velut oculos quosdam esse eloquentiae credo, sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim, ne cetera membra officium suum perdant, et, si necesse sit veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim quam istam novam licentiam, sed patet media quaedam via sicut in cultu victuque accessit aliquis citra reprehensionem nitor.

7 **nitore et cultu descriptionum**: Cf. Cic. Top. 22, 83 additur etiam descriptio quam χαρακτῆρα Graeci vocant . . . qualis sit avarus, qualis assentator ceteraque eiusdem generis in quibus natura et vita describitur Rhet. ad Her. IV 51, 65 huiusmodi notationes quae describunt . . . vehementer habent magnam delectationem. Totam enim naturam cuiuspiam ponunt ante oculos aut gloriosi . . . aut invidi aut timidi aut avari, ambitiosi etc. See Sandys' note to Orat. 40, 138. But 'descriptio' was not confined to ἠθοποιΐα but also included descriptions of places, works of art, etc., as appears from Quint. IV 3, 12 laus hominum locorumque, descriptio regionum, and Cic. in Verr. IV. Cp. John ad loc. 'Nitore et cultu' are again combined in c. 23 22 Quint. VIII 3, 61 XI, 1, 48.

Invitatus, the reading of our MSS., cannot be right, for, as the context shows, the stylistic qualities enumerated are admittedly capable of exerting a *corrupting* influence upon the judges, but this is incompatible with the meaning of 'invitatus' which in a figurative sense is invariably used of allurements of a beneficial or harmless nature and hence frequently joined with 'allicere.' This objection is strengthened by the fact that 'invitatus' and 'corruptus,' standing in the relation of cause and effect, can only, according to Tacitean usage in the Dialogus, (see note c. 4 3) be joined by 'atque,' 'et,' combining only synonymous verbs. I, therefore, write with but a very slight change *vitiatus* et corruptus. 'in' is a dittography of the 'm' preceding (as in c. 9 29 18 6 Sen. Controv. III 11 ext. Sen. Ep. 40, 13), a notoriously common source of corruption. This error once committed, the 'i' was soon dropped, the very familiar 'invitatus' naturally taking the place of 'invitiatus' which is no Latin word. Nor are there examples lacking, if any be needed, of a similar omission of 'i' in the "inlaut." e. g. c. 25 31 'antiquorum' for 'antiquiorum,' 30 4 'virum' for 'virium.' 'Vitiare' is frequently used as a synonym of 'corrumpere.' Cf. especially

Sen. Ep. 114, 3 illo (sc. animo) vitiato. Finally, both words are found grouped together also in Cic. pro Sest. 54, 115 comitiorum et contionum significationes sunt nonnumquam *vitiatae atque corruptae*. The alliteration observable in 'cursu . . . colore . . . cultu' is so evidently intended to mark off the various elements of the enumeration, that 'nitore,' which destroys the stylistic equilibrium, may be justly objected to. It is probably a mere marginal or interlinear gloss, suggested by c. 23 22, which subsequently found its way into the text. Cp. the very similar alliterative collocation c. 26 8 lascivia . . . levitate . . . licentia and note c. 36 18.

8. **aversatur** is used absolutely also in Plaut. Trin. 629 noli aversari Cic. Cluent. 63, 177 aversari advocati et iam vix ferre posse Verr. II 2, 76, 187 haerere homo, aversari (versari, *Jordan*) rubere.

Dicentem is undoubtedly a superfluous addition, as is also clear from its unwarranted emphatic position, but to attribute the marginal gloss (as John does) to some ancient reader who had observed that 'aversari' is used transitively elsewhere in Tacitus, would imply an incredibly profound knowledge of Tacitean usage on the part of this interpolator, the passages being widely scattered in the Histories and Annals.

Vulgus · · · **adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor**: The general lay public which is drawn to the court by an idle curiosity, is elsewhere in the Dialogus distinguished from the 'auditores' who are assiduous attendants at trials 'profectus sui causa' (c. 34 5 ff.). Cf. c. 23 11 non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit 32 7 non *doctus* modo et *prudens* auditor sed etiam populus intellegit. These passages are sufficient to show that the 'adfluens et vagus auditor' is not identical with the 'auditor' mentioned in later chapters but, as the epithets clearly indicate, the second clause merely singles out one particular element in this miscellaneous audience. Cf. note c. 9 1. — **adfluens et vagus**: i. e. chance or casual listeners who happen to flock in, passing in and out at intervals. In this sense 'adfluens' is poetic and in prose not earlier than Livy, but quite common in Tacitus. Cf. Verg. Aen. II 796 Liv. XXXV 31 adfluente cotidie multitudine Tac. Ag. 29 H. I 36 IV 25 Ann. II 76 IV 62 VI 36 XIV 8. In Cicero, it is a synonym of 'dives, abundans.' — **exigere laetitiam**: The best commentary for the following passage is the 114th Epistle of Seneca. See notes below. — Although 'laetus,' signifying an ornate style, is extremely common, the abstract noun laetitia in the same sense seems to occur only here. Cf. note c. 21 16.

10 **tristem**: A rhetorical term synonymous with 'horridus, rudis, incultus, severus, impolitus, hebes, sordidus, ieiunus,' opp. to 'hilaris, laetus, ornatus, limatus, nitidus, comptus.' Cf. Causeret p. 174 f. Sandys, Orat. 5, 20. — **inpexam**, synonymous with 'incultus.' The word occurs in its ordinary meaning in poetry e. g. Verg. G. III 366 Aen. VII 667 Hor. Sat. II 3, 126 Tib. I 3, 69 Ov. Met. I 529(?) The only other example in prose, significantly also in a figurative sense, is in Tac. Ann. XVI 10 vidua inpexa luctu continuo, so Ritter, Halm, Nipp. and Furneaux; others (e. g. Draeger) retain the reading of the Med. in plexa (i. e. inplexa), but this is not found elsewhere in Latin. Cp. the analogous use of *ποκοειδής* in Περὶ ὕψους 15, 5 *ἐνίοτε μέντοι ἀκατεργάστους καὶ οἱονεὶ ποκοειδεῖς τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ἀμαλάκτους φέροντος* (sc. Αἰσχύλου).

11 **Q. Roscii**: *Q. Roscius Gallus* was born near Lanuvium and died shortly before the delivery of Cicero's speech pro Archia (62 B. C.). He was by common consent, the greatest comic actor whom Rome produced, the intimate friend of Sulla, Hortensius and especially of Cicero, whose teacher he is said to have been (Plut. Cic. 5) and whose speech in his behalf (68 B. C.) is still extant. His art, the result of the most painstaking care and the profoundest study (hence called 'doctus Roscius' by Hor. Ep. II 1, 82) was deemed so perfect that his name became proverbial for excellence in general (Cic. de orat. I 28, 130 Brut. 84, 290 Festus p. 289 M.). According to Macrob. Sat. II 10, he was the author of a work in which the art of acting and of oratory was compared, and Diomed. G. L. I 489, on the authority probably of Varro, says that Roscius was the first to introduce masks upon the Roman stage, an innovation which Donatus, Praef. Ter. Eun. p. 10 R., however, dates as far back as Ambivius Turpio. The studied refinement and dignity which the Ciceronian period admired in Roscius and his great contemporary, the tragedian Aesopus, appeared old-fashioned, stilted and artificial in an age whose taste had been vitiated by the realistic acting of the pantomime. Cp. Friedländer II 445 f. Aper's criticism may possibly have been directly suggested by Cic. de orat. I 59, 251 quis neget opus esse oratori in hoc oratorio motu statuque Roscii gestum et venustatem.

12 **Turpionis Ambivii**: *L. Ambivius Turpio*, a celebrated theatrical manager in the days of Terence and actor in most of his plays. — **exprimere** 'reproduce.' Cf. c. 21 32 26 9 Quint. X 2, 26.

13 **et in ipsa studiorum incude positi**: The metaphor is of Greek origin and became proverbial in Latin. Cf. Pind. Pyth. I 166 *ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν* Anth. Gr. VII 409 (Antipater) *στίχον Πιερίδων χαλκευτὸν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν.* (See Hor. A. P. 440 male tornatos incudi reddere versus) Plaut. Pseud. II 2, 20 haec mihi est incus : procudam ego hinc hodie multos dolos Cic. de orat. II 39, 162 plane rudem his (sc. rhetoribus) tradam adsiduis uno opere eandem incudem diem noctemque tundentibus (III 30, 121 procudenda lingua) Amm. Marcell. XVIII 4, 2 eandem incudem, ut dicitur, diu noctuque tundendo XXVIII 4, 26 ut proverbium loquitur vetus, eandem incudem tundendo Sidon. Apoll. Ep. IV 2 philosophica incude formatus VIII 4 meditationis incus Carm. 23, 130 hic cum semipede stilum polibat Smyrneae incude doctus officinae. Diomed. I 299 K. artem merae Latinitatis . . . sub incude litterarum . . . procudendo formatam. — The *et* is epexegetic. See note c. 7 16. — **profectus**: A poetic word common in Silver Latin. See Dict. In the Dial. again c. 35 10 41 10.

14 **referre domum aliquid inlustre** etc : On the thought, cf. c. 22 14 and Cic. de orat. I 21, 96 nobis enim huc venientibus satis iucundum fore videbatur si . . . nos aliquid ex sermone vestro *memoria dignum* excipere possemus Sen. Ep. 108, 4 qui ad philosophum venit, cotidie aliquid secum boni ferat, aut sanior domum redeat 6 quidam veniunt ut audiant non ut discant . . . aliqui tamen non ut res excipiant sed ut verba quae tam sine profectu alieno dicant quam sine suo audiunt Quint. II 2, 8 ipse aliquid, immo multa cotidie dicat quae secum auditores referant. — On Rome as an educational centre for foreigners cf. Sen. Consol. ad Helv. 6, 2 alios liberalium studiorum cupiditas (sc. adduxit Romam) and Friedländer I^6 51.

16 **sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia**: The difference between these two terms, although not always rigidly observed, is well brought out by Quint. VIII 5, 1 *Sententiam* veteres quod animo sensissent, vocaverunt (i. e. reflections, *γνῶμαι*. Cp. Cic. de orat. II 8, 34 quid autem subtilius quam crebrae acutaeque sententiae) id cum est apud oratores frequentissimum tum etiam in usu cotidiano quasdam reliquias habet . . . sed consuetudo iam tenuit ut mente concepta *sensus* vocaremus, lumina autem praecipueque in clausulis posita *sententias* quae minus crebrae apud antiquos nostris temporibus modo carent. Quint. XII 10, 48 ceterum hoc quod vulgo sen-

tentias vocamus quod veteribus praecipueque Graecis in usu non fuit, apud Ciceronem enim invenio . . . feriunt animos . . . et ipsa brevitate magis haerent et delectatione persuadent. The various significations of 'sensus' and 'sententiae' in the D. are: *sensus* (1) = thought, conceit. So here and c. 23 21 gravitati sensuum (2) = period, sentence, ambitus verborum c. 21 18 inconditi sensus 22 13 pauci sensus . . . terminantur 23 2 tertio quoque sensu (3) = 'communes loci' 32 17 paucissimos sensus. (4) = popular maxims c. 31 25 communibus sensibus. *Sententia* (1) = sensus c. 21 11 verbis ornata et sententiis 26 8 levitate sententiarum. (2) = brief or pointed sayings, *bons mots*, so here and c. 22 7 quasdam sententias 23 2 pro sententia positum 32 18 angustas sententias. — **arguta**: common in Cicero as a synonym of 'acutus.' — **locus**: designates the particular theme, usually philosophical, to be elaborated. See note c. 31 26. This gave ample opportunity for poetic imagery. In the treatment of the 'loci' the *matter* is paramount, in that of the 'sensus' the stylistic *form*. Cp. John ad loc.

18 **exigitur iam . . . poeticus decor**: As Latin poetry of the first century A. D. had become largely declamatory, owing to the one-sided rhetorical teaching of the schools, so oratory too, with no great objects to evoke enthusiasm, sought a substitute in poetic imagery and stylistic embellishment. See on this subject, the excellent discussion in Friedländer III 396. — **Accii aut Pacuvii**, for as we learn from Quint. I 8, 10 veterum poemata vel ad fidem causarum vel ad ornamentum eloquentiae adsumunt (sc. summi oratores). Nam praecipue quidem apud Ciceronem (a statement not borne out by his extant *speeches*) frequenter tamen apud Asinium etiam et ceteros qui sunt proximi, vidimus Ennii, Accii, Pacuvii, Lucilii, Terentii, Caecilii et aliorum inseri versus summa non eruditionis modo gratia sed etiam iucunditatis, cum poeticis voluptatibus aures a forensi asperitate respirent. On Pacuvius and Accius cp. Teuffel § 105. 134. — **veterno inquinatus**: A very bold metaphor but quite characteristic of the speaker. It has been variously interpreted according to the meaning that is attached to 'veternus' which may signify sloth or a kind of mould which an object acquires from lying too long in one spot, having like 'situs' the accessory notion of filth. The adjective is elsewhere thus figuratively used of style e. g. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. I, 1 veternosum dicendi genus imitari Cf. also c. 22 23 velut rubigine infectum

Hor. Ep. II 2, 116 ff. Sen. Ep. 58, 5 quantum apud Ennium et Accium verborum situs occupaverit 115, 7 and so πίνος in Greek e. g. περὶ ὕψ. 30. The sense of the passage is therefore clearly this: Poetic ornament is no less essential to the modern orator than to the poet, but it must not resemble the diction of old Pacuvius and Accius, incrusted as it is with an archaic mould which has tainted whatever poetic embellishment it may have originally possessed.

20 **ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani:** The mention of Horace seems somewhat out of place in this connection, and Ovid, some of whose poems are little more than versified suasoriae (cf. Sen. Contr. II 10), would perhaps have been a more suitable selection. Virgil's great influence upon later rhetoricians is attested by what Sen. Suas. III 5 says of Arellius Fuscus: Vergilii versus voluit imitari . . ., solebat . . . ex Vergilio multa trahere sqq. — Opinions seem to have been very much divided as to Lucan's rank as a poet, as appears from Mart. XIV 194 sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam, | sed qui me vendit bibliopola putat Serv. Aen. I 382 Lucanus ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia videtur historiam composuisse non poema, this identical objection being made also by Petron. 118 and schol. to Luc. Phars. I 1. — Quint. X 1, 90, though granting his poetic enthusiasm and sententious brilliancy, significantly adds 'magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.' It was this very characteristic that caused his introduction into the schools. Cp. Friedländer III 378 ff. Heitland, in Haskins' Lucan p. XV–XX. LXX Teuffel § 303, 5 Ribbeck *Röm. Dicht.* III p. 91 ff. The marked preference for these modern writers soon caused a reaction in favor of the older poets which reached its height in Fronto and his school. Cp. Friedl. l. c. p. 380–384 and note c. 23 7. — **horum** i. e. the class of hearers mentioned above (l. 8).

21 **auribus et iudiciis,** is best not taken as a hendiadys, 'auribus,' referring more particularly to 'sensus,' etc., and 'iudiciis' to 'locus,' etc.

22 **aetas pulchrior et ornatior extitit** etc.: Among the prose writers of the first century, whose works have been preserved, Aper's stylistic ideal may be found in Seneca, who, owing to the unique contradiction between performance and precept which distinguishes this literary genius, has himself severely condemned the very style of which he was the foremost representative and

which Quintilian combatted all his life. Cp. the 114th Epistle throughout and, besides Quintilian's famous criticism of Seneca in Bk X 1, 125–130, esp. II 5, 21 Duo autem genera maxime cavenda pueris puto: unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit, fient enim horridi atque ieiuni: nam neque vim eorum adhuc intellectu consequentur et elocutione quae tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena est contenti... alterum... ne recentis huius lasciviae flosculis capti voluptate prava deleniantur. IX 4, 142 si sit necesse, duram potius atque asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et enervem qualis apud multos et cotidie magis, lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat and XII 10, 73 ff. Falluntur enim plurimum qui vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus quod aut verborum licentia exultat aut puerilibus sententiolis lascivit ... aut casuris ... flosculis nitet ... magis existimant populare ... quod quidem placere multis ... est enim iucunda auri ac favorabilis qualiscunque eloquentia ... ubi vero quid exquisitius dictum accidit auribus imperitorum ... habet admirationem.

23 **cum voluptate perveniunt**: Cf. note c. 7 10 cum gratia venit. —**quid enim si** = τί γὰρ εἰ (Xen. Mem. II 6, 2). An ellipsis is implied as usual. 'To deny this and to contend that by adopting the style described we should nevertheless be unduly sacrificing sense to sound or matter to form, were as unwarranted an assertion as if,' etc.

26 **marmore nitent et auro radiantur**: *Radiantur*, as 'nitent' shows, must be taken as an intrans. middle = fulgent. Cf. Ov. Ep. ex Pont. III 4, 103 galeae gemmis radientur et auro and so similarly 'radiatus.' See Dict. For similar phrases, cf. Sen. ad Helv. 10, 7 quorum tecta nondum auro fulgebant, quorum templa nondum gemmis nitebant Ep. 90, 25 quid loquar quibus templa ... fulgent. This eulogy of the architectural beauty of imperial Rome recalls the boast of Augustus preserved by Suet. Octav. 28 marmoream se relinquere (sc. Romam) quam latericiam accepisset.

21. 1 **fatebor** = fateor. This usage is common, especially in the comic poets but with the exception of Plaut. Trin. 608, where most critics read 'dicis' for 'dices' of the MSS., it seems to be confined to the first person singular. Cf. e. g. Plaut. Mil. Gl. 397 cen-

sebo 1202 sperabo Cic. Mur. 28, 58 deprecabor 30, 63 de domo 8, 18 respondebo Hor. A. P. 317 iubebo C. III 2, 26 vetabo Ov. Ibis 129 putabo Cic. pro Planc. 36, 89 Plin. Ep. VII 33, 1 IX 23, 5 fatebor. Cf. in Greek e. g. Arist. Nub. 261 οὐ ψεύσει γέ με. The following passages in the Dialogus: c. 8 27 29 13 invenies 12 23 reperies 16 16 interrogabo 32 25 nominabo and Plin. Ep. IX 34, 2 pronuntiabit do not appear to be illustrations in point. Cp. Teuffel, *Fleck. Jahrb.* CV 668. 831 ff., overlooked by R. V. III 347 note 452. — **simpliciter** = ἁπλῶς, frankly. So c. 25 29 H. I 15 III 53 Ann. IV 40 XVI 18; = 'unsuspecting': G. 22 H. III 86 IV 86 Ann. I 69 VI 15. — **in quibusdam**: *Quibusdam* is here undoubtedly neuter, not masc. (sc. oratoribus), as Peter contends, for (1) the so-called *in* 'de scriptore' does not occur elsewhere in Tacitus. (2) Even if it did, consistent usage would here require 'apud,' inasmuch as Aper does not include the entire works of the ancient orators in his otherwise sweeping condemnation, but expressly exempts some of the speeches of Calvus. Cp. note c. 9 6.

2 **risum . . . somnum tenere**: Cf. Cic. Brut. 85, 293 equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam. (Here quibusdam is also neuter and refers to Cicero's exaggerated estimates of some of the old Roman orators, such as Cato) 80, 278 tantum abfuit ut inflammares nostros animos, somnum isto loco vix tenebamus. Hor. A. P. 104 male si mandata loqueris aut dormitabo aut ridebo. Our passage is a clear reminiscence of the Ciceronian phrases, which also show that 'tenere' is not, as earlier editors erroneously maintained, joined by zeugma to 'somnum.'

3 **nec unum de populo** etc: The meaning of this deplorably mutilated passage seems clear. Aper boldly declares that his censure is not meant to apply merely to obscure third or fourth-class orators, whose desiccated style nevertheless found supporters, but to the most eminent as well. *Unum de populo*, like τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἷς (Lucian, Somn. 9), is equivalent to what Cicero in the Brutus (quoted below) in much stronger language called the dregs of eloquence. What little we know of the orators here presumably stigmatised, for the names themselves are corrupted, has been collected and exhaustively discussed by Nipperdey, *Rh. Mus.* XIX 559–568 (= Opusc. 302 ff.), from whom the following data are taken. **Canutius** is undoubtedly identical with P. Canutius frequently praised in Cic. pro Cluentio e. g. 10, 29 homine eloquentis-

simo 18, 50 homo in primis ingeniosus et in dicendo exercitatus. Cf. also Brut. 56, 205 Sulpici orationes quae feruntur, eas post mortem eius scripsisse P. Canutius putatur, aequalis meus, homo extra nostrum ordinem meo iudicio disertissimus.—**Arrius**: This is the reading proposed by Gronovius on the basis of a passage in Cic. Brut. 69, 242, in which one Q. Arrius, in spite of his oratorical mediocrity, is dealt with at some length, which draws from Atticus the impatient remark 'tu quidem de *faece* hauris.' He was praetor in 72 B. C. and was appointed to succeed Verres, but remained in Italy on account of the slave war in which he took a prominent part. He is probably the same individual mentioned by Plut. Cic. 15 Κόϊντος Ἄρριος, ἀνὴρ στρατηγικός. He was defeated for the consulship (59 B. C.) and appeared as the opponent of Cicero in the trial of Milo (52 B. C.), but was himself accused, probably de ambitu, in the same year.—**Furnius**: He was identified by Gronovius with an orator of that name in Cic. ad fam. X, 25. 26 ad Att. IX 6, but, according to Hieron. Chron. ad ann. Abrah. 1980/36 B. C., there were two Furnii, father and son, both distinguished orators. The father, a friend of Cicero and opponent of Antony, is frequently referred to in Cicero's correspondence and elsewhere, and is very probably the person alluded to by Aper. His eloquence, in striking contrast to the low opinion expressed of him here, is extravagantly eulogised in a passage of Plut. Ant. 58 Φουρνίου δὲ λέγοντος, ὃς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων.—**Toranius**: Only two of the three or possibly four contemporaries of Cicero of that name are available, but we know too little of them to arrive at any even adequately plausible identification.

4 **in eodem valetudinario** 'infirmary' sc. ὄντας or versantes (iacentes or laborantes—Weinkauff). On this ellipsis of the participle, cf. note c. 9 20. The phrase was proverbial. Cf. Sen. Ep. 27, 1 tamquam in eodem valetudinario iaceam de communi tecum malo conloquor Hor. Sat. II 3, 121 maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem. So similarly in Greek e. g. Zenob. 3, 56 εἰς ἀσθενοῦντα ἀσθενῶν ἐλήλυθα Eustath. p. 1757 τὴν ἐμὴν κάμνεις νόσον.—**ob haec ossa et hanc maciem**: Rhetorical or stylistic characteristics are very frequently illustrated by metaphors taken from the human body, particularly its arms, sinews, muscles, bones, flesh and blood. Cp. the long list of examples given by Mayor, Quint. X 1, 33. 60. For especially elaborated instances, see e. g. c. 21 33 Quint. VIII pr. 18 ff.

With the present passage, cf. Quint. Prooem. 24 omnem sucum ingenii bibunt et *ossa detegunt* II 4, 9 macies illis pro sanitate et iudicii loco infirmitas est V 12, 6 si non nudos et velut carne spoliatos artus ostenderint Cic. Brut. 17, 68 utinam imitarentur nec ossa solum sed etiam sanguinem (on the Atticists).

This hopelessly corrupt passage has exercised the ingenuity of critics from the time of Lipsius, but none of the emendations hitherto offered, not excluding the one adopted in the text, are entirely convincing or free from objections. For the older attempts at restoration, see Schulze's edition, Exc. III p. 171–174, and Walther (Eckstein) ad loc.

5 **ipse**: On the ellipsis of *sed*, cp. note c. 6 10.

6 **libros** = orationes, cp. note c. 3 2. — **vix in una aut altera oratiuncula** i. e. in one or the other speech, picked out at random. On the necessity of *aut* for *et*, cf. note c. 9 20. So always when 'vix' is added e. g. Plin. Ep. V 20, 5 vix uni aut alteri . . . contigit Tac. G. 9, 6 vix uni alterive. — The diminutive is here used by way of disparagement.

7 **nec dissentire ceteros** etc: This statement cannot well have been put into the mouth of Aper, if it were true, as Reuter, *De Quint. libro qui fuit de causis corr. eloq.* p. 71 contends, that the Dialogus was written shortly before the death of Domitian, i. e. after the publication of the Institutio, for we there read X 1, 115 *inveni qui Calvum praeferrent omnibus* etc. (cited in full c. 18 6) a preference certainly not based on the Vatiniana alone. I, therefore, suspect that this reaction in favor of Calvus and the Atticists had not yet taken place at the time when Aper's words are supposed to have been uttered. And as Tacitus has not been guilty of any anachronisms in the Dialogus, there will have been an interval of nearly twenty years between it and Quintilian's remark, a period sufficiently long to allow of the variations in oratorical criticism here implied. On *hoc meo*, cf. c. 4 1. — **quotus quisque** 'how few,' cf. note c. 10 6.

8 **Calvi** sc. libros or orationes. This ellipsis is rare, except after numerals. Cf. Cic. ad Att. XII 23, 2 ex Apollodori XIII 32, 3 eum video in Libonis praetorem Orat. 70, 233 sume de Gracchi apud censores, a passage which unfortunately escaped Reid, for it would have prevented him, on his own admission, from inserting 'ea' in Acad. Post. 4, 13 quae contra Philonis, Antiochus scripserit. Occasional instances are also found in very late Latin e. g.

Tertull. adv. Iud. 13 and Albinus c. 5 (= Rhet. Lat. Min. p. 527, 2 H.) in Regum legitur. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 62. 485 and esp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* II 371. — **in Asitium**: Probably identical with P. Asitius who was indicted for the murder of an Egyptian ambassador and successfully defended by Cicero, see ad Att. IV 15, 8. 16, 5 ad Quint. frat. II 16, 3. In both of these trials, Calvus, as we learn from this passage, appeared as the accuser.

9 **studiosorum**, used absolutely as a substantive, is chiefly post-Aug., but also found in Cicero e. g. de opt. gen. 5, 13 laborem utilem studiosis. Cp. *Antib.* II p. 554 f.

10 **in Vatinium**: *P. Vatinius*, one of the most prominent figures in the last days of the Republic, a man of unscrupulous character, and the servile partisan of Caesar in all his ambitious projects. Cicero attacked him in a speech full of virulent invective which has come down to us. Calvus' speeches against him, at least three in number (as shown by 'secunda'), are generally assigned to the years 58, 56, 54, B. C. The exact chronology is, however, a matter of controversy. The first trial was never held, being broken up by an armed force, and from certain passages in Cicero's letters it has been argued that there were two trials in 54, in which case the speech referred to here would be the first of that year, and not that of the year 56. See Peter's note. It is, however, equally possible that Calvus subsequently wrote out the speech which he had been prevented from delivering, just as Cicero did in the case of Verres. Cf. also note c. 34 35. — On Vatinius in general, Drumann, *Röm. Gesch.* V, 682, Smith *Biogr. Dict.* III p. 1233–1235. These oratorical masterpieces of Calvus are frequently quoted by Quintilian, grammarians and rhetoricians, and his sensational eloquence on one occasion (cf. Sen. Contr. VII 4, 8) has been immortalised in a well-known poem of Catullus (C. LIII, where see Ellis' commentary). Cp. also Sandys' Orat. p. XLVI.

11 **verbis ornata et sententiis**: Both the style and substance of the speech i. e. the thoughts as well as the language in which they are presented satisfy the requirements of the modern type of oratory. With the phrase itself, cf. Cic. de orat. I 49, 213 et verbis ad audiendum iucundis et sententiis ad probandum adcommodatis uti possit III 52, 200 tum denique hic nobis orator ita conformandus est et verbis et sententiis Brut. 79, 275 erant autem et verborum et sententiarum illa lumina.

John ad loc. takes 'et' in the sense of 'et etiam,' on the ground that 'sententiae' like 'sensus' includes both form and matter, but in that case 'verborum' would be quite superfluous, nor does the context, in my judgment, admit of a special emphasis on 'sententiae.' The word seems to be here used in its ordinary sense, and therefore naturally joined to 'verba,' as in the analogous Ciceronian passages quoted above, which in turn lend some support to Andresen's suggestion that an 'et' was accidentally omitted after 'enim.'

12 **auribus . . . adcommodata**: Virtually the same phrase is applied to Seneca by Tac. Ann. XIII 3 oratio a Seneca composita multum *cultus* (sc. praetulit) ut fuit illi viro ingenium *amoenum et temporis eius auribus adcommodatum.* Cf. also Cic. de orat. II 38, 159 oratio multitudinis auribus est adcommodanda. — **ipsum quoque**: i. e. one would not be led to expect this knowledge in one whose speeches so rarely furnished any evidence of its existence.

13 **quo minus** after 'deesse' also in Tac. Ann. XIV 39 nec defuit Polyclitus, quominus . . . incederet Cic. de rep. III 30 ext. duas sibi res, quominus in vulgus et in foro diceret, defuisse. On 'quominus' = quin, cp. note c. 3 5. — **cultius**: In the sense of 'elegant' the word is extremely rare, and in a figurative sense generally only poetic and post-Aug. Cf. Sen. Suas. 4 extr. nemo videretur dixisse cultius Quint. VIII 3, 7 culte dicentibus Plin. Ep. V 20, 6 dixit . . . culte — 'sublimius' and 'cultius' correspond chiastically to 'verbis' and 'sententiis.'

14 **ingenium ac vires**: Hendiadys. Cf. c. 8 9 ingenii viribus 21 ext. 37 22 vis ingenii. 'Voluntas,' often nearly allied in meaning to 'iudicium,' is not uncommonly opposed to 'ingenium.' Cf. e. g. c. 25 22 quamvis in diversis *ingeniis* esse quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem Cic. de rep. III 8, 12 nec vero illis aut voluntas defuit . . . aut ingenium.

15 **nempe** 'of course.' Cp. note c. 9 10.

16 **nitorem**: Synonymous with 'ornatus, pulchritudo, cultus, laetitia,' opp. to 'sordes' (cf. Sen. Ep. 114, 13 f.). — **altitudinem** = sublimitas, ὕψος. Cf. c. 31 28 and Cic. Brut. 17, 67 elatione atque altitudine orationis suae. Not elsewhere used of style, although 'altus' in this sense is quite common. Tacitus frequently uses and sometimes even coins abstract nouns with the figurative signification that otherwise belonged only to the corresponding adjective. Cf. e. g. c. 20 9 21 38 laetitia (laetus) 21 17 sordes (sordidus) 22 25 scurrilitas (scurrilis) 26 tepor, lentitudo (tepidus, lentus) 23, 24 planitas (planus).

17 **sordes reliquae verborum**: Cp. Fronto p. 158 v. sordes.

'Illae,' though yielding a perfectly satisfactory sense, can, nevertheless, not be considered as the original, for it leaves us utterly at a loss to account for the variant 'regule' in AB. I cannot but regard this word (with M. Sorof) as a corruption of 'reliquae,' due to metathesis, a well-known source of error. The emendation has been objected to on the ground that in the foregoing nothing had been said of other stylistic blemishes of Caelius, but this slight inconsistency is no greater than the similarly illogical use of 'alius,' on which see crit. note c. 30 26. The subsequent mention of Caelius' shortcomings had, moreover, in a measure been foreshadowed by 'sive *partes* earum.'

hians compositio: *compositio* like *σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων* refers to the harmonious structure of words and phrases. Cf. Rhet. ad Heren. IV 12, 18 c. est verborum constructio quae facit omnes partes orationis aequabiliter perpolitas. In general, it includes the whole subject of prose rhythm (Quint. IX 4, 1–147). By the addition of 'hians,' the term receives a more restricted meaning, being equivalent to 'vocalium or verborum concursus, *τῶν φωνηέντων σύγκρουσις*, on which see Quint. VIII 6, 62 and Cic. Orat. 23, 77. 44, 151 with Sandys' notes. — **inconditi sensus** denotes the neglect of the laws of rhythm in the periodic structure of sentences (on this meaning of 'sensus,' see note c. 20 16). Cp. Sandys, Orat. 9, 32, 44, 149 f. 50, 169; 53, 179 f. *Hians* and *inconditus* are virtually synonymous with 'hiulcus, mutilus, fractus, durus, disiunctus, decurtatus, concisus, amputatus' and opposed to 'aptus, iunctus, cohaerens, numerosus, suavis, finitus, coagmentatus, adstrictus.'

18 **redolent antiquitatem**: Cf. Cic. Brut. 21, 82 exiliores orationes sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem Macrob. Sat. I 5 quid aliud sermo tuus nisi ipsam redolet vetustatem.

19 **antiquarium**, a very rare post-August. word. Cf. c. 37 6 42 6 Suet. Octav. 86 cacozelos et antiquarios. Here equivalent to 'antiquitatis nimius admirator' (Quint. II 5, 21).

20 **propter magnitudinem cogitationum**: Vell. Pat. II 41, 1 uses the same phrase in his comparison of Caesar and Alexander the Great. — *Propter*, as a causal particle, though common in all Latin authors, occurs in Tacitus only here and in H. I 65 propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur, having been entirely superseded by *ob* in the later writings, an idiosyncrasy imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus. Cp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* I 162–169.

21 **occupationes rerum**: The idiomatic addition of 'rerum' is apparently pleonastic, but in reality designed to impart greater

precision to the phrase. Cf. Hor. Ep. II 2, 116 vocabula rerum Verg. Aen. I 462 lacrimae rerum. Cp. Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 19, where many other instances are cited. Wolff ad loc. suggests that 'rerum' may be equivalent to 'rei publicae,' quoting Caes. B. G. IV 16 occupationibus rei publicae prohiberetur. 'Res' in this sense is not uncommon (so perhaps c. 40 8, where see crit. note), but this interpretation seems less natural, particularly in view of Cic. Brut. 72, 253 qui (sc. Caesar) etiam *in maximis occupationibus* ad te ipsum . . . de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit. Aper's high estimate of Caesar's oratorical abilities is fully shared by Quint. X 1, 114 C. vero Caesar *si foro tantum vacasset* non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse quo bellavit appareat. Cf. also Tac. Ann. XIII 3 dictator Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus Suet. Caes. 55 quoting from a letter of Cicero: Quid? oratorum quem huic antepones eorum qui *nihil aliud egerunt.* For other eulogies of Caesar's eloquence, see the references in Teuffel § 195, 1. In Brut. 68, 239, Cicero pretends to account for Pompey's oratorical deficiencies on similar grounds: vir ad omnia summa natus, maiorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum maioris gloriae cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. — **Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus** etc.: This criticism is again in close agreement with Quintilian, who, while predicating 'gravitas' of Brutus' speeches (XII 10, 10 cf. also Caesar's judgment cited below), significantly excludes their author from his list of orators, relegating him to the philosophers. Cf. X 1, 124 Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus praestantior Brutus suffecit ponderi rerum: scias eum sentire quae dicit. Cicero, as well known, dedicated to him his Tusculan Disput., the de finibus and the de natura deorum and Plut. Brut. 2 bears testimony to his wide acquaintance with Greek philosophy τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν φιλοσόφων οὐδενὸς μὲν, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀνήκοος ἦν οὐδὲ ἀλλότριος, διαφερόντως δ' ἐσπουδάκει πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος. καὶ τὴν νέαν καὶ μέσην λεγομένην Ἀκαδημίαν οὐ πάνυ προσιέμενος ἐξήρτητο τῆς παλαιᾶς (Cic. Brut. 31, 120. 40, 149) καὶ διετέλει θαυμάζων μὲν Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην, φίλον δὲ καὶ συμβιωτὴν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένος Ἄριστον. Regarding his own contributions to philosophy, mention is made of a treatise *de virtute*, one περὶ καθήκοντος and a third, *de patientia.* Cp. also Reid, Acad. post. 3, 12 Teuffel, § 209, 2 f.

24 **minorem esse fama sua**: 'Fell short of his reputation.' *Fama sua* also c. 24 12 Ag. 8 H. III 28. 32 Ann. VI 26 XVI 24, but fama sui — H. III 3 Ann. II 13 XV 4. 49. — **admiratores**: It were interesting to know what persons are here referred to, for the statement is unquestionably based upon published criticisms still accessible to Tacitus. — **nisi forte** · · · **nisi qui**: i. e. no one will read their speeches unless it be one who also admires their poems. Cf. Tac. Ann. III 57 nisi . . . censerent, nisi quod M. Silanus . . . dixit. c. 31 10 nemo nisi qui 37 23.

25 **pro Decio Samnite**: Nothing is known of this individual or of a speech of Caesar in his behalf and hence one is strongly tempted to change the name into *Decitio*. Cf. Cic. pro Cluent. 59, 161 Cn. Decitio Samnite, ei qui proscriptus est iniuriam in calamitate eius ab huius familia factam esse dixistis, the very uncommon name having here also been corrupted in a number of MSS. into the more familiar Decius.

26 **pro Deiotaro rege**: This speech was delivered before Caesar at Nicaea in 46 B. C. Cf. Cic. ad Att. XIV 1, 2 Caesarem solitum dicere : magni refert hic (sc. Brutus) quid velit, sed quidquid vult valde vult. (translated by Plut. Brut. 6) idque eum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Nicaeae diceret, valde vehementer eum visum est et libere dicere Brut. 5, 21 causam Deiotari . . . ornatissime et copiosissime a Bruto me audisse defensam. — **ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis**: Other speeches of Brutus were *de dictatura Pompei* (Quint. IX 3, 95), at Caesar's funeral, a *laudatio* of his father-in-law Appius Claudius (Diomedes, G. L. I 367), likewise of his uncle, M. Cato. Tac. Ann. IV 34 also mentions 'contiones Bruti falsa quidem in Augustum probra sed multa cum acerbitate habent' as still in the hands of readers (25 A. D.).— *lentitudo* 'dullness.' Cf. c. 22 11 lentus in principiis and Stat. Silv. IV 9, 20 Bruti senis oscitationes ('long-winded speeches.') — *tepor*, literally lukewarmness, being in meaning midway between 'fervidus' and 'frigidus.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 92, 21. Of style only here and in Fortunatian. (Rhet. Lat. Min. p. 126, 8 H.) μέσῳ (sc. genere dicendi) quod est contrarium ? *tepidum* ac dissolutum et velut enerve. Cf. c. 22 13 raro incalescit and Cic. Brut. 48, 178 nimis ille quidem lentus in dicendo et paene frigidus (= tepidus) sed et callidus, and of Brutus himself, Cic. ad Att. XV 1 est oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis et verbis ut nihil possit ultra, ego tamen si illam

causam habuissem, scripsissem *ardentius*. As rhetorical termini both substantives are ἀπ. εἰρ. See note c. 21 16.

27 **fecerunt enim et carmina**: On Caesar's poetry, cf. Suet. Caes. 56 feruntur et a puero et ab adulescentulo quaedam scripta ut 'Laudes Herculis,' tragoedia 'Oedipus' . . . quos omnes libellos vetuit Augustus publicari . . . reliquit et . . . poema quod inscribitur 'Iter.' Plin. Ep. V 3, 5 includes him, as well as Brutus, in his long list of erotic poets. Only the six famous lines on Terence have been preserved to us. Cf. Suet. Vita Terent. p. 34, 7 R.

28 **in bibliothecas rettulerunt**: This must refer to private book-collections, for the first public library in Rome was founded by Asinius Pollio in 39 B. C. (Suet. p. 130 R.). Cp. also Marquardt, *Röm. Privatleb.* I 113 f. Friedländer III 418. — **non melius quam Cicero**: Cicero was a prolific and versatile poet (Plut. Cic. 40) and many titles, together with very considerable fragments, which, with the exception of the Aratea, are chiefly preserved in his own works, have come down to us. (See Teuffel § 177a 1. 189, 1–4). Plut. Cic. 2, on the authority of some post-Aug. writer, very probably Suetonius (see *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.* vol. XX p. 148–150) says Προϊὼν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ποικιλώτερον ἁπτόμενος τῆς περὶ ταῦτα μούσης ἔδοξεν οὐ μόνον ῥήτωρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴς ἄριστος εἶναι Ῥωμαίων. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ δόξα μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καίπερ οὐ μικρᾶς γεγενημένης περὶ τοὺς λόγους καινοτομίας, τὴν δὲ ποιητικὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν εὐφυῶν ἐπιγενομένων παντάπασιν ἀκλεῆ καὶ ἄτιμον ἔρρειν συμβέβηκεν. This latter statement is confirmed by the numerous disparaging criticisms principally found in writers of the 1. cent. A. D. Cf. e. g. Schol. Bob. p. 306 Or. (probably taken from Asconius) Manifestum est amatorem poeticae rei Tullium fuisse, quamvis ad oratoriam qua maxime praestitit non videatur in versibus par sui fuisse Sen. Exc. Contr. III praef. 8 Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit Sen. de ira III 37, 5 et Cicero si derideres carmina eius inimicus esset Mart. II 89, 3 Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo | Laudari debes. hoc Ciceronis habes Iuv. X 124 ridenda poemata and 122. Quint. XI 1, 24 in carminibus utinam pepercisset quae non desierunt carpere maligni. Modern scholars have, with a few laudable exceptions, endorsed this unfavorable view. But, while it may be admitted that the orator had no just claims at any time to be considered ποιητὴς ἄριστος Ῥωμαίων, his verses examined in the light of formal

development mark a very noticeable advance upon the thought-laden lines of Lucretius or the artificial hexameters of Catullus. — I have been unable to discover any authority for Andresen's statement that Cicero's poetry found no favor among his contemporaries. Cp. on the contrary, de leg. I 1.

29 **sed felicius quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt**: It is in such epigrammatic phrases as this and others (e. g. c. 1 8 8 27 12 12 13 15 18 15 23 17 27 11 37 28. 38 40 25) that we may recognise the future author of the Histories and Annals. Cp. Proleg. xlii n. 82.

30 **videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse**: On the style of Asinius Pollio, cf. the very similar observation of Quint. X 1, 113 a nitore et iucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest ut videri potest saeculo prior. It is remarkable that Asinius, not unlike Seneca in this respect, was so blind to his own faults as to censure others for the very stylistic peculiarities which were conspicuous in his own writings. Cf. Sueton. de gramm. p. 108 de eodem (sc. Ateio Philologo) Asinius Pollio in libro quo Sallustii scripta reprehendit ut *nimia priscorum verborum adfectatione oblita.* The remark of Livy, preserved by Sen. Contr. IX 25, 26, on certain orators 'qui verba antiqua et sordida consectantur et orationis obscuritatem severitatem putent,' has not unreasonably been supposed to refer to Asinius.

31 **Menenios et Appios**: The rhetorical plural of proper names denoting a class, a kind of antonomasia, is extremely frequent in all periods of the language (cp. Kühner II p. 50 Gerber, *Sprache als Kunst* II 38) but rarely used, as here, by way of censure. Cf. e. g. Cic. Brut. 69, 244 non putabam te usque ad *Stalenos* . . . esse venturum Sen. Ep. 97, 10 omne tempus *Clodios,* non omne Catones feret Tac. H. I 37 plus rapuit Icelus quam Polycliti et Vatinii et Aegiali II, 95 libertus Vitellii Asiaticus Polyclitos Patrobios et vetera (perhaps 'cetera,' see following passage) odiorum nomina Ann. XII 60 Matios posthac et *Vedios* et cetera . . . praevalida nomina. Elsewhere in Tac. in the ordinary sense. Cf. H. IV 8 Ann. I 10, 28 II 33 VI 2 XV 14 XVI 22. In c. 37 11 we have a genuine plural. — **studuisse** = 'to study' is post-Aug. usage. So c. 32 8 34 10.

33 **durus** = 'asper, insuave, τραχύ, δύσφωνον.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 100, 7 compositio Asinii *salebrosa* et exsiliens et, ubi minime expectas, relictura. — Hor. Ep. II 1, 66 dure dicere Quint. X 1, 93 durior

Gallus. — **siccus** = 'aridus, exilis, inanis, ieiunus, strigosus ξηρός' opposed to 'uber, plenus.' Cf. Quint. XI 1, 32 siccum et sollicitum et contractum dicendi propositum Gell. XIV 1, 32 sicca et incondita et propemodum ieiuna and Quint. X 2, 17 tristes et ieiuni Pollionem aemulantur. — Although Aper does not shrink from exaggeration and misrepresentation, if it suits his purpose, I cannot believe that he here intends to say that Asinius faithfully reproduced the style and manner of the old poets *throughout* his orations no less than in his tragedies. It seems much more natural and plausible to assume that his contention, be it true or false, was this: In the tragedies of Asinius, Pacuvius and Accius live over again and even in his speeches we constantly find the same archaic flavor.

All that is necessary to bring out this meaning is the insertion of 'in' before 'orationibus,' which easily dropped out owing to the preceding 'm.' The capricious change from an instrumental abl. to a prepositional phrase, though peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus, is still rare in the minor writings. Cp. Kučera, *Die tacit. Inconcinnität* p. 16 Dr. *Stil* § 105. The present instance, however, as well as c. 31 35, is not a case in point, for in both these passages a difference of *meaning* is involved. Cf. crit. note c. 13 20.

oratio autem sicut corpus hominis: A beautifully elaborated metaphor. On the favorite characterisation of stylistic or rhetorical qualities by terms relating to the human body, see note c. 21 4. To the parallel instances there cited, add c. 31 10 f. orator . . . tenebit venas animorum et . . . adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem Cic. de orat. I 52, 223 orator teneat oportet venas cuiusque generis Plin. Ep. V 8, 10 hanc (sc. historiam) saepius ossa, musculi, nervi, illam (sc. orationem) tori quidam . . . decent.

37 **nec per ipsum stetit**: 'cannot even be held responsible in his own person,' a common idiom usually followed by 'quominus,' rarely by 'quin' or 'ne.' *Nec* = ne — quidem as in c. 8 26, where see note. Cp. also G. 6 Ann. XI 30 XII 43 XIV 55 and Dr. *H. S.* II 73.

39 **videmus enim quam**: 'for we observe, how little.' This signification of 'quam,' especially after 'videre' is also idiomatic and frequent in Cicero. Cf. Rhet. ad Her. IV 20 videt...quam conveniat Cic. de orat. II 31, 133 ut videatis quam sit genus hoc ('how unimportant.' Wilkins less justly, it would seem, reads quale with codd. mutili) 42, 180 vide quam sim . . . deus 'how far I am from being a god in such matters' III 14, 51 vides quam alias res agamus

'how little attention we pay' pro Sull. 11, 33 attende . . . quam ego defugiam (where see Halm's note) Liv. XXVIII 42, 20 quam compar consilium tuum . . . reputa. The meaning of the entire passage is clearly this. The absence of stylistic brilliancy so noticeable in the speeches of Corvinus is not so much due to ignorance of the requirements of a proper oratorical style but rather to his mediocre abilities which prevented him from carrying out whatever of good intentions he may have had. But want of natural talents is, in Aper's opinion, a less justifiable cause for censure than mistakes of taste or judgment which imply a lack of proper training. The truth of the criticism itself, is only partially confirmed by other passages. Quint. X 1, 113, does indeed deny vigor to Corvinus (viribus minor) but the author of Ep. ad Brut. I 15, 1 has a high opinion of Messalla's genius and sound judgment. ita *gravi iudicio* multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio quod in eo summum est, gratia habenda videatur Sen. Contr. II 12, 8 (cited 18, 1) praises the purity of his style which Quint. l. c. and I 7, 35 distinguishes by the epithet 'nitidus,' a synonym of 'ornatus' and finally Aper himself, in apparent self-contradiction, had characterised his diction (c. 18 11) as being 'dulcior et magis elaboratus' than Cicero's. — The entire passage furnishes an example of the rhetorical figure commonly known as παράλειψις or praeteritio. Cp. G. Gebauer, *de praeterit. formis apud oratt. Att.* Zwickau 1874 Straub, l. c. p. 102–104 and G. Gerber, *Spr. als Kunst* II² p. 276 f.

The interpretation given above is based upon the easy and evident emendation of John (*Correspbl.* p. 10–12) who clearly showed that the 'videmus clause' must be causal, furnishing the reason for the alleged oratorical deficiency of Corvinus. Peter, followed by Andresen, assumed two coördinate statements, (1) Corvinus was but a child of his day and as such under the controlling influence of the prevailing taste and culture. (2) His natural endowments did not keep pace with his better judgment. John has observed that the former of these assertions was equally applicable as an apology for the shortcomings of *all* the orators whom Aper had no scruples in condemning, and that there is no necessary logical connection between the two remarks in any case. This is true, but it should also have been added, that not even the idea itself, though the antithesis is common enough (e. g. Sen. Fragm. 112 non fuit Ciceronis hoc vitium sed temporis Ep. 97, 1 hominum sunt ista non temporum), is in reality contained in the words of the text; for they simply express a concrete statement of an alleged lack of stylistic embellishment in the speeches of Corvinus.

22. 1 **eadem pugna**: referring to Cicero's polemical encounters with Calvus and his school, who professed to follow the model of the Attic orators (designated by 'antiquos' immediately below). Cf. Sen. Cont. VII 4 (19) 6 Calvus qui diu cum Cicerone iniquissimam litem de principatu eloquentiae habuit, and in general Blass *Griech. Bereds . . . bis auf Aug.* p. 75–148.

3 **suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat,** i. e. The Rhodian and to a certain extent also some of the less exaggerated Asianic types of oratory.

The X class of MSS. here followed by all editors with the exception of Baehrens, reads 'oratores aetatis eiusdem' (Peter: orat. eiusd. aet.) but this collocation is a flagrant violation of Tacitean usage, for out of nearly 500 examples of an attributive 'idem' and its inflected forms, it is placed *after* the substantive to which it belongs in but five passages of the Annals, viz., Ann. II 14 nox eadem XIII 17 nocte eadem necem XIV 9 nocte eadem (but H. III 10 eadem nocte) III 69 viro quondam ordinis eiusdem VI 32 Tiridatem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum. Again, 'eiusdem' and its noun, with the solitary exception just cited, *invariably precedes* the substantive which it modifies. Cf. e. g. 34 14 eiusdem aetatis patronos 25 14 eorundem temporum disertos 28 17 eiusdem familiae suboles G. 39 eiusdem sanguinis populi Ann. II 84 eiusdem fastigii viro III 76 eiusdem nobilitatis nomina.

5 **primus excoluit orationem**: 'generally improved upon oratorical composition.' In the succeeding statements these improvements are severally specified. — On the expression itself, cf. Quint. VIII 3, 86 sunt multi ac varii excolendae orationis modi, and in general the discussion in Sen. Ep. 100. — **primus verbis delectum adhibuit**: This corresponds to *ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων* which consists in the careful selection of an idiomatic and appropriate vocabulary and the avoidance of archaic or obsolete terms. Cf. Dion. Halic. De compos. verb. 1, 8 *ἐκλογῇ χρήσεσθαι καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ γενναίων ὀνομάτων* 9 *ἐὰν δὲ ἐγγένηταί μοι σχολὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑτέραν ἐξοίσω σοι γραφήν* Cic. de orat. III 37, 150 in propriis igitur verbis illa laus oratoris ut abiecta atque obsoleta fugiat, lectis atque inlustribus utatur . . . in hoc verborum genere propriorum delectus est habendus sqq. It was this subject that formed the principal topic of Caesar's work de analogia. Cf. the fragment in Gell. I 10, 4 habe semper in memoria et in pectore ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum. — Concerning the justice of the statement itself, see the passage from the Orator quoted below. — On the orthography of 'delectus,' corrected throughout

to 'dilectus' by the scribe of the cod. Mediceus cp. Pfitzner, *Die Ann . . . krit. beleuchtet* p. 48 and Wilkins, de orat. l. c.

6 **compositioni:** On the meaning of 'compositio,' see note c. 21 17 and on Cicero's theory and practice, cp. G. Wuest, *Dissert. Argentorat.* Vol. V (1882) p. 227 ff. E. Müller, *De numero Ciceroniano*, Berlin 1886 (Kiel Diss.) and in general, G. Amsel *De vi . . . rhythmorum quid veteres indicaverint* Breslau 1887. — Concerning both the requirements here mentioned, cp. Quint. X 3, 5 delectus enim rerum verborumque agendus est et pondera singulorum examinanda. Post subeat ratio collocandi versenturque omni modo numeri, non ut quodque se proferet verbum occupet locum etc. — **locos quoque laetiores attentavit:** *laetus* as a rhetorical term is equivalent to 'ornatus' ἀνθηρός. On the implied metaphor, see Sandys' Cic. Orat. 24, 81. Cp. also Amm. Marc. XXIX 2, 8 figurarum commentis splendida loca attentare. May not this be one of the many Tacitean reminiscences of this author?

7 **sententias:** Cf. note c. 20 16. — On the entire passage, cf. Quint. XI 1, 49 reum . . . fictis aut repetitis ex vetustate verbis, compositione quae sit maxime a vulgari usu remota, decurrentibus periodis quam laetissimis locis sententiisque dicentem.

8 **senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit:** e. g. pro Milone (51 B. C.) pro Ligario (50 B. C. Cf. Plut. Cic. 39) pro Deiotaro (44 B. C.), Philippica (44/43 B. C.). — *iuxta* = 'sub,' designating approach in time, is ἅπ. εἰρ. It must be noted, however, that this particular preposition is also elsewhere in Tacitus used in very singular significations. Cf. G. 21 periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem 'in proportion to' 30 velocitas iuxta formidinem 'is not far removed from.' — On the thought, see Cic. Brut. 2, 8 cumque ipsa oratio iam nostra canesceret haberetque suam quandam maturitatem et quasi senectutem.

The two classes of our MSS are here again pitted against each other, as in l. 4, the one reading 'iam senior' and the other 'senior iam.' Tacitean usage again compels us to decide in favor of Y, for omitting such stereotyped collocations as 'iam vero, iam pridem, iam dudum,' and observing that 'iam' shows a very strong tendency to combine with 'et, ac, ut, non, nisi, si, que' and the like, I find that the *postpositive* use of *iam* is the rule in the Dialogus. Cf. c. 3 11 7 17 8 17 17 14 18 7 19 19 20 9. 18 31 27 32 30 33 9 34 2. See *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 446 f.

postquam magis profecerat: *postquam* with the pluperf. ind. seems to be more frequent in Tac. (28 times) than in other writers.

So again c. 38 extr. p. omnia depacaverat. Cp. E. Hoffman, *Zeitpart.* p. 37–39 Dr. *H. S.* II 588 ff. — Andresen observes that we should rather expect 'plus' (comp. of multum), but 'magis' is quite correct, when it signifies, as it does here, 'in a higher degree.' Cp. the excellent discussion of Haase in R. V. III 165 note 499 med.

9 **usuque**: Translate 'After he had made considerable progress, having in particular learned.' *Que* as an epexegetic conjunction is rare. Cf. c. 41 9 minimum usus minimumque profectus. Dr. *H. S.* II 45 overlooked both these passages "Aus Tacitus weiss ich nur anzuführen G. 29 ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos Ann. II 88 scriptores senatoresque." See also Nägelsbach, Stilist. § 193, 1 b.

10 **esset** i. e. the best type of oratory as Cicero erroneously understood it, for in Aper's opinion Cicero was still far from having realised the perfect ideal even in his maturity, as is made evident by some serious shortcomings which we are told characterise all his orations. — **nam priores orationes** etc.: Aper probably had specially in mind the speeches pro P. Quinctio (81 B. C.), pro Rosc. Amer. (80) and pro Rosc. comoed. (76), for Cicero himself dates the beginning of his 'Meisterjahre' from the year 75. Cf. Brut. 92, 318 cum autem anno post ex Sicilia me recepissem iam videbatur illud in me, quidquid esset, esse perfectum et habere maturitatem quandam suam. — On the style of Cicero's earlier speeches, Cp. Landgraf, *De Cic. elocut. in oratt. pro P. Quinctio et pro. S. Rosc. Amer. conspicua*, Würzburg 1874 Comment. to the latter speech edit. mai. Erlangen 1884 and Hellmuth, *De serm. proprietat. quae in priorib. Cic. oratt. inven.* Erlangen, 1877.

11 **lentus in principiis, longus in narrationibus**: Cf. c. 19 11 longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis alte repetita series Quint. X 2, 17 otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse Sen. Ep. 100, 7 pedem servat lenta (sc. compositio Ciceronis).

12 **otiosus circa excessus**: *otiosus* 'tiresome, long-winded.' Cf. c. 18 24 and Sen. Ep. 114, 16 illa in exitu lenta, qualis Ciceronis est. On the use of *circa*, see c. 3 17. — *excessus* is the more usual term in Silver Latin for 'digressio' or 'egressio.' Cf. Quint. III 9, 4 egressio vero vel quod usitatius esse coepit excessus. — **tarde commovetur, raro incalescit**: This criticism is completely at variance with the verdict of antiquity, and undoubtedly an intentional mis-

representation on the part of Aper. See Cicero's own statement, Brut. 93, 322 nemo qui ad iracundiam magno opere iudicem, nemo qui ad fletum posset adducere, nemo qui animum eius, quod unum est oratoris maxime proprium, quocumque res postularet, impellere Orat. 37, 129 magno semper usi impetu, saepe adversarios de statu omni deiecimus . . . quid ego de miserationibus loquar? quibus eo sum usus pluribus, quod, etiam si plures dicebamus, perorationem mihi tamen omnes relinquebant, in quo ut viderer excellere non ingenio sed dolore adsequebar quae . . . apparent in orationibus, etsi carent libri spiritu illo propter quem maiora eadem illa cum aguntur quae cum leguntur videri solent . . . nulla me ingeni sed magna vis animi inflammat, ut me ipse non teneam; nec umquam is qui audit, incenderetur nisi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. Quint. X 1, 107 of Cicero (as compared with Demosthenes) salibus certe et commiseratione, quae duo plurimum in adfectibus valent, vincimus Plut. Cic. 3 *ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου σφοδρότητα καὶ πάθος ἔχοντος* 39 *ὁ Κικέρων ὑπερφυῶς ἐκίνει καὶ προύβαινεν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι θαυμαστὸς ὁ λόγος* (pro Ligario) *πολλὰς μὲν ἱέναι χρόας ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὸν Καίσαρα.*

13 **pauci sensus apte** etc.: This is also flatly contradicted by Cic. Orat. 50, 168 meae (sc. orationes) quidem et perfecto completoque verborum ambitu gaudent et curta sentiunt nec amant redundantia. quid dico meas? contiones saepe exclamare vidi, cum *apte* verba cecidissent. id enim expectant aures, ut verbis colligetur sententia. non erat hoc apud antiquos (i. e. the Roman orators preceding Cicero) Sen. Ep. 100, 7 omnia apud Ciceronem desinunt, apud Pollionem cadunt exceptis paucissimis quae ad certum modum . . . adstricta sunt, Cp. also Cic. Orat. 52, 174. 53, 177. 57, 191. 70, 232 f. 71, 236, with Sandys' notes. — **cum quodam lumine terminantur**: Cicero repeatedly teaches that an orator should bestow great care upon rhetorical embellishment. Cf. e. g. de orat. III 52, 201 est quasi luminibus distinguenda et frequentanda omnis oratio sententiarum et verborum Orat. 54, 181 f. 25, 83. 39, 134 f. Quint. IX 1, 25. 4, 67. But what with the older orators had been only a means to an end, had in the speaker's day become an end in itself. See Sen. Ep. 100, 8 deest illis oratorius vigor stimulique, quos quaeris et subiti ictus sententiarum Quint. VIII 5, 2. 13 sed nunc aliud volunt, ut omnes sensus in fine sermonis feriat aurem 4, 32 quare licet haec et nitere et aliquatenus exstare videantur, tamen

lumina illa non flammae sed scintillis inter fumum emicantibus similia dixeris, quae ne apparent quidem, ubi tota lucet oratio, ut **in sole** sidera ipsa desinunt cerni. The entire passage is virtually an amplified repetition of the ideas developed in c. 20.

Apte the evident emendation of Acidalius, has been justly accepted, but the lacuna indicated in our MSS. ought not to have been so generally ignored. Michaelis inserted 'cadunt' with which 'apte' in the sense of 'numerose' is habitually combined. Vahlen preferred 'apte et ut oportet.' I believe the true reading is secured by combining both these conjectures. 'apte,' greatly resembles the abbreviated form of 'oportet,' and was, therefore, easily omitted by a scribe.

15 **firmus sane paries est et duraturus** etc.: On the use of the fut. part. as an adject. cf. note 9 22. — On a similar metaphor applied to oratory, cf. Cic. de orat. I 35, 161 sic evolavit oratio . . . et tamquam in aliquam locupletem ac refertam domum venerim, non explicata veste neque proposito argento neque tabulis et signis propalam conlocatis, sed his omnibus multis magnificisque rebus constructis ac reconditis.

As both firmus and duraturus are predicates (on the position of firmus, cf. note c. 6 26) 'est' cannot well be omitted. It easily dropped out before 'et' and after '-es.'

17 **locupletem ac lautum:** *lautus*, synonymous with 'elegans, copiosus, splendidus,' is rarely used of persons e. g. Cic. in Verr. II 1, 6, 17, and in the Epistles, Plin. N. H. XVIII, 11, 28, 108 Iuv. III 221. — Observe the alliteration. So above 'lentus . . . longus.' Cf. also c. 26 8 lascivia . . . levitate . . . licentia 40 10 G. 27 lamenta et lacrimas H. I 12 licentia ac libidine II 10 libertatem et licentiam 49 laudibus et lacrimis Ann. III 59 litora ac lacus XV 64 libare se liquorem illum Iovi liberatori. See note c. 2 14.

patrem familiae: So G. 10. This form, first used, according to Probus, by the historian Sisenna, is quite as common as the archaic genitive. Cp. Neue, *Formenl.* I 6 ff. — **tecto tegi:** An instance of the so-called figura etymologica. It occurs perhaps in but one other passage in Tacitus, viz. Ann. XII 31 facinora fecere. In c. 32 11 and in c. 34 8 it seems to have been intentionally avoided, see notes ad. loc. and in general, G. Landgraf. *Act. Erl.* II 1–69, 509–513 R. V. III 638 note 556[c] Ioh. Müller *Beitr.* II 30 ff.

18 **visum et oculos**: The concrete term joined by 'et' to the abstract, on which see note c. 9 1. This view is well confirmed by the use of 'ac' in the collocation immediately preceding, for 'imbrem *ac* ventum' expresses *two* distinct ideas, 'visum *et* oculos' but one. As the clauses are also antithetical and otherwise structurally symmetrical, this change of conjunctions would be inexplicable, were it not for the reason just given.

19 **supellectili**: In the same figurative sense of oratory in Cic. Orat. 24, 79 f. verecundus erit usus oratoriae quasi supellectilis. supellex est enim quodam modo nostra quae est in ornamentis, alia rerum alia verborum de orat. I 36, 165 in oratoris vero instrumento tam lautam supellectilem numquam videram Sen. Ep. 88, 36 occupatus est in supervacua litterarum supellectili. — The form in 'i' is expressly approved of by Char. I 14. cp. however, Neue, *Formenl.* I^2 240.

20 **sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae**: Two subjects designating similar ideas often take a sing. predicate, especially when the verb precedes and this, even if one of the subjects is in the plural. Cf. H. I 15 inrumpet adulatio, blanditiae II 78 datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini IV 42 securum reliquerat exul pater et divisa inter creditores bona. A verb, however, agreeing in the singular with the nearer of two subjects joined by 'et — et' is extremely rare. I am able to cite but two other instances viz. Cic. pro Mur. 7, 15 et proavus Murenae et avus praetor fuit ad Att. IV 17, 3 et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit. These exceptions may be justified, however, by the fact that both nouns are kept *distinct* in thought. The same is true of our passage, as is clear from what follows, 'sumere in manus' referring more particularly to 'aurum'; 'aspicere' to 'gemmae.' After et . . . et . . . et we have the sing. in c. 38 19 where see note. Cf. also c. 6 20.

21 **libeat**: The indefinite subject is easily supplied. Cp. note c. 9 22 Cic. de orat. I 8, 30 (cited as de orat. 25, 83 by Peter!) II 56, 228 de fin. III 21, 70 Tusc. Disp. IV, 11, 26. 20, 46 Lael. 16, 59, where see Seyff.-Müll. Hor. Sat. I 1, 3 Quint. X 2, 24. 7, 4 XII 7, 7.

22 **oblitterata et obsoleta**: Cf. c. 8 3 remotis et oblitteratis Cic. de orat. III 37, 150 illa laus oratoris ut abiecta atque obsoleta fugiat Verr. II 1, 21, 56 nimis antiqua et iam obsoleta Quint. IV 1, 58 ab obsoleta vetustate sumptum.

olentia, without the addition of 'antiquitatem' (cf. c. 21 18) or 'male' admits of no satisfactory explanation, nor does the context allow of Peter's interpretation 'geschmacklos' even if the word were elsewhere thus used. I regard the emendation 'obsoleta' as certain, and preferable to 'exoleta,' which Acidalius conjectured (cf. Sen. Ep. 114, 10 antiqua verba et exoleta) for three reasons. (1) It is palaeographically the easier (2), it retains the alliteration, which is particularly frequent in this chapter (3), it remains within the same metaphorical sphere as 'oblitterata,' 'rubigine infecta,' and the like, a rhetorical device very noticeable in numerous other Tacitean collocations of synonyms e. g. c. 26 17.

23 **rubigine infectum**: For the figure as applied to style, cf. Quint. X 1, 30 neque ego arma squalere situ ac rubigine velim sed fulgorem in iis esse and c. 20 19. The same phrase occurs in Val. Max. II 9, 5 horridae vetustatis rubigine infectum imperium. On the advice itself, cf. Cic. de orat. III 10, 39 neque tamen erit utendum verbis iis quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur . . . sed usitatis ita poterit uti, lectissimis ut utatur de opt. gen. 3, 8 (vitiosum est) in verbis si inquinatum, si abiectum, si non aptum, si durum, si longe petitum Quint. I 6, 39 verba ex vetustate repetita et auctoritatem habent . . . sed opus est modo ut neque sint crebra nec utique ab ultimis et iam oblitteratis repetita temporibus. Longinus (Rhet. Gr. I p. 306 Sp.) πεφύλαξο δὲ τοῖς λίαν ἀρχαίοις καὶ ξένοις τῶν ὀνομάτων καταμιαίνειν τὸ σῶμα τῆς λέξεως. — **tarda et inerti**: *tardus* 'dragging,' synonymous with 'lentus' and 'spissus,' with which it is frequently combined. Cf. Cic. de orat. II 53, 213 et principia tarda et exitus item spissi et producti esse debent Quint. IX 4, 137 tarda et supina compositio. *iners* 'sluggish' and hence incapable of flash-like brilliancy (see c. 20 17 arguta et brevi sententia *effulsit*).

24 **structura**, the figurative equivalent of 'constructio' or 'compositio.' Cicero never uses it without some apologetic particle. Cf. Brut. 8, 33 verborum quasi structura et quaedam ad numerum conclusio de opt. gen. 2, 5 verborum est structura quaedam duas res efficiens, numerum et levitatem Orat. 44, 149 quasi structura quaedam, with Sandys' note. — **in morem annalium**: i. e. in the dry manner of the old Annalists, such as Cato, Fabius Pictor, Fannius, Calpurnius Piso and many others whose uncouth style is criticised by Cic. de leg. I 2, 6 and de orat. II 12, 51 ff. Peter understands 'annales' of historical as opposed to oratorical composition, but, although the two styles are clearly distinguished by the ancients (Cic. de orat. II 15, 62 ff. Quint. X 1, 31 ff. Plin. Ep. V 8, 9–11), it were absurd to predicate the stylistic blemishes,

here enumerated, of historical writers generally. — **fugitet**: The use of this frequentative verb is almost wholly confined to pre-classic poetry and with the possible exception of a doubtful passage in Cic. Rosc. Am. 28, 78 not found in prose except in late Latin. Cp. Landgraf, *De elocut.* p. 31.

25 **insulsam scurrilitatem**: The same precept is given by Cic. de orat. II 60, 244 non modo illud praecipitur ne quid *insulse* sed etiam si quid perridicule possis, vitandum est oratori utrumque ne aut *scurriis* locus sit and Orat. 26, 88. According to modern standards of taste, the orator's own practice as shown by the virulent personal invective with which some speeches, such as those in Vatinium, in Pisonem, against Antony, pro Caelio, abound, did not conform to his theory.—*Scurrilitas* seems not to occur elsewhere as an epithet of style. Cf. note c. 21 16. — **clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet**: Cf. Cic. de orat. III 50, 192 clausulas autem diligentius etiam servandas esse arbitror quam superiora quod in eis maxime perfectio atque absolutio iudicatur . . . in oratione autem pauci prima cernunt, postrema plerique: quae quoniam apparent et intelleguntur, *varianda* sunt ne aut animorum iudiciis repudientur aut aurium satietate. See also the minute directions for ending a period in Orat. 63, 212 ff. — *determinet* = terminet. Cf. Cic. de invent. I 52, 98 conclusio et exitus et determinatio orationis. On the use of the compound verb for the simple, cp. note c. 7 17.

23. 1 **rotam Fortunae**: The reference is to a far-fetched pun in the speech against Piso (10, 22): cumque ipse nudus in convivio saltaret in quo cum illum saltatorium versaret orbem ne tum quidem fortunae rotam pertimescebat 'while he *wheeled* about in the circular movement of the dance, he not even then dreaded the *wheel* of fortune.' The seemingly earliest reference to this symbolical representation of Fortuna on a wheel or globe is in Pacuv. p. 104 Rib. Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi saxoque instare in globoso praedicant volubili. Cp. also Tib. I 5, 70 versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotae Fronto, Orat. p. 157 omnes Fortunas . . . cum pennis, *cum rotis*, cum gubernaculo reperias Amm. Marcell. XXVI 8, 3 quod quivis beatus versa rota Fortunae XXXI, 1, 1 Boeth. de consol. I pr. 1 II pr. 2 and the numerous other references cited by Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* II p. 1506 f. and Otto, *Die Sprichw. der Röm.* p. 142. The allegory was a favor-

ite one in the Middle Ages. Cp. Petrarch, De remed. utriusque fort. Praef.: attolit ac deicit et in gyrum rotat, and is common in English literature from the time of Rich. Rolle of Hampole (c. 1290–1349) and Chaucer. See also John E. Matzke, *Public. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* New Series I 3. — **ius verrinum**: A double pun, the phrase signifying either 'Verrine justice' or 'boar's sauce.' But in justice to Cicero it must be remembered that the orator himself disclaims the authorship of these frigid witticisms, a fact which Aper characteristically ignores. See Verr. II 1, 46, 121 hinc illi homines erant qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, id quod saepe audistis, negabant mirandum esse *ius* tam nequam esse *verrinum*: alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur esse cum Sacerdotem exsecrabantur, qui verrem tam nequam reliquisset. *Quae ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacete dicta neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi vos illud vellem recordari, istius nequitiam tum in ore vulgi atque in communibus proverbiis esse versatam* and II 4, 43, 95 quoted below. Rufinianus p. 39 H. cites this pun as an example of ἀστεϊσμός, but Quint. VI 3, 4 in what sometimes seems to me like an unmistakable allusion to Aper's unfair censure, again draws attention to Cicero's motive in introducing these particular *jeux de mots*. He does not deny that the orator in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus adfectator (see Plut. Comp. Dem. et Cic. 1) but he adds mihi quidem . . . mira quaedam in eo videtur fuisse urbanitas . . . et illa ipsa quae sunt in Verrem dicta frigidius, aliis adsignavit et testimonii loco posuit ut, quo sunt magis vulgaria, eo sit credibilius illa ab oratore non ficta sed passim esse iactata. (See note below) utinamque libertus eius Tiro aut alius quisquis fuit, qui tres hae de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulsisset et plus iudicii in eligendis quam in congerendis studii adhibuisset: *minus obiectus calumniantibus foret* qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni eius ingenio, facilius quod reici quam quod adici possit invenient. The jokes of Cicero were apparently eagerly collected in his life-time. Cf. ad fam. VII 32 IX 16, 4 XV 21, 2. His own theory of wit is fully developed in the de orat. II 54, 216–71. 290. See also Herwig, *Das Wortspiel in Cicero's Reden*, Progr. Attendorn 1889.

2 **istud tertio quoque sensu . . . esse videatur**: The rhythmical clausula here censured was sufficiently frequent in Cicero to attract

the attention of the ancient critics. Cf. Quint. IX 4, 73 *esse videatur* iam nimis frequens (see also X 2, 18 quoted below) Probus II 4, 5 trochaeus et paeon tertius facient illam structuram Tullio peculiarem 'esse | videatur.' Rufin. v. 16 ff. (Rh. Lat. Min. p. 575 H.) Tullius hunc laudat, cui sit paenultima longa: | *esse* trochaeus adest, *videatur* tertius ille | quem paeana vocat Musis devota vetustas. Aper's statement is, of course, a gross exaggeration. An actual count of the occurrence of *esse videatur* (or videantur) in the extant orations, discloses the fact that the phrase is found but 83 times, distributed as follows (v. denotes videantur): pro Quinct. 28. 68 pro Rosc. Am. 153 in Verr. I, 1, 28. 37 II 1, 56; 2, 52 (v.) 61; 3, 96. 98 (v.) 99; 4, 38 (v.) 98 (v.) 109. 111 (v.) 124² (v.) 125. 126. 132 (v.); 5, 22. 150. 173 (v.) pro Tull. 1 (v.) pro Font. 10, 22 (12) 13, 28 (18) pro Caec. 71. 78 pro Pomp. 10² (v.) 20 (v.) 24. 26. 41. 42. 47. 59. 67 pro Cluent. 8 (v.) 41 (v.) 66. 118 de leg. agr. I 24 II 1. 3. 7 (v.) 32. 37. 53. 65 in Cat. I 14 IV 12 pro Sull. 3. 23 (v.) 70. 83 (v.) pro Arch. 18 (v.) 31 pro Flacc. 39 (v.) 83 cum Sen. grat. 15 de dom. 1 (v.) 36. 102. 107 de har. resp. 2 (v.) pro Sest. 5. 10. 106 (v.) 108 pro Cael. 50 de prov. cons. 5 in Pis. 62 pro Planc. 4. 9. 27 (v.) 73 (v.) 74 pro Marc. 19 (v.) Phil. V 1 (v.) VII 18 (v.) X 22 (v.) XIII 50. To these may be added 18 instances of -isse, -esse, posse videatur. About a dozen times 'esse videatur' is placed in the middle of a sentence, where its rhythm would be unnoticed. The phrase does not occur in the 20 remaining speeches, viz. in Caec., pro Rab., in Cat. II. III., pro Mur. (60 esse videare), in Vat. pro Balb., pro Rab. posth., pro Mil. (100 esse videatis), pro Lig., pro Deiot., Phil. I. II. III. IV. VI. VIII. IX. XI. XII. — It may also be remarked that the rhetorical and philosophical works of Cicero furnish but scattered examples, with the exception of the de orat. where 'esse videatur' (or 'videantur') is used 26 times, to 22 instances in all the others taken together! That the rhythmical cadence was intentional on the orator's part, is made evident by the observation that in wellnigh all other combinations of esse or fu|isse with some form of videri, the latter always precedes. — The first two instances are given as illustrations of 'scurrilitas,' while the third furnishes an example of the violation of the precept 'nec . . . determinet.'— *Sententia* is here equivalent to lumen; *sensus* to sentence, period, cf. note c. 20 16.

4 **plura omisi** e. g. in Verr. II 4, 43 ext. numquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant: velut in hac re aiebant in labores Herculis non minus hunc immanissimum verrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri oportere 4, 24, 53 quod umquam ... huiusce modi everriculum ... fuit ... quid facimus in Verre quem in luto volutatum ... invenimus. Fragm. ap. Quint. VI 3, 55 ut omnia verreret Verres Plut. Cic. 7 τί Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον i. e. quid Iudaeus cum verre. It may be remarked that Aper might have found many apposite illustrations of 'scurrilitas' in none other than Cassius Severus himself. Cp. Robert l. c. p. 44. — **sola mirantur atque exprimunt**: Cf. Quint. X 2, 18 noveram quosdam qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis huius in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent: esse videatur. On the force of *atque*, 'they faithfully copy these things in consequence of their admiration for them,' see note c. 4 3.

5 **genus hominum**: In the second part of the Annals, Tacitus uses genus mortalium (e. g. XIII 50 XIV 27 XVI 13), g. hominum occurs H. I 22 V 3 and Ann. IV 30.

significasse contentus: On *contentus* with infinitive, cf. note c. 18 13. — **utique versantur ante oculos**: The same phrase was used by Aper c. 16 19.

7 **Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio**: Cf. Quint. X 1, 93 f. Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus (e. g. Horace) sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent. A preference for Lucretius over Virgil is still shared by many modern scholars. Cf. also Hor. Ep. II 1, 64 ff. Sen. Ep. 114, 13 multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba, duodecim tabulas loquuntur, Gracchus illis et Crassus et Curio nimis culti et recentes sunt: ad Appium usque et ad Coruncanium redeunt id. ap. Gell. XII 2 admiror eloquentissimos viros et deditos Ennio pro optimis ridicula laudasse ... quidam sunt, inquit, tam magni sensus Q. Ennii ut licet scripti sint inter hircosos, possint tamen inter unguentatos placere Pers. I 76 ff. est nunc Brisaei quem venosus liber Atti | sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur | Antiopa aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta Mart. XI 90 carmina nulla probas molli quae limite currunt | sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt | et tibi Maeonio quoque carmine maius habetur | *Luceilei columella, heic situ' Metrophanes,* | attonitusque legis *terraï frugiferaï* (Ennius), | Accius et quidquid Pacu-

viusque vomunt Spartian. Vita Hadr. 16 amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi, controversias declamavit. Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio Ennium, Sallustio Caelium praetulit. Cp. in general, Friedländer III 380 ff.

8 **eloquentia,** here used of artistic composition generally. Cf. note c. 10 13. — **Aufidii Bassi,** a historian who died in the reign of Nero (see Sen. Ep. 30, 1 written c. 60 A. D.). He is mentioned together with his younger contemporary Servilius Nonianus also by Quint. I 1, 103 Bassus Aufidius egregie, utique in libris belli Germanici, praestitit, genere ipso probabilis in omnibus, in quibusdam suis ipse viribus minor. Pliny the Elder began his history where Bassus left off (Plin. N. H. Praef. 20). Cp. Teuffel, § 277, 2. — **Servilius Nonianus:** *M. Servilius Nonianus* orator and historian was cons. in 35 A. D. (Tac. Ann. VI 31) and died in the year 59, according to Tac. Ann. XIV 19 Sequuntur virorum inlustrium mortes, Domitii Afri et *M. Servilii* qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant . . . Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae quam clariorem effecit ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus. This favorable judgment is confirmed by Quint. X 1, 102 mihi egregie dixisse videtur S. N. . . . qui et ipse a nobis auditus est, clarus vir ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat.

9 **ex comparatione** = prae is rare and post-Aug. Cf. e. g. Plin. Ep. VII 30, 4 ex comp. sentio quam male scribam Curt. X 8, 9 ex comp. regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi Suet. Oct. 79 ex comp. procerioris. — **Sisennae:** *L. Cornelius Sisenna* (119–67) wrote a history of his own times. His style was highly archaic, to which fact we owe a number of fragments in Nonius. Cf. Cic. Brut. 74, 259 Sisenna autem quasi emendator sermonis usitati cum esse vellet ne a C. Rusio quidem . . . deterreri potuit quo minus inusitatis verbis uteretur . . . sed ille . . . recte loqui putabat esse inusitate loqui. Cp. Teuffel § 156, 1–3. — **Varronis:** *M. Terentius Varro Reatinus* (116–27). As the three preceding writers are historians, the reference can only be understood of Varro's historical works proper (viz. Antiquitatum libri, Annales, de vita populi Romani, de gente populi Romani, de familiis Troianis, Aetia, rerum urbanarum libri). The extant writings bear ample witness to his archaic style. — **sordet** 'is held of no account.'

10 **commentarios:** By commentarii are understood the summaries of speeches which were subsequently enlarged into an artistic

oration. Sometimes these outlines were as carefully elaborated as if, says Quintilian (see the passage quoted below), they were designed for the perusal of posterity. That Calvus, whose excessive care in the stylistic polish of his speeches is well attested (cf. Cic. Brut. 82, 283 cited note c. 18 6), followed the same practice is intrinsically probable, although it is not elsewhere expressly so stated. In the rhetorical schools of the Empire, similar commentarii or 'explicationes' (cf. Sen. Suas. II 10 cited c. 26 11) were drawn up for the purely pedagogic purpose of furnishing to pupils characteristic specimens of the proper treatment of oratorical themes. Aper means to say, therefore, that the still extant summaries of Calvus were highly esteemed at the expense of the excellent and far superior outlines prepared by modern rhetoricians which the blind admirers of the ancients disdainfully cast aside as worthless. The context lends itself so naturally and easily to this interpretation that I quite fail to see either the necessity for substituting some other proper name for Calvus or any ground for the artificial explanations often given to commentarii, a term made perfectly clear by Sen. Contr. III praef. 6 sine commentario numquam dixit (sc. Severus) nec hoc commentario contentus erat in quo nudae res ponuntur, sed maxima parte perscribebatur actio Quint. X 7, 30 Plerumque autem multa agentibus accidit, ut maxime necessaria et utique initia scribant . . . quod fecisse M. Tullium commentariis ipsius apparet. Sed feruntur aliorum quoque et inventi forte ut eos dicturus quisque composuerat et in libros digesti, ut causarum quae sunt actae a Serv. Sulpicio, cuius tres orationes extant; sed hi de quibus loquor commentarii ita sunt exacti ut ab ipso mihi in memoriam posteritatis videantur esse compositi. — **fastidiunt, oderunt**: The same verbs are grouped together in Hor. Ep. II 1, 22 fastidit et odit. Cf. also Quint. XI 1, 15 affert non fastidium modo sed plerumque etiam odium. Tac. H. II 68 oderant ut fastiditi. Similar asyndeta are not rare in classic Latin, very frequent in Tacitus and a characteristic feature of the so-called 'Africitas.' Cf. G. 14 defendere tueri H. I 2 agerent verterent II 12. 26. 50. 70 III 11. 83 IV 24. 74. 81 Ann. I 41 orant obsistunt, rediret maneret II 19. 82 III 26 IV 9 VI 24. 35 XI 16 celebrari coli XII 51 XV 55 Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 200 Heraeus, Tac. H. II 70 Woelfflin, *Archiv* VII 478 Nägelsbach, *Stilistik* § 173, 3 S. Preuss, *De disiuncti bimembris usu solemni*, Erlangen Diss. 1881.

11 **fabulantes**: Used contemptuously for 'dicentes' or 'agentes.' So again c. 39 4. The verb is not found in Cicero. — **auditores**: Here distinguished from the lay public. Cf. note c. 20 8.

12 **sequuntur**: 'to follow attentively.' No strictly parallel instance seems to occur elsewhere, but in the sense of 'mente adsequi,' the verb is not uncommon e. g. Sen. Ep. 40, 8 iudex subsequi poterit Quint. X 1, 15 sequi suis viribus possit 50 intellectu sequi. — Cic. Brut. 84, 289 uses similar language of the unpopularity of the Atticists : non modo a corona . . . sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur etc.

13 **maesti** 'devoid of oratorical ornament' opp. to laetus.

14 **sanitas**: Frequently used as an epithet of style. Cf. Quint. XII 10, 15 Cic. Brut. 13, 51. — **ieiunio**: In the figurative sense of a desiccated diction, the word is ἀπ. εἰρ. Cicero has the form ieiunitas e. g. Brut. 82, 285. — On the thought, cf. Cic. de opt. gen. 3, 8 qui (Attici) cum careant omni vitio non sunt contenti quasi bona valetudine sed vires lacertos, sanguinem quaerunt . . . incorrupta sanitate . . . esse ieiunior. — **porro** = atqui. Cf. c. 5 7.

15 **valetudinem**: *valetudo* is a so-called vox media, designating either good or bad health, but the former signification without some attributive like 'bona, optima, commoda' is very rare. I have noticed no instances either in Seneca or the younger Pliny and Quintilian furnishes only one example viz. XII 11, 26 ingenium, valetudo, facultas, praeceptores non deerunt. In Tacitus, only in Ann. III 71 pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani voverant equestri Fortunae (sc. donum). — **animi anxietate**: This collocation is common, cf. Ovid, Ep. ex Pont. I 4, 8 Curt. IV 13, 16 Sall. Iug. 55, 4 (a. anxius) and similarly angor animi e. g. Suet. Tib. 7. 49. 'anxius' is also elsewhere in Tacitus opposed to 'alacer' e. g. H. I 88 in pace anxii, turbatis rebus alacres or to laetus e. g. Ag. 39 fronte laetus, pectore anxius.

16 **laetum et alacrem**: Also joined together in Sen. ad Helv. 20, 1 Ep. 72, 4 Quint. II 9, 2. In Cic. pro Mur. 24, 49 as usual in inverse order, cf. note c. 4 3. On the distinction between the two words, cf. Ps. Ascon. in Verr. p. 133 Or. — The same antithesis and the same figurative application in almost identical language is found in Ps. Plut. Περὶ παίδ. ἀγωγ. 9 : καθάπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα οὐ μόνον ὑγιεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεκτικὸν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὡσαύτως οὐκ ἄνοσον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔρωστον εἶναι δεῖ. On this remarkable parallelism see Proleg. p. ci f.

17 **infirmitas**: Here in its classical meaning 'indisposition.' In most post-Aug. authors the word is virtually synonymous with morbus. e. g. Plin. ad Trai. XI Suet. Tib. 72. With the thought, cf. Sen. Nat. Quaest. Prol. 6 multum interest inter vires et bonam valetudinem.

18 **vos vero**: i. e. these remarks do not apply to you who despite your intense admiration for the ancients, do not slavishly follow in their footsteps, for your speeches, while retaining what is excellent among the ancients, are admirable specimens of the modern style of eloquence and they will sooner or later be regarded as shedding lustre upon our age.

19 **inlustrate**: Cf. c. 37 24 and Quint. X 1, 122 summa hodie quibus inlustratur forum ingenia. This apostrophe was doubtless suggested by Cic. de orat. I 8, 34 quam ob rem pergite, ut facitis, adulescentes atque in id studium, in quo estis, incumbite.

22 **electio inventionis**: Translate: 'Such happiness do you display in the choice of your subject.'

'ea' is an evident emendation for 'et' which destroys the *asyndetic* collocation so carefully preserved throughout the symmetrically constructed peroration.

24 **planitas** 'perspicuity,' a ἅπ. εἰρ. formed from 'planus,' which often has this meaning. Cf. note c. 21 16.

26 **malignitas et invidia**: The same collocation occurs in c. 25 28 (where see note) Sen. de ira III 5 Ep. 106, 6 Curt. VIII 1, 23 and so similarly Sall. Cat. 3, 2 malevolentia et invidia Cic. Brut. 42, 156 Caes. B. G. I 7 obtrectatio et invidia Tac. Ag. 41 Plin. Paneg. 58, 5 Suet. Ner. 23 Cal. 34 malignitate et livore Tac. H. I 1 obtrectatio et livore D. Brut. ap. Cic. ad fam. XI 10, 1 malevolentia et livore. See Nipperdey, *Rh. Mus.* XIX 573. — The sentiment is a commonplace. Cf. Ov. Am. I 15, 39 f. Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit | tunc suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos Ep. ex Pont. III 4, 474 f. Scripta placent a morte fere quia laedere vivos | livor et iniusto carpere dente solet IV 16, 1 f. invide, quid laceras Nasonis carmina rapti | non solet ingeniis summa nocere dies | famaque post cineres maior venit Sen. de tranq. 14, 4 Kanus Iulius, vir inprimis magnus, cuius admirationi ne hoc quidem obstat quod nostro saeculo natus est de brev. 15, 4 at iis quae consecravit sapientia, noceri non potest, nulla abolebit aetas, nulla diminuet: sequens ac deinde semper ulterior aliquid ad venerationem confert,

quoniam quidem in vicino versatur invidia, simplicius longe posita miramur Curt. VIII 18 nec Herculem nec Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam Quint. III 1, 21 parco nominibus viventium: veniet eorum laudi suum tempus; ad posteros enim virtus durabit, non perveniet invidia Plin. Ep. I 16, 8 neque enim debet operibus eius (sc. Pompei Saturnini) obesse quod vivit. An si inter eos quos numquam vidimus, non solum libros eius verum etiam imagines requireremus Tac. Ann. IV 35 suum cuique decus posteritas rependit. Also Hor. Ep. II 1,10 ff.

Ch. 24–32. *After a few general remarks on Aper's speech, Maternus calls upon Messalla to make good his promise to discuss the causes of the decline of eloquence* (c. 24). *Messalla begins with a short digression, by first pointing out that the ancient orators, though unquestionably differing in degree, virtually represent the same type, which, Aper's contention to the contrary, is far preferable to the sensational style of modern oratory. About to prove this in detail* (c. 25–26), *he is again recalled to the main theme at issue* (c. 27). *He thereupon proceeds to show that one of the chief causes of the decline in question is due to the less thorough intellectual and moral training of contemporary youth* (c. 28–33).

24. 2 **vim et ardorem:** Grouped together also in Tac. Ag. 8 H. I 62. — **torrente:** Impetuous speech is often compared to a rushing stream. Cf. Cic. de fin. II 1, 3 fertur quasi torrens oratio Quint. X 7, 23 id potius quam se inani verborum torrenti dare III 8, 60 Plin. Ep. I 16, 2 omnia haec mire placent, cum impetu quodam et flumine praevehuntur Iuv. X 9. 128.

4 **quanto . . . incesseret:** Aper not only displayed great talent and enthusiasm, but also learning and rhetorical training, which he affected to despise (see c. 2 16), attacking the ancients with the very weapons which he took out of their own oratorical armory, as it were. *Mutuatus* is joined to 'ingenio ac spiritu' by zeugma, some general expression such as 'usus est' having to be supplied in thought. 'Locutus,' which Andresen following Doederlein prefers, is not sufficiently akin in meaning to 'mutuatus,' — a necessary requirement in all zeugmatic constructions. As Maternus here praises Aper's speech for its erudition and skill, so Catulus in Cic. de orat. II 89, 362 compliments Crassus in a similar manner. — For the repetition of the pronoun (ipsis . . . ipsos) which has been

unjustly objected to, John aptly compares Cic. de fin. I 20, 69 ipsi amici propter se ipsos amentur. See also Peter's note ad loc. — **per quae** = quibus. The use of 'per' with the acc. of the thing, in place of the usual instrumental ablative, begins to be common in Livy and is far more frequent in Tacitus than might appear from Dr. *Stil* p. 39. 43. See the long list of exx. in Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 1093–1095. In the Dial. again c. 33 20 and, exactly similar, Ann. I 65 II 72 XVI 24 per quae Ann. I 28. 60 IV 18 per haec and so repeatedly in Quintilian. See Bonnell's Lexicon.

6 **tuum promissum**: See c. 16 5 f. — **inmutasse debet**: This passage is erroneously cited by earlier editors and Weinkauff p. 115 as an instance of the logical perfect (on which see note c. 15 10 18 13), for the action implied in 'inmutasse' is completed.

9 **ne ipse quidem ita sentit** etc. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 18, 84 Charmadas vero multo uberius eisdem de rebus loquebatur, non quo aperiret sententiam suam; hic enim mos erat patrius Academiae adversari semper omnibus in disputando 62, 263 haud scio an aliter sentias et utare tua illa mirifica ad refellendum consuetudine . . . cuius quidem ipsius facultatis exercitatio oratorum propria est, sed iam in philosophorum consuetudine versatur maximeque eorum qui de omni re proposita in utramque partem solent copiosissime dicere and notes c. 15 10 16 10.

10 **more vetere et a veteribus philosophis**: The practice, known as εἰς ἑκάτερα ἐπιχείρησις, in utramque partem disputatio, is usually regarded as a peculiar feature of the New Academy. Cp., besides the passage cited in previous note, c. 31 28 dabunt Academici pugnacitatem Cic. de fin. II 13, 42 quae possunt eadem contra Carneadeum illud summum bonum dici quod is non tam, ut probaret, protulit quam ut Stoicis . . . oppugnaret de orat. I 10, 43 Academia, quae, quidquid dixisses, id te ipsum negare cogeret Tusc. Disp. II 3, 9 mihi semper Peripateticarum Academiaeque consuetudo de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes disserendi . . . placuit Quint. XII 2, 25 Academiam quidam utilissimam credunt quod mos in utramque partem disputandi ad exercitationem forensium causarum proxime accedat. Plut. de fac. lun. 923 A. See also Reid, Cic. Acad. Pr. 2, 7. — *et veteribus philosophis* is added to 'more vetere' for the sake of nearer definition, cf. note c. 9 1.

Nipperdey, *Rh. Mus.* XIX 570 f. has in my judgment irrefutably demonstrated the untenability of both 'vestris' and 'nostris.' John ad loc. and

others take 'nostris' = nostrae aetatis, but this interpretation in no way removes the difficulty, for the philosophic sects referred to had long been extinct in the speaker's day (hence 'more *vetere*'). Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. I 5, 11.

saepe celebrato: I have been unable to verify Wolff's assertion that this pleonasm is frequent.

11 **igitur:** On the position, cf. note c. 3 1. — **non laudationem antiquorum** etc.: This statement is quite incompatible with the supposition that c. 36 ff. are a part of the speech of Maternus. Cp. Prolegomena pp. lxxv–lxxxiv.

The accidental omission of 'in' before 'tantum' is intrinsically more probable than its intentional insertion by some scribe. Cf. c. 32 23 cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum recesserimus (no variants). G. 45 in tantum . . . a servitute degenerant and note c. 2 13.

cum praesertim, 'and that too, although' On this peculiar use of 'cum praesertim,' cf. Madvig, Cic. de fin. II 8, 25, where some 18 parallel instances (from Cicero) are quoted, to which we may add Quint. X 1, 105.

14 **centum et viginti** : Translate '*Only* 120 years.' The omission of 'tantum,' almost invariably before numerals, is highly idiomatic. Cp. the exhaustive discussion by H. S. Anton, *Stud. z. lat. Gramm.* I p. 126–161 (esp. p. 134–136).

15 **effici ratio temporum collegerit:** i. e. 'Aper's chronological calculation (c. 17 15) has shown that we arrive at an interval of only 120 years between Cicero's death and the present time.' The somewhat strained expression was occasioned primarily by the quasi-personification of ratio, on which see F. Meyer, *De personif. . . . usu Tacit.* Göttingen 1884. Helmreich, *Blaett. f. Bayr. Gymn.* X (1874) p. 256 aptly quotes Colum. III 10, 3 modo enim disputatio nostra colligebat unicuique corporis parti proprium esse adtributum officium.

The MS. reading, therefore, does not present insuperable difficulties. The deletion of 'effici' or of 'collegerit,' on the other hand, is unmethodical, because it is not probable that a scribe would ever have inserted either of these verbs on mere caprice.

25. 1 **tum:** On the ellipsis of 'inquit,' see note c. 4 1.

2 **diu** = pluribus verbis. So also c. 11 3.

3 **ut opinor:** On the meaning of 'ut opinor' see note c. 32 27.— **nominis controversiam:** Cf. Cic. de orat. I 11, 47. 23, 107 de fin.

II 12, 38 verbi (verborum) controversia. — **tamquam,** introduces the opinion of another, as in c 2 2, where see note.

4 **centum annos:** Messalla curtly dismisses Aper's chronological argument as irrelevant and is hence free to use a round number, even though it may seem to favor his opponent's contention, by still further narrowing down the short interval that has elapsed between the so called 'antiqui' and his own time.

5 **de vocabulo pugna:** Similar military metaphors are frequent. Cf. e. g. Cic. de fin. II 13, 42 Stoicis quibuscum bellum gerebat (sc. Carneades) de div. II 51, 105 Quint. X 1, 105 quantam mihi concitem pugnam.

6 **quo alio nomine:** e. g. veteres, prisci, olim nati. — **dum modo** occurs in Tacitus only here and G. 6, 'dum' taking its place in his other writings.

7 **in confesso:** The same expression occurs c. 27 3 and frequently elsewhere (see Dict.). On these and similar prepositional phrases, cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 55–59 *Stil* p. 36 Gerber *De usu praep.* p. 11. — **eminentiorem,** used figuratively as in c. 1 2.

8 **parti** 'passage.' — **si cominus fatetur:** This much disputed passage seems to me perfectly intelligible and unobjectionable in expression. *Si* for the more regular 'qua' is sufficiently supported by the many parallel constructions adduced by Vahlen, *Prooem.* 1876/7 p. 8 1878/9 p. 9 e. g. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I 46, 111 illa suspicio . . . cruciat, si opinamur III 31, 76 detrahere illam opinionem maerenti, si se officio fungi putet. *cominus,* in keeping with the military metaphors immediately preceding, is somewhat boldly but appropriately here used of coming closer to the main point at issue which Aper did, when he made the remark (c. 18 7 f.) which Messalla approvingly repeats, for the discussion which preceded was, in the speaker's opinion, as we have seen, not germane to the subject. On a perfectly analogous use of 'cominus,' cf. Cic. de div. II 10, 26 sed haec fuerit nobis tamquam levis armaturae prima orationis *excursio.* nunc *cominus* agamus. — *fatetur* = profitetur. Common in all periods of the language, in Tac. again c. 17 17 Ann. I 13 II 13. See also note c. 1 18. — There is, as Andresen well observes, a touch of sarcasm in these words, implying that Aper had, with some flourish, adduced as an original discovery what was after all but a well-recognised truth.

The interpretation just given seems to me perfectly suited to the context, and as it involves no arbitrary or violent changes, I cannot but regard the

numerous emendations proposed as an unnecessary tampering with the text. Cp. Andresen, *Emend.* p. 148–150 John, *Correspbl.* p. 29 f. — Ioh. Müller, followed by Wolff and Andresen, ingeniously conjectured 'qua quasi cominus nisus' on the analogy of Tac. Ann. IV 51 adversum resistentis cominus niti fatetur. But 'qua' for 'si' is not called for, as has been shown, nor is 'quasi' needed, for Tacitus and other post-Augustan writers freely dispense with apologies for unusual metaphors. See E. Wolff, *Einleit.* p. 14 f. 'nisus' is also superfluous, for I cannot see why 'cominus' may not have the meaning which was given to it above. Finally, it is intrinsically improbable that three words were omitted in the MSS. Nissen's easy emendation 'comminans,' revived by Vahlen, is, in my judgment out of place, as I am unable to recognise any *threat* in the words of Aper in c. 18 7 agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo.

9 **plures** = complures. The only instance of this confusion in the Dialogus, though exceedingly common in the other writings of Tacitus. See Lex. Tac. p. 882^{b}–883^{a}. It seems to occur first in the Bell. Afric. Cp. *Archiv*, VI 91 and in general, Schmalz, *Antib.* II 284.

10 **primae** sc. partes. A very frequent ellipsis (see Dict.); in Tac. also Ann. XIV 21 eloquentiae primas nemo tulit. With 'tribuere' e. g. Cic. Orat. 5, 18 cui vel primas eloquentiae patrum nostrorum tribuebat aetas 17, 56. — Demosthenes and Cicero are habitually grouped together as marking the zenith of oratical greatness in antiquity. Cp. the beautiful antithesis in Hieron. ad Nepot. de vita cleric.: Demosthenes tibi (sc. Ciceroni) praeripuit, ne esses primus orator; tu illi ne solus. — **Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus**: The names of the Greek, as well as those of the Roman orators, enumerated immediately below, are not arranged chronologically, but in the order of merit. Quint. X 1, 76 agrees with this critical estimate: Decem (sc. oratores) simul Athenis aetas una tulit quorum longe princeps Demosthenes . . . Aesch. Hyp. . . . Lysias. The coincidence has been thought highly significant. It ceases to be so, when we observe that Quintilian proceeds to discuss Isocrates, while Lycurgus is *never* so much as even mentioned throughout the entire Institutio.

The editors of the Dial. have with singular unanimity rejected 'autem' before 'locum.' It is, however, eminently proper in this place, as shown by the succeeding symmetrically constructed clause: Cicero . . . Calvus autem. It is the second 'autem' that ought to have been objected to, and I feel convinced that the original reading was 'tamen.' The corruption was either due to the false solution of an illegible compendium, or to meta-

thesis or to the influence of the preceding 'autem.' Cp. vv. ll. c. 41 10 Ann. XIII 25. If we substitute 'tamen,' Messalla's point is at once brought out with admirable distinctness: "Although D. was considered primus *omnium* and not primus *inter pares*, yet (tamen) his age was by common consent regarded as marking the culmination of Greek eloquence, so the age of Cicero marks a similar climax in Roman oratory, even though Cicero's immediate contemporaries failed to reach his consummate excellence." Cp. also below, omnes tamen.

12 **concessu** for the usual 'consensu,' frequent in Cicero but rare elsewhere e. g. Caes. B. G. VII 20 Tac. Ann. XII 44.

13 **haec oratorum aetas** = horum oratorum. On the hypallage, cf. note c. 2 3.

14 **antecessit**: Intransitive verbs when compounded with a preposition frequently assume a transitive meaning and as such take the accusative. Examples of this use are chiefly confined to post-Aug. writers and very common in Tacitus. 'Antecedere' is, however, it must be noted, always construed with the acc. by Caesar, who uses this verb seven times. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 376–82 *Stil* p. 20.— On the remarkable phenomenon that the great orators of Greece as well as of Rome were contemporaries, cf. Vell. Pat. I 16, 2 f. quis enim abunde mirari potest quod eminentissima cuiusque professionis ingenia in similitudine et temporum et profectuum semet ipsa ab aliis separaverunt . . . neque hoc Graecis quam in Romanis evenit magis . . . oratio ac vis forensis sub principe operis sui erupit, Tullio ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis nisi aut ab illo visum aut qui illum viderit.

16 **refert quod**: *Refert* followed by 'quod' seems to be ἅπ. εἰρ. So once also after 'interest' in Traian. Ep. ad Plin. 30, 2 neque enim multum interest quod nondum per numeros distributi sunt (sc. milites).—With the antithesis, cf. Quint. XII 10, 22 quos (sc. oratores Attici) ut homines inter se genere similes, differentes dixeris specie.

17 **adstrictior Calvus**: *adstrictus* 'concise,' synonymous with 'pressus, contractus, collectum (c. 31 22) ἀδιάχυτος (περὶ ὕψους 34).' Cf. Cic. Brut. 90, 309 contracta et adstricta eloquentia Plin. Ep. I 20, 20 qui adstrictius quam qui effusius dicit III 18, 10 ea potius quae pressius et adstrictius quam illa quae hilarius et quasi exsultantius scripsi and note c. 18 6.—**nervosior Asinius**: 'energetic, vigorous.' A common epithet of style and peculiarly appropriate

to Pollio. Cf. Cic. Brut. 31, 121 quis enim uberior in dicendo Platone . . . quis Aristotele *nervosior*, Theophrasto dulcior?

The generally accepted reading 'numerosior' was due to a wrong solution of a compendium, still preserved in cod. A. It is less probable than 'nervosior' for two reasons: (1) Messalla's criticisms throughout turn upon *general* characteristics of style, and not upon technical or formal qualities; (2) 'numerosior' is too much at variance with Seneca's judgment on this point (cited c. 21 33) to render it plausible that Messalla should deliberately single out this feature as *particularly* characteristic or praiseworthy in Pollio's speeches. John's interpretation of Seneca's criticism does not convince me.

splendidior Caesar: *splendidus* here apparently synonymous with 'elegans, purus.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 100, 5 splendida tamen, quamvis sumantur e medio 114, 14 nisi splendidis uti . . . necessaria atque in usu posita vitare Cic. Brut. 88, 302 erat in verborum splendore elegans. It was this quality which according to the unanimous verdict of antiquity especially distinguished Caesar's diction. Cf. Cic. Brut. 72, 252. 261 Hirtius, B. G. VIII pr. 8 Quint. X 1, 114. **amarior Caelius**: Cf. note c. 18 6. — **gravior Brutus**: Cf. note c. 21 21.

19 **vehementior**: This is said in opposition to Aper's assertion in c. 22 12 tarde commovetur, raro incalescit. — **plenior**: Cicero's fulness of expression, which Aper l. c. censured, is in Messalla's judgment not open to adverse criticism. — **valentior**: Cf. Cic. de fato 6, 12 valens dialecticus. — Of the orators mentioned by Aper, Messalla omits his ancestor, Messalla Corvinus, for obvious reasons.

Tacitus uses 'prae se ferre" (Ag. 43 G. 39) as well as 'praeferre' (Ann. XIII 3). Andresen's emendation has been received into the text, because praefeferunt was more easily corrupted into ferunt than praeferunt, the apparent dittography of 'se' causing the omission of 'prae.'

22 **quamvis in diversis ingeniis** etc. The same antithesis occurs in Cic. de orat. II 23, 94 alii (sc. historici) naturis differunt, voluntate autem similes sunt. Cf. also ibid. 92 non tam facile in nostris oratoribus possumus iudicare quia scripta, ex quibus *indicium* fieri posset . . . quam in Graecis, ex quorum scriptis, cuiusque aetatis quae dicendi ratio voluntasque fuerit intellegi potest.

23 **quod**: Translate: 'As regards their mutual recriminations and the occurrence of certain remarks.' This passage is cited by Dr. *H. S.* II 224 ff *Stil* p. 58 and the commentators as the only illustration of the brachylogical use of 'quod' in Tacitus, but not

to mention the disputed passage in Ann. IV 33 tum quod antiquis oratoribus rarus obtrectator, on which see Furneaux and Ioh. Müller, *Beitr.* III p. 46 ff., I recognise in Ag. 34 quos quod tandem invenistis, *non* restiterunt *sed* deprehensi sunt, a very similar construction. — **invicem se obtrectaverunt:** *Invicem* on the analogy of 'inter se,' its classical equivalent, is generally used without an additional 'se' and so invariably elsewhere in Tacitus, barring one exception in Ag. 6 invicem se anteponendo. Similar examples are by no means rare in Silver Latin e. g. Plin. Ep. III 7,15 cum invicem se mutuis exhortationibus amici ad amorem immortalitatis exacuunt Pomp. Mela III 52 se invicem infestant Ps. Quint. Decl. p. 194, 25. 258, 6 R. Acrost. Plaut. Men. 10 ibi se cognoscunt fratres postremo invicem. Cp. Hartmann, *Archiv* III 290 and esp. Thielmann, *ibid.* VII 362–366, 388, also Schmalz, *Antib.* p. 718 f.

Nipperdey (*Rhein. Mus.* XIX 571 f. and Ann. XIV 17) to whom the above passages were unfortunately unknown, refused to accept 'invicem se' as correct Latin. The very awkward exception in the Agricola he promptly disposes of by gravely laying down the rule that 'se' may be added, for the sake of clearness, if the verb can also govern a dative case, a rule which its author abandons at once by deleting 'se' in our passage, apparently forgetting that 'obtrectare' with the acc. of the person in place of the dative is found only here.

24 **et . . . epistulis eorum:** Cf. c. 18 22 ff. On the affirmative use of 'et,' very common in Tacitus, see Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 103.

25 **hominum** 'human nature.' In this sense, also in Tac. H. IV 74 Ann. I 61. Cp. humanae infirmitatis vitium, below.

26 **Asinium:** Asinius Pollio, though well-known as a malevolent critic (cp. Teuffel § 221, 6) had not been included by Aper in c. 18 20 to which passage Messalla expressly refers. But this inconsistency, as Vahlen, *Prooem.* 1878/9 p. 6 has pointed out, is no more open to criticism than the similar instances of incongruity in c. 3 20 or 25 31, where see notes.

'et invidere' has generally been athetised as an explanatory gloss to 'livere,' but, as John, *Correspbl.* p. 31 has convincingly shown, the two verbs are by no means synonymous and, even if they were so, the deletion of one of them would not be justifiable, in view of the fondness for synonymic collocations which characterises this treatise. The genuineness of 'invidere' is, moreover, clearly demonstrated by the observation that 'ceteri' and also 'alii' *invariably* refer back to a *substantive* antecedent which, with the reading hitherto adopted, could only be supplied from the infinitive. This difficulty is disposed of by the easy correction of 'livere' into 'livore.'

27 **malignitate nec invidia**: 'Influenced by,' ablat. causae, on which see note c. 19 22. On the collocation of these two nouns, cf. note c. 23 26. — **simpliciter et ingenue**: Cf. Caelius ap. Cic. ad fam. VIII 6, 1 simpliciter et candide Plin. Ep. I 13, 2 s. et libere (opp. to dissimulanter et furtim) Suet. Octav. 71 s. et palam Cic. ad fam. V 2, 2 aperte atque ingenue confitebar.

29 **iudicium animi detexisse**: 'revealed his conviction.' So c. 27 9 and Cic. de orat. II 89, 363 gaudeo iudicium animi mei comprobari. Brutus alone, Messalla contends, gave expression to his convictions frankly and openly, being free from malice and envy, which influenced the criticism of the others. The commentators assume a zeugma here, supplying 'iudicasse' (Peter) or 'locutos esse,' but this is based upon the erroneous supposition that 'iudicium animi' necessarily designates 'sincere conviction,' whereas the phrase derives its precise meaning, in bonam or malam partem, solely from the context. 'Locutos esse' is, moreover, open to the objection mentioned in c. 24 5. See also Clemm, *De breviloq. Tac.* p. 140. — With this high estimate of Brutus' character, cf. Quint. X 1, 123 scias eum sentire quae dicit Caesar ap. Cic. ad Att. XIV 1 (cited c. 21 26), and following note. — **an ille Ciceroni invideret qui ... ne Caesari quidem invidisse?** Cf. Plut. Brut. 29 *Ἀντωνίου γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ὡς μόνον οἴοιτο Βροῦτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι προαχθέντα . . . τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συστῆναι μισοῦντας καὶ φθονοῦντας.* Comp. Dion. et Brut. 3 *ἡ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀπέχθεια καὶ μισοπονηρία, τοῦτ' εἰλικρινές ἐστι τῷ Βρούτῳ καὶ καθαρόν.*

30 **quod ... attinet**: In Tacitus only here and Ag. 33 quod ad me attinet, 'quantum ad' taking its place e. g. Ag. 44 G. 21 H V 10. — **C. Laelium**: Aper in the passage directly alluded to had mentioned Galba and Carbo. The inaccuracy of Messalla's reference must be admitted, but it was doubtless intentional, in order to impart an air of spontaneity to what purports to be an informal conversation among friends. To insist on bibliographical exactness, as some have done, is absurd. Cp. crit. note c. 18 3. — On the oratorical characteristic of Laelius, cf. Cic. de orat. I 13, 58 Ser. Galbae . . . C. Laelio quos constat dicendi gloria praestitisse Brut. 21, 83 multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille (sc. Laelius) quam Scipio . . . delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur et lubenter verbis etiam uti paullo magis priscis Laelius. But compared to Galba, his style was less archaic (Brut. 24, 94).

The necessity of inserting 'Aper' has been convincingly demonstrated by Andresen *Emend.* p. 152 f. Tacitus often repeats the subject, even where all possible ambiguity is excluded. Cf. c. 9 1 12 1 24 9 26 15. — The omission of 'id' was due to the preceding syllable. This emendation is of so easy a nature that critics ought to have had no hesitation in adopting it, instead of taking the entire sentence 'quod . . . destitit' as the subject of 'exigit,' at best a very awkward, and hardly permissible construction.

33 **nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae:** *nascenti* 'growing.' For this peculiar use of the word, not recognised in the Dict., cf. Catull. LXII 39. 49 Verg. Ecl. VII 25 VIII 17 Caes. B. G. VI 35, 7 Petron. 4. and also Plin. Ep. VI 6, 6 VIII 4, 6 rudia et adhuc similia nascentibus, omitted by Vahlen, *Hermes* XV 270. *adhuc* = etiamtum (so here), etiam nunc is apparently not used by Cicero, it is quite common in Livy (cf. Fügner *Lex. Liv.* s. v.) and in post-Augustan writers (cf. Kleiber, p. 67) but particularly frequent in Tacitus e. g. Ag 35 adloquente adhuc Agricola H. I 31 *incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta* seditio 36 III 9 IV 5. 42 Ann. IV 7, incipiente adhuc potentia XV 33 XVI 32. 'Nascens' and 'adultus' are also combined in Cic. Brut. 7, 27, non nascentibus Athenis sed iam adultis and the thought itself was probably suggested by Brut. 18, 69 nec vero ignoro nondum satis politum hunc oratorem et quaerendum esse aliquid perfectius. Nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum. Cf. also Sen. Ep. 95, 14 fuit sine dubio vetus illa sapientia tum maxime nascens, rudis non minus quam ceterae artes.

26. 2 **C. Gracchi impetum:** The impetuosity that characterised his speeches is in a measure confirmed by the style of the fragments preserved in Gell. XI 3, 3–5 XI 10, 2–6. 13, 3 XV 12, 2–4. It is frequently alluded to by the ancients. Cf. Cic. de orat. III 56, 214 quae sic ab illo esse acta constabat oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrimas tenere non possent de harusp. resp. 19, 41 Florus III 15 impetu incaluit C. Gracchus Front. Ep. p. 144 contionatur . . . Gracchus turbulente . . . tumultuatur G. Ep. p. 54 oratores veteres quorum aut pauci aut praeter Catonem et Gracchum nemo tubam inflat Plut. Tib. Gracch. c. 2 (p. 824 f.) *ἔντονος δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ Γάϊος, ὥστε καὶ δημηγορεῖν τὸν μὲν ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ βεβηκότα κοσμίως, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος περιπάτῳ τε χρήσασθαι καὶ περισπάσαι τὴν τήβεννον ἐξ ὤμου λέγοντα* 825 *θυμοειδής, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκφερόμενον* sqq. C. Gr. c. 4 *ἦν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν,* where see Holden's notes. Cf. also note c. 18 8.

3 **Crassi maturitatem:** *maturitas* signifies the full, all-round development of mental powers and hence is used as a synonym of 'perfectus.' See Cic. Brut. 92, 318 (cited c. 22 10) and note c. 3 12. The same epithet is applied to Crassus by Macrob. VI, 16 sunt stili dicendi duo . . . unus est *maturus* et gravis, qualis Crasso adsignatur. May not this be a reminiscence of the present passage? Crassus is at least not elsewhere in extant writers so designated. — **calamistros Maecenatis:** *calamistri*, literally 'curling-irons or crisping-pins.' The expression, in the figurative sense of 'rhetorical flourishes' is borrowed from Cicero who uses it twice: Brut. 75, 262 qui volent illa (sc. Caesaris commentarios) calamistris inurere Orat. 23, 78 ne calamistri quidem adhibebuntur (sc. orationi), where see Sandys' note. On the effeminate and florid style of Maecenas, cf. Suet. Octav. 86 exagitabatque in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius μυροβρεχεῖς, ut ait, cincinnos usquequaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet (See Macrob. II 4, 12) and esp. Sen. Ep. 114, 4 magni vir ingenii fuerat si . . . non etiam in oratione diffluerет, videbis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis, involutam et errantem et licentiae plenam 6 non statim cum haec (the characteristic specimen of his style quoted in § 5) legeris, hoc tibi occurret hunc esse qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit sqq.? In general, cp. Teuffel, *R. L.* § 220, 6–9 Mayor, Iuv. I 66. With the phrase, cp. also Goethe, Faust: Eure *Reden* . . In denen ihr der Menschheit *Schnitzel kräuselt.*

4 **tinnitus Gallionis:** *L. Iunius Gallio*, the friend of Ovid and of Seneca Rhetor, and the judge who presided at the trial of St. Paul, was the author of a rhetorical treatise (Quint. III 1, 21) and 'declamationes,' from which Seneca has preserved numerous specimens Cp. Teuffel, *R. L.* § 268, 7. These cannot, of course, either confirm or disprove Messalla's unfavorable criticism, as is clear from a remark in Sen. Contr. III praef. 18 ext. Gallio's enduring reputation seems to be attested, however, by Apoll. Sid. Ep. V 10 who predicates 'gravitas' of him and by a passage in Hieronymus cited c. 26 32. — *tinnitus* 'jingling style.' In this figurative sense, the word is ἅπ. εἰρ., but its analogue 'tinnulus' occurs once in Hieron. Ep. 143, 2 tinnula verba. So κώδωνες is similarly used by the author of Περὶ ὕψους 23, 4 ἐπεί τοι τὸ πανταχοῦ κώδωνας ἐξῆφθαι, λίαν σοφιστικόν. — Observe the incongruity of the antithesis, the comparison being in reality made between the *general oratorical*

character of Gracchus and Crassus on the one hand, and the *stylistic* peculiarities of Maecenas and Gallio on the other. — With Messalla's alternative we may compare the similarly formulated conviction of Cic. de orat. III 35, 142 quorum si alterum sit optandum, malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultitiam loquacem and esp. Quint. VIII 5, 34 si necesse sit veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim quam istam novam licentiam. IX 4, 142 cited below.

5 **hirta toga . . . insignire**: On similar metaphors applied to oratorical style cf. Brut. 75, 262 omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta Sandys, Orat. 23, 78 Peterson, Quint. X 1, 33 and esp. Lucian, Rhet. Praec. 16 cited in Mayor's exhaustive note to Iuv. VII 134 (vol. I 264. 303). — *hirta:* the same epithet is applied to the toga in Luc. II 386 Quint. XII 10, 47, to the tunica in Nep. Dat. 3, 2. — *fucatus*, a favorite word of Cicero and always used in a figurative sense. Cf. Sandys, Orat. 23, 79. *meretriciis vestibus:* This word should be added to the list of adj. in -icius given by Woelfflin, *Archiv* V 432. On the varicolored dress usually worn by *ἑταῖραι*, cp. Lorenz, Exc. to Plaut. Mostellaria. — *insignire* is poetic and post-Augustan. John ad loc: notes that the device of confirming a concrete statement by the admitted truth of a wider generalisation (adeo, etc.) is particularly characteristic of Livy e. g. II 43, 10, where see Drakenborch, and of Tacitus, e. g. Ag. 1 nec id Rutilio . . . obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus optime aestimantur Ann. III 19 is finis fuit in ulciscenda Germanici morte . . . vario rumore iactata. adeo maxima quaeque ambigua sunt sqq.

6 **oratorius . . . virilis**: Cf. note c. 5 13.

7 **plerique** is here best taken in the sense of 'plurimi' and so also immediately below, this being more in keeping with the tone of indignation which pervades the entire chapter. Cp. note 2 10. — **actores** = oratores. Here used absolutely. Peter and Kleiber p. 38 err in asserting that Cicero *always* adds a genit. like causarum. See Orat. 19, 61 de leg. III 18, 40.

8 **lascivia verborum**: 'Wantonness of language,' opp. to 'severitas in verbis' (Quint. IX 4, 146) dilectus verborum (c. 22 5). With the thought, cf. Quint. II 5, 22 ne recentis huius lasciviae flosculis capti voluptate quadam prava deliniantur ut praedulce illud genus et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quod proprius est, adament X 1,

43 alios recens haec lascivia deliciaeque et omnia ad voluptatem multitudinis imperitae composita delectant IX 4, 144 ff. and Cic. de orat. I 16, 70. — **levitate sententiarum**: 'Shallow thoughts.' Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. II 17, 45 opinionis levitas Quint. XII 10, 73 falluntur enim qui vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus quod aut verborum licentia exultat aut puerilibus sententiolis lascivit aut immodico tumore turgescit aut inanibus locis bacchatur sqq. Opposed to locos laetiores in c. 22 6. — **licentia compositionis**: i. e. abuse of the laws of prose rhythm, opp. to ars compositionis (c. 22 6). Cf. Quint. IX 4, 142 si sit necesse, duram potius atque asperam compositionem malim quam effeminatam et enervem, qualis apud multos et cotidie magis, lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat Pers. I 98 ff. quidnam igitur tenerum et laxa cervice legendum? | Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis sqq. — Observe the alliteration, doubtless designed to bring out each item of the scathing indictment into strong relief. So also c. 20 6 ff. where see note and Proleg. p. cxvii.

9 **histrionales**: a vox Tacitea, again used c. 29 11 h. favor and Ann. I 16 histrionali studio, but not elsewhere in Latin.

10 **quodque . . . debeat** i. e. And though these abuses are such, as one should scarcely permit even to be heard, yet very many actually boast that. On this consecutive subjunctive, cp. Kühner II p. 855 f. and Peter ad loc.

Debeat is the reading of all our MSS., which we have no right to emend, unless it can be shown to be untenable. Nevertheless John, although forced to admit that 'debeat' is possible, is at great pains to show that 'debebat,' an emendation of Muretus, ought to be substituted. But even granting that the imperfect ind. like ἔδει, ἐξῆν in Greek, may express unreality in the present, John's view involves the further necessity of taking 'quod . . . debeat' as the object of 'iactans,' the infinitives becoming epexegetic, a far-fetched and unnatural construction. Finally, if Messalla, as John contends, wished to express his emphatic condemnation of the practices in question with the implied regret that they had, up to his time, passed without deserving censure, *vix* would also be out of place.

laudis et gloriae: A very common collocation. In Tacitus again c. 41 23 and H. IV 14. On laus, fama, cf. note c. 7 11, fama, gloria, cf. note 18 1. — **loco**: 'In place of . . . and as a proof of,' a kind of zeugma, for with reference to 'laudis et gloriae,' 'cantari saltarique' is the *cause;* with reference to 'ingenii,' one of its outward *manifestations.* See Peter ad loc.

11 cantari saltarique: A careful modulation of voice and appropriate gestures were considered essential in an orator's education (cf. e. g. Cic. Orat. 17, 56 — 18, 60 de orat. I 28, 128), but these accomplishments began to degenerate even in Cicero's own time (Orat. 18, 57 Brut. 62, 225) into mere vocal affectation and extravagant gesticulation, and during the Empire, this abuse of originally admirable practices had become so general (cf. Sen. Suas. II 10 explicationes Fusci quas nemo nostrum non aliis alia inclinatione vocis velut sua quisque modulatione cantabat) as to call forth the severe censure of men of taste and culture. See e. g. Quint. XI 3, 57 sed quodcunque ex his vitium magis tulerim quam quo nunc maxime laboratur in causis omnibus scholisque cantandi quod inutilius sit an foedius nescio. quid enim minus oratori convenit quam modulatio scenica 181 non enim comoedum sed oratorem volo . . . non inmerito reprehenditur pronuntiatio vultuosa et gesticulationibus molesta et vocis mutationibus resultans . . . sed iam recepta est actio paulo agitatior Plin. Ep. II 14, 12 f. pudet referre quae quam fracta pronuntiatione dicantur, quibus quam *teneris* clamoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum ac potius sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt, ululatus quidem (neque enim alio vocabulo potest exprimi theatris quoque indecora laudatio) large supersunt. — **commentarios** = 'explicationes' in the passage from Seneca just cited. See also note c. 23 10.

'sicut his . . . clam . . .' In my judgment a hopelessly corrupt passage, neither 'clausula' nor the generally accepted reading 'exclamatio' being free from serious objections; illa exclamatio, followed by an epexegetic 'ut,' has indeed found a solitary companion in Petron. 25 hinc etiam proverbium natum illud ut dicantur (adduced by Vahlen), for the examples cited by John from c. 26 31 and Cic. de orat. I 13, 56 do not seem to me analogous. But the introduction of so rare a construction by conjecture is in any case justifiable only if absolutely required by the evident meaning of the passage. In the present instance, this is far from being the case, for by reading 'exclamatio,' the epigrammatic antithesis 'ut . . . saltare' would be attributed to the modern rhetoricians themselves, whereas it is suitable only to their critics. The other attempts to fill out the lacuna, enumerated on p. 33, are either palaeographically improbable or at best but ingenious guesses which cannot carry conviction.

13 tenere dicere . . . diserte saltare: As the arts of eloquence and dancing in the modern school have virtually coalesced, their attributes also are interchangeable (Andresen). *tener*, here equivalent to 'lascivious, wanton,' occurs as an epithet of dancing also in Cic. Pis. 36, 89 cum tuis teneris saltatoribus.

15 **C. S. quem solum . . . nominare ausus est:** Cf. c. 19 2 f.

16 **oratorem** 'real orator' as opposed to 'disertus.' Cf. note c. 1 6.

17 **plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis:** The passionate and venomous character of Severus' oratory is repeatedly attested. Cf. Sen. Contr. III praef. 4 iratus commodius dicebat et diligentissime cavebant homines ne dicentem interpellarent 16 Cassius non continuit bilem Quint. X 1, 117 acerbitas mira . . . plus stomacho quam consilio dedit XII 10, 11 acerbitatem Cassii Tac. Ann. I 72 Cassii Severi libidine qua viros feminasque inlustres *procacibus* scriptis diffamaverat, and below l. 20 non pugnat sed rixatur.

The MSS. read 'vis,' which Peter, alone of recent editors, defends. The chief objection against this reading is not the occurrence of 'vis' as a genitive, for this is admitted by the ancient grammarians as a legitimate form (cf. Neue, *Formenl.* I² p, 496 f. Köhler, Acta Sem. Erl. I 390), nor was Severus devoid of force (see below and Robert, *Cass. Sev.* p. 49) but 'vis' and 'sanguis' are *invariably* regarded as *synonymous.* E. g. Quint. VIII 3, 6 sanguine et viribus niteat X 2, 12 minus virium ac sanguinis habeant. Peter, intent upon retaining the MS. reading at all hazards, does not shrink from taking 'vis' in the sense of 'nimia vis'! "Dies ergiebt sich," he argues, "aus der mit 'enim' angeknüpften Erklärung, in der er (i. e. Severus) 'incompositus . . . deiectus' genannt wird, was neben dem weiter dazu Gehörigen (!?) nur die Folge einer zu grossen Heftigkeit und Leidenschaft sein kann." It will be observed, that the other adverse criticisms contained in the 'enim' clause are significantly ignored, thus creating the impression that incompositus etc. was directly and closely attached to the preceding 'vis' as an explanatory clause! A reading that can be supported only on such gratuitous assumptions, does not call for serious refutation. *Bilis*, though less close to the MSS., than 'viri,' is admirably suited to the context and more properly contrasted with 'sanguinis,' both words belonging to the same class of metaphors taken from the human body. Cp. note c. 21 4 crit. note c. 22 22 and Plin. Ep. IV 11, 2 cui sententiae tantum *bilis*, tantum amaritudinis inest.

18 **contempto ordine rerum:** This fault was doubtless in a great measure due to the remarkable talent of Severus as an extemporaneous speaker, which would often render him impatient of the restrictions imposed by a carefully prepared speech. Cf. Sen. Contr. III praef. 6 sed cum procedere nollet nisi instructus, libenter ab instrumentis recedebat. ex tempore coactus dicere infinito se antecedebat. numquam non utilius erat illi deprehendi quam praeparari and 4 f. — **omissa modestia ac pudore verborum:** The passage evidently refers to the causticity and scurrility of Severus'

wit, which qualities would naturally also taint his language. Cf. Quint. XI 1, 30 in rebus ac verbis parum modestis ac pudicis vilis pudor . . . quae fere accidunt iis qui nimium . . . ridiculi volunt. Seneca, though he highly praises his style (Contr. III praef. 7 phrasin non vulgarem nec sordidam sed electam) cannot help saying that only *quamdiu citra iocos se continebat,* censoria oratio erat. His wit was, nevertheless, barring its bitterness, of a high order. Cf. Quint. X 1, 117 in eo et acerbitas mira et urbanitas . . . praeterea ut amari sales, ita frequenter amaritudo ipsa ridicula est and below (l. 22). For illustrations, see Sen. Contr. II 12, 11 III praef. 16. 17 X praef. 8. 34, 20 Quint. VI 1, 43. 3, 78. 79 VIII 2, 2. 3, 89 XI 1, 57. 3, 133. Suet. de gramm. 22. — *omissa,* agreeing with the nearer of two subjects, a usage especially common in abl. abs. constructions. Cf. e. g. Ag. 28 occiso centurione ac militibus H. III 69 mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum V 20 occiso praefecto . . . et primoribus Caes. B. G. II 28, 1 prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto III 20, 2 auxiliis equitatuque comparato Cic. de orat. I 33, 153 intermisso impetu pulsuque remorum. But with proper names and personal substantives the singular is less frequent. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 176 ff.

19 **armis incompositus**: The figure is taken from fencing. Such rhetorical devices as Severus does employ, he uses unskillfully and in his eagerness to strike a blow, he is generally thrown off his balance. *Incompositus* 'irregular, devoid of art' as e. g. in Hor. Sat. I 10, 1 incomposito . . . pede Verg. Georg. I 350 motus inc. Quint. X 1, 66 rudis et in plerisque inc. (sc. Aeschylus). — *armis* 'in the use of, in regard to.' For the abl., cf. Quint. IV 5, 10 moribus incompositus. 'arma' is synonymous with 'instrumenta,' see c. 31 20 parato omni instrumento Sen. Contr. III praef. 6 (cited l. 18.) Quint. XII 2, 5 cum ea dicendi viribus tuentur, uti rhetorum armis, non suis 5, 1 haec sunt . . . instrumenta artis . . . ipsius oratoris, haec arma habere ad manum.

20 **deiectus**: The metaphor is very common, but in Cicero always with the addition of de statu, gradu or sede. Cp. Sandys, Orat. 37, 129. For a similar absolute use, cf. Cael. ap. Cic. ad fam. VIII 4, 3 M. Caelium Vinicianum mentio illa fatua . . . subito deiecit Liv. XXXVIII 35 inimicum eo quoque anno petentem deiecisset Tac. Ann. II 4 Artavasdes . . . deiectus (sc. de regno). With the thought, cf. Quint. IV 2, 26 ut in armorum ratione antiquior cavendi quam ictum inferendi cura est.

'detectus' 'exposed himself to attack' is also suited to the context; it avoids the absolute use of 'deiectus' and retains the metaphor. But as no trace of a variant appears in the MSS., I see no reason for rejecting the traditional reading. Baehrens objects to 'detectus' on the ground that the word never occurs in the sense of 'intectus.' This is very true, for 'intego' has exactly the opposite meaning!

20 **non pugnat sed rixatur:** *Pugna* is a battle in which the combatants are properly trained; *rixa* an ordinary quarrel that comes to blows. Cf. Liv. II 18 rixa ac prope proelium fuit Quint. II 12, 2 gladiator armorum inscius in rixam ruit. It is used of a ranting orator also in Quint. XI 1, 29 videas autem rixatores quosdam. Both the noun and the verb are extremely rare in Cicero. Cf. Verr. II 4, 66, 148 turba atque rixa de orat. II 59, 240 rixatus, where see Wilkins. The same criticism is applied to Calvus by Fronto Ep. p. 114 N. Calvus rixatur. For numerous other points of resemblance between him and Severus, see the discussion in P. Robert *op. cit.* p. 66–68. — **ceterum:** 'But to return to my statement concerning Severus' viz. posse oratorem vocari. For a similar use of 'ceterum,' where 'ad personam regreditur oratio' cf. G. 43 valentissimas (sc. gentes) nominasse sufficiet, Harios . . . ceterum Harii and Ann. II 34 Urgulania . . . ceterum Urgulania. 'Ceterum' after a digression: G. 3 H. II 21 III 35.

21 **sequentibus . . . ceteros:** The two terms refer to the same persons. The tautology is, however, excusable, being probably occasioned by the necessity of joining an accusative with 'superat.' — **varietate eruditionis:** 'varied culture.' Cf. c. 19 5 nec inscitia litterarum.

22 **lepore urbanitatis:** 'charming wit.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 5, 17 lepos . . . eruditio . . . urbanitate coniuncta, with Wilkins' notes. 'urbanitatis' is apparently only added for the sake of the libration. — **virium robore:** This collocation is especially frequent in Livy: e. g. XXII 40 XXIII 26 XXIV 48 XXVII 46 XXXIII 4. Curt. VII 3, 4. *virium* is here perhaps best taken in the figurative sense of 'mental forces,' thus retaining the military metaphor so carefully sustained throughout this paragraph. — This favorable view of the oratorical talent of Severus is, in spite of sundry adverse criticism, fully shared by Sen. Contr. III praef. 3 tantundem erat in homine quantum in ingenio and by Quint. X 1, 116 multa, si cum iudicio legatur, dabit imitatione digna Cassius Severus qui, si ceteris virtutibus colorem et gravitatem orationem adiecisset, ponendus inter praecipuos foret. nam ingenii plurimum est in eo.

24 **sustinuit**: 'could not bring himself, did not venture,' like the Homeric τλῆναι. The construction with the infinit. occurs first in Ovid, e. g. Her. V 30 Met. VI 367 and in prose in Sen. Contr. I praef. 24 Vell. II 86, 2, thereafter very common. In Tac. only here and H. I 37 nec privatum me vocare sustineo. Both of these examples are omitted by Dr. *H. S.* II 334. — **incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo**: The participle agreeing in the sing. with the nearest proper name. Cp. note c. 26 18 and Andresen, Append. to Nipp. Ann. Vol. II 319 f.

27 **alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari**: There is unquestionably a slight incongruity, as Vahlen, *Prooem.* 1878/9 p. 5 has observed, in the unexpected substitution of two new names in place of those just enumerated, but Messalla means to point out that Aper, if he desired to show the superiority of modern eloquence by means of a comparison, ought not to have directed the brunt of his attack against the three first-named orators, but should rather have singled out the admittedly greatest oratorical representatives of that period, namely Cicero and Caesar, pitting them severally against the most eloquent men of the present. See Andresen's note ad loc.

Spengel's proposal to insert 'alium Brutum' does not remove, but increases the inconcinnity, and at the same time prevents its plausible explanation.

deinde, practically equivalent to deinceps. So H. I 51 Sequanis Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi.

But 'deinceps' may have been the original reading, the two words being easily confounded, owing to similar abbreviation. Cp. c. 9 5 deinceps — A B deinde — ω.

nunc: 'instead; now, however,' a very common use of the word in Tacitus. Cp. Lex. Tac. p. 985.

28 **contentus**, with inf. cf. note c. 18 13.

29 **in publicum**: 'In a general way,' synonymous with 'in universum' (G. 6) and 'in commune.' In Tac. only here and Ann. XIII 56, also once in Quint. X 7, 1. The adj. 'publicus' is frequently used in the same sense in Silver Latin, e. g. Sen. Ep. 88, 12 publicum est quod tenes, quod tuum dicis 59, 1 p. verba. In Cicero only in the ordinary meaning, e. g. de leg. agr. II 5, 13 lex in p. proponitur. — **in commune**: Of very frequent occurrence, particularly in Seneca and in Tacitus. Cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. — Plin. N. H. VI 17, 19, 50 similarly combines 'in universum' and 'in

commune.' — For the antithesis to 'nominatim,' cf. Liv. IX 26, 8 non nominatim sed in universum.

30 **multos offenderet etc**: Modelled upon Cic. Brut. 65, 231 vereri te, inquit, arbitror, ne per nos hic sermo tuus emanet et ii tibi succenseant, quos praeterieris.

It seems far more likely that an original reading 'laederet' was explained by 'offenderet,' which occurs c. 27 6, than that the latter should have been arbitrarily replaced by a figurative expression.

31 **scholasticorum**: Contemptuously used for rhetoricians. Cp. note c. 15 16. — **persuasione** = 'conviction.' In this sense, the word is post-Aug. The same phrase is found in Quint. XI 3, 11 illi persuasione sua fruantur. — **ante . . . post**: 'superior to . . . inferior.' With this meaning, these prepositions are very rare in classic Latin. Cf. Sall. C. 53, 3 facundia Graecos . . . ante Romanos fuisse Liv. XXXV 14 tum vero me et ante Alexandrum . . . et ante omnes alios imperatores esse Hor. C. III 9, 6 neque erat Lydia post Chloen. In Tacitus: H. II 76 (anteibat) IV 55. 81 V 12 Ann. I 27 XIII 37. 54 — H. II 77 III 64. Both combined in Sen. Ep. 104, 9 tantus erat ambitionis furor, ut nemo tibi post te videatur, si aliquis ante te fuerit.

32 **numeret**: Cf. Tac. H. II 77 nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur Sil. Ital. XV 747 ante omnes bello numerandus Hamilcar. — **plane** = haud dubie, nimirum, said derisively. Cf. Ann. I 26 novum id plane III 34 bella plane accinctis obeunda. In a non-concessive sense, equivalent to 'clearly,' 'decidedly,' the word is used in c. 27 4 35 14 Ann. XIII 6 daturum plane documentum 50 temperandas plane publicanorum cupidines. — **Gabinianum**: *Sextus Iulius Gabinianus*, an older contemporary of Quintilian (cf. the index, ap. Suet. de gramm. p. 99 R.), was probably a countryman of Aper, Secundus and Maternus. At least Hieron. ad Euseb. Chron. (on the authority of Sueton.) to the year 76 A. D. notes: Gabinianus celeberrimi nominis rhetor in *Gallia* docuit. In another passage (ad Iesai. 8 praef.) the same author mentions him together with Cicero and Quintilian: qui flumen eloquentiae et concinnas declamationes desiderant, legant Tullium, Quintilianum, Gallionem, *Gabinianum*. To such an extent — this is Messalla's meaning — has the appreciation of what constitutes true excellence in oratory degenerated, that even your average rhetorician of to-day fancies himself superior to Cicero, but

is quite willing to concede his inferiority to a Gabinianus as one of the illustrious representatives of the modern oratorical ideal. The 'sed' clause is added not only to stigmatise the perverse judgment of these 'scholastici' with regard to Cicero but also to ridicule their exaggerated estimate of Gabinianus. An interesting illustration of this attitude is furnished by Sen. Contr. III praef. 14–17 nisi scirem (Cassius Severus) et Pollionem Asinium et Messallam Corvinum et Passienum, qui nunc primo loco stat, minus bene videri dicere quam Cestium aut Latronem . . . non illi peius dicunt sed hi corruptius iudicant . . . hi non tantum disertissimis viris quos paulo ante rettuli, Cestium suum praeferunt sed etiam Ciceroni praeferrent nisi lapides timerent; huius enim declamationes ediscunt, illius orationes non legunt nisi eas quibus Cestius rescripsit. memini me intrare scholam eius, cum recitaturus esset in Milonem; Cestius ex consuetudine sua miratus dicebat: si Thraex essem, Fusius essem; si pantomimus essem, Bathyllus essem; si equus, Melissio. non continui bilem et exclamavi: si cloaca esses, maxima esses . . . dixi molestum me amplius non futurum, si iurasset (sc. Cestius) *disertiorem esse Ciceronem quam se.* nec hoc ut faceret vel ioco vel serio effici potuit.

34 **fracta** . . . **deminuta**: These terms are frequently grouped together, e. g. Cic. Brut. 83, 287 quid est tam fractum, tam minutum de off. II 11, 40 quem C. Laelius . . . fregit et comminuit Verr. II 4, 25, 56 fractus et comminutus est Quint. XII 11, 2 quibus fractis aut imminutis IX 4, 113 minutis passibus frangunt. Cf. also c. 39 8. On the orthography of 'deminuta' cp. Georges, Lexicon der lat. Wortformen s. v.

27. 1 **parce**: 'let that pass.'

4 **solitum tractare dixisti**: viz. c. 15 12. — **plane mitior**: *plane* with comparative in the sense of 'multo' is especially characteristic of Tertullian. Cp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* I 93 ff. 574. Here = 'clearly,' see note c. 26 32. With the stylistic form of the sentence, cp. c. 35 14 *plane leviores* et *minus* prudentiae *exigentes*. *Mitior* sc. ὤν. Cf. note c. 9 20.

5 **antequam** . . . **offenderet**: On this imperf. subj. after 'antequam,' although the clause is not directly dependent upon the principal verb, cf. H. II 96 nuntiatur, missis epistulis, antequam adgregaretur IV 52 Titum antequam digrederetur . . . orasse fertur 79 unde metus et iustae preces invocantium antequam accingeretur and Ihm, *Quaest. Synt.* p. 45 ff.

6 **maiores tuos**: Messalla was the only native Roman in the company and hence 'maiores *tuos*,' used as a synonym of 'antiqui' (cf. c. 25 5 sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet), is appropriately applied to the great orators of the Republic whom Aper had criticised so unsparingly. John and many others understand the allusion to be to Messalla's ancestral relative, Messalla Corvinus, but this view is erroneous, for it is (1) incompatible with the answer 'non sum offensus Apri mei disputatione,' which includes Aper's *entire* argument. (2) Aper had expressly disclaimed any intention of attacking Corvinus (c. 21 ext.) and while the reasons for this abstention are not particularly complimentary to the ancient orator, it does not necessarily follow that Messalla would have resented the criticism. (3) The plural 'maiores' cannot refer to *one distinct and definite* individual, the parallel instances, cited by John from c. 34 3 and Cic. pro Mil. 7, 17 in monumentis maiorum suorum being in no sense analogous. — **lacessendo**: On the instrumental abl. of the gerund, cf. c. 11 6.

'Apri mei' seems to me a more methodical correction of the MS. reading 'a prima' (aprim̄) than 'Apri,' which leaves the origin of the corruption, unexplained. Cf. c. 5 ext. Maternum meum. 'Nostri' which is also an easy emendation, seems less suitable to the context. — 'nam nec' or 'nam et' is quite unintelligible and probably due to the false solution of a compendium. Andresen writes Apri *nostri* disputatione nec *mea* vos, but this is too violent a correction, the antithesis between 'nostri' and 'mea' being also uncalled for. See Steuding, p. 10.

8 **si quid forte . . . perstringat**: 'if ought perchance grate upon your ears.' *si forte* with subj. also c. 33 32 si forte audierint H. III 66 nisi forte . . . gerat IV 74 nisi forte . . . speratis. With the phrase itself, cf. c. 9 5 licet haec ipsa . . . aures tuas respuant. and Hor. C. II 1, 18 perstringis aures. So similarly Ann. I 13 Q. Haterius et Mam. Scaurus suspicacem animum (sc. Tiberii) perstrinxere.

9 **hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem**: In this phrase, Tacitus again unintentionally reveals the fictitious character of the Dialogus. Cf. c. 14 20 28 5 32 32. — **iudicium animi** etc.: 'To give expression to one's convictions without the fear of injuring another's feelings.' 'Adfectus' occurs in the same general sense in c. 23 25 sic exprimitis adfectus and H. I 15 Ann. XI 38 XIII 16. 21. In c. 6 17, in the more concrete signification of 'emotions.' I can see no reason for taking the word here as an epexegetic genitive.

10 **citra** = sine. Very frequent in post-Aug. authors, particularly in Quintilian, but in Tacitus only in the minor writings. Cf. c. 41

26 Ag. 1 citra fidem and G. 16 citra speciem. In general, see Hand, *Tursell.* II 83 Dr. *H. S.* I 616.

13 **utere antiqua libertate**: This passage possesses the true 'color Taciteus.' Cf. e. g. H. I 1 multi auctores rettulerunt . . . pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam . . . omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta . . . quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest . . . rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet IV 8 Ag. 2 f. sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute sqq. Ann. I 74 manebant etiam tum (i. e. 15 A. D.) vestigia morientis libertatis. Cp. also Mayor, Iuv. I 152 scribendi quodcunque . . . liberet simplicitas and note c. 2 2.

28. 1 **Et**: In the Dialogus, this conjunction (c. 4 1 16 5 33 1) or 'tum' (c. 3 9 15 1 25 1) introduces an answer, with or without 'inquit.'

'Tum' is rejected, because it is not based upon MS. authority, being merely a scribal emendation of the unintelligible 'qui' in AB. Halm corrected this into 'cui,' but the relative pronoun, as shown above, is not used in transitions in this treatise and is, in any case, out of place, because, as Peter well observes, Maternus had already been addressed by Messalla. The repetition of the name Maternus is also not in favor of Halm's conjecture.

2 **aut . . . aut . . . vel**: Unlike c. 15 9, where the three interlocutors are individually singled out (aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper), Maternus, as the one immediately addressed, is here distinguished from Aper and Secundus, these forming a second group, which is in turn subdivided by 'vel.' For an exactly parallel collocation, cf. c. 5 20 sive in iudicio vel in senatu sive apud principem, with critical note and Dr. *H. S.* II 140 f. — **etiam si**: By a common classic idiom, the principal fact, here introduced by etiam si (so H. I 15 Ann. II 73 IV 21. 29), is subordinated. 'Although these causes are not unknown to you, you ask me to voice the opinion of all.' In reality, Messalla had only been asked to state *his* reasons. Cp. John's excellent note ad loc. (Progr. Hall 1892). — This opening paragraph is modelled upon Cic. de orat. III 37, 148 'Tum Crassus 'pervolgatas res requiris' inquit 'et tibi non incognitas, Sulpici: quis enim de isto genere non docuit, non instituit, non scriptum etiam reliquit?' Cp. also ibid. I 31,

137 nihil enim dicam reconditum . . . nihil aut inauditum nobis aut cuiquam novum de rep. I 46, 70 ingrediar in ea quae nota sunt omnibus . . . quoniam ea quae tenebatis ipsi, etiam ex me audire voluistis.

3 **in medium**: Frequently joined with 'proferre' e. g. Cic. Verr. II 4, 52, 115 de fin. II 23, 76.

5 **non inopia hominum**: *inopia*, besides its usual designation, inapplicable here, sometimes denotes 'incapacity, weakness,' e. g. Cic. ad Att. I 16, 2 contraxi vela perspiciens inopiam iudicum and analogously Vell. II 54, 3 ingenti cum difficultate itinerum locorumque inopia 'unproductivity' Sen. ad Helv. 12, 3 nec tantum condicio illos temporum aut locorum inopia pauperibus exaequat. These passages permit us, it seems to me, to take 'inopia hominum' in a similar sense, as virtually equivalent to the phrase 'non infirmitate ingenii' in c. 19 5.

The many emendations of the MS. reading (enumerated p. 36), even supposing it to be corrupt, are, when not at actual variance with the context of the passage itself, palaeographically improbable. The latter objection also applies to 'inopia magistrorum' (so Cic. Orat. 68, 229) which I now abandon in favor of the unobjectionable reading of the MSS.

desidia . . . antiqui practically gives a succinct summary of the several heads into which Messalla's speech is divided. So Aper had also prefaced his first argument (c. 5) by a similar outline of the topics which he intended to discuss. Such carefully prepared introductions betray the unhistorical character of the dialogue. Cf. c. 27 9. Cp. Proleg. p. lxxxvii.

6 **neglegentia parentum**: The heedlessness of parents in the education of their children is very frequently given among the causes of moral degeneration in the Empire. Juvenal devotes an entire satire (XIV) to this theme. Cf. esp. v. 3 quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes 31 ff. nos | corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica Sen. de ira II 18 ff. Quint. I 2, 6 utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus sqq.; and notes below. —'parentum' is the regular form in Tacitus, 'parentium' being found but once: Ann. XIV 4. Cp. Neue, *Formenlehre*, I^2 p. 266. — **inscientia praecipientium**: Cf. Quint. I 1, 8 de paedagogis hoc amplius ut aut sint eruditi plane, quam primam esse curam velim aut se non esse eruditos sciant. nihil est peius iis qui paulum aliquid ultra primas litteras progressi falsam sibi scientiae persuasionem induerunt . . . nec minus error eorum nocet moribus. XII

11, 14 sed culpa est in praeceptoribus prima qui libenter detinent quos occupaverunt . . . partim etiam inscientia tradendi vel neglegentia. — The substantive participle, esp. in the genit. plur. is very frequent in Tacitus. Cf. c. notes to c. 2 2 and 41 13.

7 **oblivione moris antiqui**: Tacitus in all his writings, but particularly in the Annals, never tires of noting the degeneration of his day from the sturdy morality of ancient Rome. Cf. e. g. Ag. 1 G. 18 H. I 14 II 64 f. Ann. I 4 III 26 V 1 VI 12. 16 XI 23 XII 37 XIV 43 XV 30. 41. — **quae mala primum in urbe nata** etc.: The same idea of the spread of corruption from Rome as a centre seems to be implied in Tac. Ann. XVI 5 qui remotis e municipiis severaque adhuc et antiqui moris retinente Italia quique per longinquas provincias lascivia inexperti. — **primum . . . mox**: This correlation (primum, primo, primus) is more common in Tacitus than in any other writer, occurring no fewer than 45 times. See Lex. Tac. p. 871. Quintilian has but *three* instances viz. I 2, 29. 9, 2 X 6, 3. Cp. also Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVII 118 f.

8 **manant**: The same metaphor, though not elsewhere in Tacitus, is frequent in Cicero and Livy e. g. Cat. IV 3, 6 malum manavit per Italiam Tusc. Disp. V 25, 72 *manat* et *funditur* disserendi ratio per omnes partes sapientiae Liv. II 49 XXIV 18 and similarly Cic. de rep. II 19, 34 influxit enim . . . in hanc urbem non rivulus quidam sed abundantissimus amnis disciplinarum et artium.—The statement that moral progress and intellectual development are mutually inter-dependent is alluded to by Quint. XII 2, 6 hinc etiam illud est quod Cicero pluribus libris et epistulis testatur, dicendi facultatem ex intimis sapientiae fontibus fluere, ideoque aliquamdiu praeceptores eosdem fuisse morum atque dicendi, and the same idea, elaborated with special reference to the decline of oratory, forms the theme of Sen. Ep. 114 quare quibusdam temporibus provenerit corrupti generis oratio quaeris et quomodo in quaedam vitia inclinatio ingeniorum facta sit . . . talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita sqq. — **quamquam** 'of course, to be sure.' So used at the beginning of a sentence only here, c. 33 17 G. 17 and Ann. XII 65.

9 **vestra vobis notiora . . . ego de urbe**: These words indisputably prove that the interlocutors, with the exception of Messalla, were not native Romans. Cp. Proleg. p. lxxiii. — **his**: 'I shall speak of Rome and the specially Roman vices of to-day.' On this use of

the demonstrative pronoun in Tacitus, see the numerous examples in Lex. Tac. s. v. and note c. 12 9. Cp. also Cic. ad Att. X 11, 3 sunt tolerabilia . . . hac iuventute. — *Proprius,* without a genit. or dative, often expresses a specific idea as opposed to a more general statement. So in Tac. Ann. II 77 propria mandata XV 74 tum dona et grates deis decernuntur propriusque honos soli. See Peter's note ad loc., who takes his = nostris, on the analogy of c. 32 13 huius quoque cotidiani sermonis, an interpretation not essentially different from the one given.

There is certainly no valid reason for departing from the MS. reading. 'eius' no less than 'huius' (sc. urbis) would be tautological by the side of 'vernaculis,' on which see following note.

vernaculis = 'native Roman.' Cf. Nipp. to Tac. Ann. I 31 vernacula multitudo (= ἀστικὸς ὄχλος in Dio Cass. LVII 5, 4) nuper acto *in urbe* dilectu, Heraeus to Tac. H. II 88 vernacula utebantur urbanitate, and Varr. L. L. V 77 aquatilium vocabula partim sunt vernacula partim *peregrina* Mart. X 76, 4 de plebe Remi Numaeque *verna,* on which word Festus remarks: Romanos vernas appellabant, id est ibidem natos.

10 **vitiis**: Here personified, as in Ov. Am. III 4, 11 vitia inritare vetando. — **natos** = liberi is a poetic word and very rare in classical prose, where it is always joined to 'parentes' or similar expressions. Cf. Cic. Lael. 8, 27 Liv. I 23, 1 V 40, 3 viri natique C. I. L. II 2900 mariti et nati. Alone as here, also Val. Max. VII 6 ext. and a few times in the Church Fathers. Cp. A. Funk, '*Was heissen die Kinder?*' in *Archiv* VII 73–102 (on nati p. 86), who strangely overlooked the fact that well-nigh all the Latin designations for 'offspring' occur in this and the following chapter. Cf. liberi (l. 12), filius, (l. 13), suboles (l. 17) pueri (l. 20), infans (c. 29 1) parvuli (l. 7). To these we may add from Tac. 'pignora' (Ag. 38 G. 7 Ann. XII 2 XV 36 XVI 26) and 'puerperia' (Ann. XII 6).

11 **cumulantur**: Observe the abandonment of the figure introduced by 'quae . . . excipiunt,' and see note c. 10 21. — **prius . . . praedixero**: For the pleonasm, cf. note c. 18 7. — **severitate ac disciplina**: Hendiadys as shown by c. 29 17 H. I 51 severitate disciplinae. Cf. also c. 40 9 severissima disciplina Ann. VI 15 severa patris disciplina. The same collocation, but in inverted order, occurs in l. 24 G. 25 Bell. Alex. 48.

12 **circa** with a gerundive occurs a number of times in Quintilian e. g. IV 1, 9. 7, 36 VI 2, 25 and occasionally in other post-Aug.

writers e. g. Plin. Pan. 95, 1 Florus III 19, 11 circa apprehendendum eum multitudo contendit; with gerund, once in Quint. IV 5, 6 plus eloquentia circa (=ad) movendum valet. — Observe also that a substantive with gerundive, when governed by a preposition, serves as an idiomatic substitute for an abstract noun. In Tacitus the construction is quite common with 'ad'; once with 'ob': Ann. XI 5; with 'circa' only here. — **educandos formandosque** 'bringing up and rearing of children.' 'Educare' of physical training seems to occur in but one other passage viz. Varro, de liberis educandis, cited by Nonius s. v. 'educit obstetrix, *educat* nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister. The nearest approach to this usage elsewhere is perhaps to be found in Cic. Orat. 13, 42 where see Sandys and Brut. 58, 211 cited below. On the significance of this parallelism, see Prolegomena p. cii. 'formare' with a personal object is poetic, but frequent in post-Augustan prose. See the exx. cited by Kleiber p. 60.

13 **pridem** 'formerly' So Cic. ad fam. V 6, 2 quod ad me pridem scripseras. Especially common in Iustinus e. g. V 7, 12 XII 6, 7 XXXI 3, 10, but in Tac. only here. — **suus cuique filius**: Peter interprets this phrase to mean that the boy was educated at home and *not* in company with other children. But Tacitus is here clearly speaking of infancy, as shown by 'cellula . . . nutricis' and Quintilian (I 2, 1) too does not discuss the question 'utilius domi an in scholis erudiatur' until 'iam paulatim accrescere puer et *exire de gremio* et discere serio incipiat.'

14 **emptae nutricis** 'hired wet-nurse,' τίτθη. On this meaning of the word, see Wilkins, Cic. de orat. II 39, 162. On the function of the nurse in the household of the ancients, cp. I. H. Krause, *Gesch. der Erziehung . . . bei den Griech. u. Röm.* p. 394–398. — **in gremio ac sinu matris**: The paramount importance here attached to the mother's own nursing finds a very significant echo in later utterances of Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 4 mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae *castitatis:* in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus and especially G. 20 *sua quemque mater alit* nec aut ancillis aut *nutricibus delegantur.* The same is recorded of Cato's wife by Plut. Cat. Mai. 20, 5. Cf. also Plut. Sert. 2 τραφεὶς δὲ κοσμίως ὑπὸ μητρὶ χήρᾳ and Plin. Ep. III 3, 3 adhuc illum pueritiae ratio intra contubernium tuum (viz. Cornelia Hispulla) tenuit. Cp. especially the long discourse of Favorinus reported by Gell. N. A. XII 1 and Ps. Plut.

Περὶ παιδ. ἀγωγῆς c. 5 *δεῖ αὐτὰς τὰς μητέρας τὰ τέκνα τρέφειν καὶ τούτοις ὑπέχειν τοὺς μαστούς* etc. This seems, however, not to have been the general custom either in Greece or Italy. Cf. Plut. Consol. ad uxor. 2 and Friedländer I 454. On the source of this chapter, see Proleg. pp. xcviii–ciii.—With the expression 'in gremio,' etc., cf. Cic. Brut. 58, 211 legimus epistulas Corneliae matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris.

'In' before 'gremio' has been justly inserted, for the non-repetition of the preposition in adversative clauses is later Tacitean usage. Cf. notes c. 13 20 and 21 32. — The MS. reading 'autem,' no less than the emendations 'etiam' and 'saltem' do not appear to me in keeping with the context. The only intelligible meaning that I am able to extract from the passage is, that the personal supervision of the mother herself is regarded as at all times desirable, and that only in case she is prevented from taking charge of the training of her children, may outside aid be called in, the utmost care being requisite in the choice of the mother's substitute. But this interpretation is only possible, if we read '*aut* elig.' Cp. also John, *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 572 ff. Baehrens, *Comm. Crit.* p. 84.

16 **probatis spectatisque**: The metaphor is derived from the testing of metal or of coins. Cf. Ter. Eun. III 5, 18 with Donatus' note Cic. Verr. II 3, 78, 181 Ov. Trist. I 5, 25 spectatur in ignibus aurum Cic. de off. II 11, 38. The same figurative use occurs in Lucilius ap. Non. 437 tuam probatam mi et spectatam maxime adulescentiam Cic. de orat. I 27, 124 ceterarum homines artium spectati et probati and Tac. Ann. XIII 29 experientia probatos. — Observe the *ὕστερον πρότερον* in the present passage and in that from Lucilius.

18 **qua** sc. propinqua *not* 'subole' as Andresen and others contend. For this interpretation, in the first place, interrupts the sequence of thought and requires the suppression of 'eiusdem familiae.' That 'propinqua' is the antecedent of 'qua' is also shown by its correlative 'cuius.' See the discussion of this passage by John, l. c. and his note ad loc. (Progr. Hall 1892). — **neque dicere fas erat etc**: Cf. c. 29 6 aut dicat aut faciat. Sall. Cat. 23, 2. and Liv. XLIII 9 cited below. The collocation is common both in Greek and in Latin. Cp. Otto, *Sprichwörter* etc. p. 112. — On the precept itself, cf. Xen. Cyr. VII 5, 86 *αὐτοί τε γὰρ βελτίονες ἐσόμεθα, βουλόμενοι τοῖς παισὶν ὡς βέλτιστα παραδείγματα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχειν, οἵ τε παῖδες οὐδ' ἂν εἰ βούλοιντο ῥᾳδίως πονηροὶ γίγνοιντο,*

αἰσχρὸν μὲν μηδὲν μήτε ὁρῶντες μήτε ἀκούοντες ἐν δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι διημερεύοντες. Plat. Leg. p. 729 b c. Arist. Polit. VII 17 p. 1336 b 42 *μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν νέων, ὅπως μήτε λέγωσι μήτε ἀκούωσι μηδὲν τοιοῦτον* Plut. Cat. Mai. c. 20 *τὰ αἰσχρὰ τῶν ῥημάτων οὐχ ἧττον εὐλαβεῖσθαι τοῦ παιδὸς παρόντος ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων* Rom. 20 Quaest. Conv. VII 8, 4 Iuv. XIV 47 maxima debetur puero reverentia, with Mayor's notes.

Peerlkamp's ingenious suggestion to transpose 'dictu' and 'factu' is very alluring. We should then also have another instance of the figure ἀντιμεταβολή, on which see note c. 33 21.

20 **curasque**: Translate 'school exercises,' Germ. 'häusliche Arbeiten.' On 'cura' in the sense of 'written composition,' see note c. 3 13. — **remissiones etiam lususque**: On this subject, cf. Quint. I 3, 8 *danda* est tamen omnibus aliqua remissio . . . quia nulla res est quae perferre possit *continuum laborem* . . . nec me offenderit lusus in pueris . . . modus tamen sit *remissionibus* Ps. Plut. Περὶ παίδ. ἀγωγῆς 13 *Δοτέον οὖν τοῖς παισὶν ἀναπνοὴν τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων. πᾶς ὁ βίος ἡμῶν εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ σπουδὴν διῄρηται* and in general, Grasberger, *Erzieh. u. Unter.* II p. 139 ff. Hulsebos, *De educat.* p. 135–139. — 'Cura' and 'remissio' are also combined in Tac. Ag. 9 tempora curarum remissionumque divisa. — **sanctitate** . . . **verecundia**: Cf. the similar collocation in Liv. XXXIV 6 pudorem sanctitatemque feminarum.

21 **temperabat** sc. mater 'Was wont to regulate.'

There is no necessity for inserting 'mater' into the text, as this subject is uppermost in the speaker's mind throughout, the mention of the 'propinqua' being quite incidental. So similarly c. 9 22 nec aut amicitiam inde refert also involves a change of subject. See Andresen ad loc.

Corneliam Gracchorum: Cf. Cic. Brut. 27, 104 fuit [Tib.] Gracchus diligentia Corneliae matris a puero doctus et Graecis litteris eruditus 58, 211 (cited to note l. 14) Quint. I 1, 6 nam Gracchorum eloquentiae multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem. Plut. T. Gracch. c. 1. According to Plin. N. H. XXXIV, 6 a statue was erected to her in Rome.

22 **Aureliam**: She was the daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta and is distinguished in Plut. Caes. 9 by the epithet *σώφρων*. Cf. also Suet. Caes. 74. — **Atia** was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Julia, Caesar's sister. Cf. Suet. Octav. 4.

23 **educationibus**: The plural of 'educatio,' occurs only here and in Tac. Ann. III 25 nec ideo coniugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur.

'matrem,' apart from the fact that we should rather expect 'matres,' just as we have 'educationibus,' is a wholly superfluous addition and has, therefore, with justice been deleted by Sauppe.

produxisse: in the sense of 'educare' is rare. Cf. Plaut. Asin. III 1, 40 audientem dicto, mater, produxisti filiam. Nonius: *producere*, instituere, but the quotation is not preserved. Iuv. XIV 228 laevo monitu pueros producit avaros. — **principes liberos**: Cf. e. g. Cic. Brut. 66, 233 principibus patronis Hor. Ep. I 17, 35 principibus placuisse viris Plin. N. H. VIII 32, 119 principes feminae and Tacitus c. 40 4 principes viros Ann. III 6 IV 15 XIII 42. The adjectival use of substantives does not occur in the minor works, for princeps is primarily an adj. Cp. Dr. *Stil* p. 35.

24 **sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta**: On the 'oratio trimembris,' highly characteristic of Tacitean diction, see Weinkauff p. 92–97 and Prolegomena p. cv ff. 'Sincerus' and 'integer' occur again similarly combined in Tac. H. IV 64 sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus. On *et nullis* cf. note c. 12 8.—*pravitatibus:* This abstract plural is also found in Ann. III 34 and three times in Cicero, viz. Parad. III 1, 22 de leg. I 11, 31. 19, 51. On the thought, cp. Plasberg p. 60 (Fragm. Hortens. 61).

26 **toto . . . pectore**: On this proverbial expression, see note c. 3 13.

'militarem rem' is the only reading which satisfactorily accounts for the omission of 'rem' in codd. A B. The ὁμοιόπτωτον is quite unobjectionable, even though this particular assonance happens not to occur in the two Tacitean passages, where it might have been found, viz. H. I 84 res militares Ann. XI 22 rem militarem. See also Prolegomena p. cxvii.

27 **inclinasset**: Explained by Andresen and Wolff as a final subj. from the point of view of the educators, the idea of purpose being conveyed by 'pertinebat,' but this interpretation is not in keeping with the context. The subj. is merely one of assimilation. So frequently in subordinate clauses. Cf. note c. 1 17.

28 **hauriret**: Common in Tacitus in this figurative sense. Cf. e. g. c. 30 16 omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse 31 32 quasdam artes haurire Ag. 4 studium philosophiae acrius, quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse H. I 51 IV 5.

29. 1 **infans**: The word is here used in a somewhat loose sense, on which see Funk, *Archiv* VII 99. — **delegatur**: The parents rid themselves of the duty they owe to their children as of an irksome burden. The same strong expression in place of 'committere,' e. g. in l. 17 and G. 20 cited above. The word is not found with this meaning in Cicero or Caesar. — **Graeculae,** used contemptuously, as in c. 3 21, where see note. The diminutive form is very rarely used in bonam partem. Cf. e. g. Plin. N. H. XV 14, 15, 50.

2 **unus aut alter**: *aut* is used because only *one* slave, the paedagogus, is referred to. See note c. 9 20.

3 **cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus**: *quisquam* as an adjective with impersonal nouns is not frequent. Cf. e. g. Lucret. I 1077 nec quisquam locus est II 857 IV 689 Cic. ad Att. XII 23, 3 nec quibusquam . . . locis Liv. Epit. 123 loci cuiusquam Val. Max. IV 3, 14 quisquam modus Quint. X 2, 6 cuiusquam rei Suet. Caes. 59 quoquam incepto Dom. 13. In Tacitus only here. Cp. Neue, *Formenl.* II³ 504 f. R. V. III 69 note 361 Anton, *Stud.* III 59 ff. — On the complaint itself, cf. the remarkable parallelism in Ps. Plut. Περὶ παιδ. ἀγωγῆς 7 *πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκτέον ἐστὶ τῆς τούτων καταστάσεως ὡς μή λάθωσιν ἀνδραπόδοις ἢ βαρβάροις ἢ παλιμβόλοις τὰ τέκνα παραδόντες. ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τὸ γινόμενον . . . ὅτι δ' ἂν εὕρωσιν ἀνδράποδον, οἰνόληπτον καὶ λίχνον πρὸς πᾶσαν πραγματείαν ἄχρηστον τούτῳ φέροντες ὑποβάλλουσι τοὺς υἱούς.* Iuv. III 75–80 VII 185. 215–243 with Mayor's notes (vol. I 190. 324. 356. 457). Suet. Claud. 3 diu . . . sub paedagogo fuit quem barbarum et olim superiumentarium ex industria sibi appositum.

4 **fabulis** 'nursery tales'; *τιτθῶν μῦθοι.* On their place in the training of children, cp. Ussing, *Erzieh. u. Jugendunter. bei den Griech. u. Röm.* Berlin 1885 p. 47–57. On the pernicious influence of unsuitable tales, cf. Plat. Rep. II 377 c. d. Ps. Plut. Περὶ παιδ. ἀγωγῆς 5 ext. *καί μοι δοκεῖ Πλάτων ὁ δαιμόνιος ἐμμελῶς παραινεῖν* (Rep. II 429) *ταῖς τίτθαις μὴ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους τοῖς παιδίοις λέγειν.* — **erroribus**: 'error' of a moral fault is of comparatively rare occurrence. Cf. Cic. Hortens. (Fragm. 93) hominum vitiis et erroribus Ov. ex Pont. II 2, 55. 3, 92 IV 8, 20 Plin. Ep. III 3, 3 praeceptores domi habuit, ubi est erroribus modica vel etiam nulla materia. Min. Felix, Octav. 23 (cited by Baehrens): has fabulas et errores ab imperitis parentibus discimus. Here perhaps to be translated 'superstitions.' — **virides statim et teneri animi imbuuntur**: *virides*

'pliable, young.' In this sense, the word is rare but classic. See Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 61 Schmalz, *Antib.* II 676. It is exactly equivalent to Gk. ὑγρός, as used in the almost identical passage in Ps. Plut. l. c. *εὔπλαστον γὰρ καὶ ὑγρὸν ἡ νεότης καὶ ταῖς τούτων ψυχαῖς ἁπαλαῖς* (= teneri animi) *ἔτι τὰ μαθήματα ἐντήκεται* (= imbuuntur). On the thought, cp. also Sen. Dial. IV 21, 10 nutricum et paedagogarum retulere mox in adulescentiam mores XII 18, 8 altius praecepta descendunt quae teneris imprimuntur aetatibus and Quint. I 1, 2 ante omnia ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus, quas si fieri posset, sapientes Chrysippus optavit, . . . et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est . . . natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percipimus . . . et haec ipsa magis pertinaciter haerent quae deteriora sunt.

All our MSS. either read or unmistakably point to *virides* as the original, and as the word has been shown to be wholly unobjectionable, we have no right to reject it. Nevertheless, editors, with the laudable exception of Wolff, write 'teneri . . . rudes animi,' regarding 'virides' either as an explanatory gloss or as a dittography (so Halm) of 'rudes'! But no motive which can possibly have induced a scribe or reader to explain so intelligible and often recurring a phrase (e. g. Cic. de leg. I 17, 47 teneros et rudes II 15 38 animi teneri et molles Quint. I 11, 2 teneram . . . et rudem Sen. Ep. 50, 4 teneri et rudes animi) is conceivable. The rare figurative use of 'virides,' on the other hand, naturally gave rise to an interlinear gloss, which, on finding its way into the text, caused the corruption of 'virides' in some of our MSS. So in Ov. Trist. IV 10, 5 frater ad eloquium *viridi* tendebat ab aevo, one MS. (λ) actually reads *tenero!* The original reading is, therefore, either 'v. et teneri' or 'v. et rudes.' I prefer the former as being better suited to 'imbuuntur.'

5 **in tota domo**: Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVII 126 observes that the addition of the preposition in these and similar expressions is characteristic of the earlier or Ciceronian period of Tacitean style. It is, however, possible that the 'in' in our passage is due to a dittography of the preceding 'm.' — **pensi habet**: *Pensi habere* up to the time of Symmachus (e. g. Ep. I 73) is always used with a negative. The omission of a neuter pronoun is an innovation of Valerius Maximus e. g. II 9, 3 nec pensi duxerat. Cp. Thielmann, *Archiv* II 387 ff. — The phrase itself seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Sall. Cat. 23, 2 prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat Liv. XXVI 15, 4 sed illis nec quid dicerent nec quid facerent quicquam umquam pensi fuissent XLIII 7 quibus nihil neque dicere pensi neque facere. 'Pensi habere' occurs in two

other passages in Tacitus, both times without a neuter pronoun, viz. H. I 46 Ann. XIII 15. — On the thought, cp. the beautiful passage in Quint. I 2, 6 utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus . . . gaudemus si quid licentius dixerint : verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis, risu et osculo excipimus. nec mirum : nos docuimus, ex nobis audiunt, nostras amicas, nostros concubinos vident, omne convivium obscenis canticis strepit, pudenda dictu spectantur. fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura, discunt haec miseri, antequam sciant vitia esse.

6 **quin etiam**: Only here and Ann. XII 61 quin etiam dixit, 'quin et' being elsewhere preferred by Tacitus.

7 **probitati · · · modestiae**: On this common collocation, see crit. note c. 5 1. — **parvulos** = infantes, if we except Caes. B. G. VI 21 a parvulis 'from early childhood,' seems not to occur in pre-Augustan writers. It is rare in Silver. Latin (e. g. Val. Max. II 6, 16 Quint. I 1, 24 V 7, 36 Plin. Pan. 26), occurs once in Fronto, Florus, Apuleius and Censorinus, and a number of times in Ps. Quint. Declam. The Church Fathers appropriated the word, clearly distinguishing it from 'infantes.' Cf. e. g. Augustin. M. XXXIV 416, 5 parentes cum parvulis et infantibus. Strange to say, the term never occurs on inscriptions. Cp. the exhaustive discussion of Funk, *Archiv* VII 73-102. — **non · · · neque · · · sed**: An exceedingly common correlation in Tacitus. Cf. c. 12 3 19 4 21 34 25 28 29 17 31 2 36 30 Ag. 19. 33 G. 7 (twice) 11. 18 H. I 38. 43 III 38 Ann. I 31. 68 IV 62 XII 10 XVI 2. *non* in place of 'neque' (nec) imparts additional emphasis. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 85 R. V. III 218 f. notes 414[c] 415.

8 **lasciviae et dicacitati**: *Lascivia* in a bad sense is chiefly post-Aug. and not yet found in Cicero, but in Tacitus, with three exceptions (G. 24 H. II 68 Ann. XI 31), out of 32 instances, it is always so used. — *Dicacitas* 'banter' is also used in bonam partem by Cicero e. g. de orat. II 54, 219 ff. Orat. 26, 87 and by Quint. VI 3, 21 who derives the word from 'dicere' and defines it as 'sermonem cum risu aliquos incessentem. Both terms are combined by Quint. VI 3, 41 Siculi quidem ut sunt lascivi et dicaces. In the present passage, both 'lasciviae' and 'dicacitati' are clearly intended to express the opposite qualities designated respectively by probitas 'decorous conduct' and modestia 'modest behavior,' and they must, therefore, be translated accordingly, 'bad demeanor' and

'sauciness.' — **per quae:** sc. vitia. A neuter plural agreeing with two or more abstract feminine substantives first occurs in Cicero e. g. de fin. III 11, 39 stultitiam autem et timiditatem . . . esse fugienda de nat. deor. III 24, 61 fortuna . . . quam nemo ab inconstantia et temeritate seiunget quae digna certe non sunt deo. Thereafter not rare in Sallust (e. g. Cat. 31) and Livy (e. g. VIII 35, 4). Tacitus furnishes numerous instances, e. g. Ag. 31 virtus porro ac ferocia . . . ingrata (omitted by Dr. *H. S.* I 182 *Stil* p. 15 and Nipp. ad Ann. I 46) H. II 20 pax et concordia . . . iactata sunt. III 19. 70 Ann. XI 16 comitatem et temerantiam nulli invisa, saepius vinolentiam ac libidines grata barbaris Quint. VI 2, 11 VII 4, 31. — On the use of the preposition, see note c. 19 22. — **impudentia inrepit:** The same metaphor occurs in Plin. Ep. III 20, 8 est enim periculum ne tacitis suffragiis impudentia inrepat.

I am unable to extract any meaning out of 'sui alienique contemptus' consistent with the context. The interpretations hitherto proposed seem to me erroneous in substance and quite incompatible with the only possible signification of the words themselves, for neither can 'alieni' be taken in the sense of 'alienorum' (so Wolff) or 'aliorum,' nor can 'sui,' by the side of 'alieni,' be anything but the neut. gen. sing. Peter, in all seriousness, takes the phrase to mean "die ganze eigene und fremde Individualität"!, while John and Andresen understand the reference to be to the spendthrift habits of contemporary youth and to their reckless incurrence of debts; but I utterly fail to see how 'sui alienique contemptus' can be made to yield these meanings. Moreover, 'running into debt' does not as such imply any contempt of the wealth of others, unless it be taken for granted that the borrower draws upon the resources of the wealthy with the avowed intention of not repaying the loan. Finally, I cannot admit that the characteristics in question are the psychological result of the previously mentioned qualities. 'Sui alienique contemptus,' I feel convinced, is simply due to an interlinear or marginal gloss, just such as we should expect a monkish scribe to have made. 'Impudentia' here and again in c. 35 5 ludum impudentiae is designated as the *ultimate* outcome of certain kinds of training.

10 **in utero matris concipi:** Cf. c. 7 10 in alvo oritur Cic. Tusc. Disp. III 1, 2 nunc autem, simul atque editi in lucem et suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate . . . versamur, ut paene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur Suet. Ner. 1 vitia . . . quasi tradita et ingenita and Gell. N. A. XII 1, 14 ff.

11 **histrionalis favor** = histrionum favor. 'Passion for the theatre.' Tacitus is fond of using an adj. in place of an obj. genitive.

Cf. e. g. H. II 82 adversus militarem largitionem (erroneously cited from H. III 17 by Kühner II 163) Ann. II 44 externo metu III 14 ambitionem militarem XII 51 ob metum hostilem (= Sall. Iug. 41, 2). — On *histrionalis*, see note c. 26 9. No Latin author comments more frequently and more bitterly upon these topics and their demoralising effect than Tacitus. Cp. e. g. Ann. I 16. 54 76 ff. IV 14 XI 13 XIII 25. 28 XIV 14 and in general the exhaustive treatment of Friedländer II 318 f. 435–477. — **gladiatorum equorumque studia**: Cf. Tac. H. II 26. 94 Ann. I 76 IV 62 f. XIV 21 XV 32 Iuv. X 81 with Mayor's note, and esp. Plin. Ep. IX 6 quo magis miror tot millia virorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equos, insistentes curribus homines videre. Si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla : nunc favent panno, pannum amant et si in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit et repente agitatores illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquent. tanta gratia, tanta auctoritas in una vilissima tunica, mitto apud vulgus . . . sed apud quosdam graves homines. Cp. Friedländer II 358–435. — **occupatus et obsessus animus**: Translate : 'When the mind is taken up by such occupations.' The use of a perf. pass. (more rarely a pres. act.) participle in place of an abstract substantive is very characteristic of Tacitean style, e. g. c. 37 26 Quinctius defensus H. II 76 trucidatus Corbulo V 21 remiges dispersi Ann. I 8 occisus dictator Caesar 16 mutatus princeps IV 26 negatus honor 12 Agrippina . . . tegens 34 Caesar . . . accipiens. Cp. Nipp. Ann. III 9 Dr. *H. S.* II 779 ff. *Stil* p. 85 (the exx. in the Dial. being, as often, overlooked) R. V. III 545 ff. note 521 Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 30, 2 f. — The same collocation, e. g. Cic. de leg. III 8, 19, Sen. Ep. 19, 11 occupatus homo et bonis suis obsessus. — On the thought, see Quint. XII 1, 6 dati spectaculis dies multum studiis auferunt 7 nihil est enim tam occupatum, tam multiforme, tot ac tam variis adfectibus concisum atque laceratum quam mala mens . . . quis inter haec litteris aut ulli bonae arti locus ?

13 **quotum quemque**: 'how few.' Cf. note c. 10 6.

14 **quos alios**: Cp. the similar statement of Libanius I 200, 3, concerning the conduct of pupils during a lecture : πολλὰ μὲν νεύματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἡνιόχων καὶ μίμων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὀρχηστῶν Plut. de aud. 1. 3 Lucian Καταπλ. 1 Cic. de orat. II 5, 21 hoc ipso tempore

cum omnia gymnasia philosophi teneant, tamen eorum auditores discum audire quam philosophum malunt.

15 **nec** · · · **quidem**: Madvig, de fin.[3] Exc. III pp. 803–815, followed by Dr. *H. S.* II 74 and most editors, rejects 'nec – quidem' for 'et (ac) ne – quidem,' both in the intensive (so here) and copulative sense. But the best MSS. of many writers, e. g. Seneca, give the form 'nec – quidem' so frequently, and a predilection of scribes for 'nec' would be so inexplicable, that I can see no valid grounds for rejecting 'nec – quidem,' if sufficiently well supported. Cp. Haase to R. V. III 484 note 497. In the Dial., the same form again occurs c. 40 15. Pfitzner to Tac. Ann. p. 143–147 advocates its introduction also in H. I 66 IV 38 Ann. IV 35 XIV 35, but to do so *against* the MSS. is perhaps less justifiable.

17 **experimento** i. e. by giving their pupils a *proof* of their scholarly attainments. This is the usual signification of the word in Tac. e. g. G. 3. 12. 13. 15. 28 Ag. 8. 12. 13. As a synonym of 'usus,' only c. 22 9 34 28 Ag. 12. 16. 19 H. I 11 II 97.

18 **ambitione** 'obsequiousness, servility.' On the interesting semasiological history of this word, see Heraeus, Tac. H. I 1. and on its various meanings in Tacitus, cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. — Both 'ambitio' and 'adulatio' are mentioned together in H. I 1 and Ann. XIV 29.

30. 1 **transeo** = ut transeam. Similar paratactic constructions are not uncommon. Cf. Cic. pro Sest. 24, 54 omitto gratulationes . . . vexabatur uxor mea de sen. 15, 52 omitto vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra . . . nonne ea efficiunt. Cp. Peter ad loc. and Halm, *Fleck. Jahrb.* LXXXIV (1864) p. 150. — **discentium** = discipulorum. On these substantive participles, cf. Proleg. p. cvii. — **elementa**: On the meaning and etymology of this word, see Wilkins, Cic. de orat. I 35, 163. — **et ipsis**: καὶ αὐτοῖς 'likewise, equally.' This phrase is, with the exception of Livy, who uses it 19 times (Kühnast, *Liv. Synt.* p. 114), perhaps most frequent in Tacitus: c. 37 15 Ag. 25 diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu G. 37 amisso et ipse Pacoro H. I 42 de quo et ipso ambigitur 79 et ipse felix II 33 Otho . . . et ipse nonnisi militibus credit III 82 miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit IV 27 proditionem et ipse Hordeonio obiecit Ann. II 2 et ipse diversus a maiorum institutis IV 56 divina et ipse stirpe XII 15 et ipsi gratias quaesivere XIII 19 Paridem histrionem et libertum et ipsum Domitiae

XV 72 nam et ipse pars Romanarum cladium erit. See Prammer, *Zeitschr. f. oestr. Gymn.* 1881 p. 500 Dr. *Stil* p. 45 *H. S.* I 81: "Tacitus nur dreimal, in den Annalen nicht mehr"! This usage is generally denied to Cicero. See Peterson's note to Quint. X 1, 31. An indisputable instance occurs, however, pro Caec. 20, 58 tamen et ipsi tuae familiae genere et nomine continebantur. No example is found either in Caesar or Sallust.

2 **in auctoribus cognoscendis**: 'auctor' = scriptor is post-Aug. usage and first met with in Seneca e. g. Ep. II 2, 2 ista lectio auctorum multorum et omnis generis voluminum. Thereafter of frequent occurrence, e. g. Quint. I 5, 11. 8, 8 Latini quoque auctores X 1, 48 hunc auctorem (sc. Homerum) 5, 3 rerum copia Graeci auctores abundant. Plin. Ep. VII 9, 15 Suet. Octav. 89 in evolvendis auctoribus. Cp. Schmalz, *Antib.* s. v. In Tacitus: Ag. 2. 10 H. I 1 II 37 IV 83 Ann. I 81 II 83 III 3. 30 V 9. — **in evolvenda antiquitate**: Cf. Sen. Dial. VIII 5, 2 antiquitates evolvere. We also speak of unrolling the pages of history or of the past. — On the necessity of the study of history, cf. Cic. de orat. I 5, 18 tenenda praeterea est omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis 60, 256 Quint. X 1, 34 pleraque ex vetustate diligenter sibi cognita sumat. — **vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum**: *Rerum* seems to signify the so-called exact sciences, such as physics and geometry. Cp. the title of Lucretius' poem and 'rerum motus causasque' below. — *hominum* doubtless refers to the study of philosophy, particularly ethics, corresponding in a measure to 'morales partes.' — *temporum* finally, as distinguished from 'antiquitas,' includes contemporary history, its laws, politics etc. A knowledge of all these subjects, together with music and dialectics, constituted the true ἐγκύκλιον παιδείας, orbis doctrinae. Cp. Quint. I 10 and Hulsebos, *de educat.* etc. p. 84 ff. 152 ff. and with the entire passage the remarks of Cic. de orat. I 34, 158. II 42, 181 Orat. 32, 113 with Sandys' note.

4 **in notitia ... insumitur**: The construction with the preposition, in place of the usual dative (See c. 9 2 Ag. 23 paucos dies insumpsit reficiendae classi Ann. III 1 paucos dies componendo animo insumit 44 libellis accusatorum insumeret operam XVI 23 portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat) was doubtless occasioned by the desire of the author to preserve the symmetrical balance of clauses 'nec in — nec in — nec in.' — **quos rhetoras**

vocant, as in c. 35 2 qui rhetores vocantur Cic. de orat. I 12, 52 permulta sunt quae ipsi magistri, qui rhetorici vocantur, nec tradunt nec tenent III 14, 54 qui se horum, qui nunc ita appellantur, rhetorum (misquoted by Peter). The phrase here implies the charge that these corrupters of youth unjustly arrogated a Greek name to themselves, which always designated a highly respectable calling. Possibly the Greek accusative plural was used for the express purpose of calling attention to this fact, for rhetor*as* occurs *only* here, c. 35 13 and in the very Senatus consultum (cited c. 35 5) referred to in both of the Dialogus passages. On the very rare use of Greek endings in Tacitus, see note c. 31 34.

5 **professio** = disciplina. In this sense, the word is post-Aug. Cf. Vell. Pat. I 16, 2 eminentissima cuiusque professionis ingenia. Suet. de gramm. 4 iam discretis professionibus Quint. Prooem. 4. I 4, 1. 8, 15. 9, 1 II 1, 4. — **quando primum** etc: See note c. 35 2.

'De curiis' seems to be the remnant of a marginal gloss (see p. 38) which, on becoming incorporated into the text, caused the corruption now existing. If so, the numerous emendations proposed cannot be seriously considered as even plausible restorations of the archetypon. But quite apart from this, most of these conjectures, on their authors' own admission, can only refer to a statement of Messalla in a subsequent speech, which he at this stage of the discussion clearly had no intention of delivering. See the closing words of c. 32. Andresen, wishing to avoid this objection, contends that the promise implied in 'statim dicturus' is actually fulfilled at once, the unpopularity of rhetorical schools being made manifest by the following account of the course of training which the ancient orators, or rather Cicero as their representative, underwent. But this interpretation, besides involving a petitio principii, does not call for a phrase like 'statim dicturus,' by the side of referam *necesse* est. Michaelis', Peter's and Nipperdey's emendations are palaeographically quite impossible. Nor is Vahlen's 'decursurus' (*Prooem. Berol.* 1881 p. 11 f.) convincing.

9 **infinitus labor et . . . meditatio:** Cf. Tac. Ann. IV 61 oratorum meditatio et labor Cic. de orat. I 1, 1 infinitus forensium rerum labor. On the 'oratio trimembris,' amplified as usual in the third member, see Proleg. pp. cv ff.

10 **ipsorum . . . continentur libris:** The speaker means to say, that the evidence of this wide and thorough culture is abundantly manifest in their published orations, (On liber = oratio, see note c. 3 2), an interpretation confirmed by 'itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet non geometriae etc.' below. John understands 'continentur in libris' of actual memoirs published by the

orators themselves, but this would imply an extensive autobiographical literature of which we have no knowledge and which, if it ever existed, would certainly have left some trace, particularly in the Brutus.

12 **cuius extrema parte**: i. e. 89, 305–92, 316. The following passages contain a number of verbal coincidences with the Brutus which leave no doubt of Tacitus' direct indebtedness to this work.

13 **habet** = continere, seems to be of very rare occurrence. In Tacitus again Ann. IV 34 Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones, falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent and once in Quint. X 1, 70 illa mala iudicia quae Epitrepontes, Epicleros, Locroe habent. — **sua** . . . **suos** . . . **suae**: On the anaphora, which here serves the purpose of bringing out each topic with special distinctness, see Proleg. p. cxvi. *gradus* is used in the same connection by Cic. Brut. 65, 232 gradus tuos et quasi processus dicendi studeo cognoscere. Cf. also c. 26 34 quibus gradibus fracta sit . . . eloquentia.

14 **educationem,** 'development.' With this meaning, the word is not used elsewhere, hence the addition of the apologetic particles 'velut quandam,' on which see note c. 5 23. — **se** . . . **didicisse**: The acc. with inf. is not governed by 'refert' which is already supplied with an object, but by 'dicit enim' understood. On this ellipsis, highly characteristic of Tacitean style, see note c. 10 33. — **Q. Mucium**: *Q. Mucius Scaevola Q. f. Augur* (c. 159 — c. 88 B. C.) was, like his far more famous nephew, Mucius Scaevola Pontifex, chiefly noted for his legal attainments. Cf. Cic. Brut. 26, 101 Is oratorum in numero non fuit; iuris civilis intelligentia atque omni prudentiae genere praestitit 89, 306 ego autem iuris civilis studio multum operae dabam Q. Scaevolae. Cp. Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.* § 139, 3.

15 **Philonem Academicum**: Cf. Brut. l. c. Eodemque tempore, cum princeps Academiae Philo cum Atheniensium optimatibus Mithridatico bello domo profugisset Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus Tusc. Disp. II 3, 9 Philo quem nos frequenter audivimus Plut. Cic. 3 Φίλωνος ἤκουσε τοῦ ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας, ὃν μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Κλειτομάχου συνήθων καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον ἐθαύμασαν καὶ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἠγάπησαν. — **Diodotum Stoicum**: Brut. 90, 309 eram cum Stoico Diodoto qui, cum habitavisset apud me mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meae

mortuus (i. e. 13 years previous in 59 B. C. as we learn from Ep. ad Att. II 20, 6). A quo cum in aliis rebus, tum studiosissime in dialectica exercebar (see below l. 17), quae quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia putanda est Acad. Pr. 36, 115 Tusc. Disp. V. 39, 113.

16 **omnes philosophiae partes**: Philosophy was generally divided by the ancients into three parts. Cf. Cic. Acad. I 5, 19 fuit ergo iam accepta a Platone philosophandi triplex: una de vita et moribus (= ἠθική), altera de natura et rebus occultis (= φυσική), tertia de disserendo (= λογική) de orat. I 15, 68 philosophia in tres partes est divisa: in naturae obscuritatem, in disserendi subtilitatem, in vitam atque mores De fin. V 4, 9. Seneca, who devotes an entire epistle to this subject, says (Ep. 89, 9), Philosophiae tres partes esse dixerunt et maximi et plurimi auctores: moralem, naturalem, rationalem (see also Quint. XII 2, 10), and the last is again subdivided into διαλεκτική and ῥητορική. We have virtually the same division below (l. 22 f.). This threefold classification is generally attributed to Plato, but it seems not to be earlier than Xenocrates and the Stoics. See Reid's note to Cic. Acad. l. c.

17 **doctoribus contentum**: The expression was suggested by Brut. 91, 316 quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni. — **quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat**: Of Greek teachers who taught in Rome about this time (80 B. C.), for that these are primarily intended seems to be indicated by the use of the word 'doctores,' see Hillscher, A. *Hominum litteratorum Graecorum ante Tiberii mortem hist. crit.* 1891 Leipzig. — On the use of the indicative in the oratio obliqua, see note c. 17 19. The statement is a parenthetical remark of the speaker himself not based upon information taken from the Brutus.

18 **Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse**: Brut. 91, 315 Cum venissem Athenas, sex menses cum Antiocho . . . fui studiumque philosophiae numquam intermissum a primaque adulescentia cultum . . . renovavi. Eodem tamen tempore Athenis apud Demetrium Syrum exerceri solebam. Post a me *Asia tota peragrata* est cum summis quidem oratoribus (viz. Menippus, Dionysius Magnes, Aeschylus Cnidius and Xenocles of Adramyttium). — *Peragrasse* can only be joined to 'Achaiam' by a kind of zeugma, for on Cicero's own testimony, just cited, he studied in no other city of Greece proper except Athens, nor do we know of any town in the

province of Achaia which he could have visited for any educational purpose. — **omnem omnium artium varietatem**: Of the nine 'liberales artes' enumerated by Varro, *five* are here expressly mentioned, *two* clearly implied, namely *rhetoric*, for according to the Brutus, Cicero's teachers in Asia were *rhetoricians* (hi tum in Asia rhetorum principes numerabantur) and *astrology* (astronomy) which is included in 'rerum motus causasque.' The remaining 'artes,' *medicine* and *architecture* are designedly omitted for obvious reasons. On the number and variety of the liberal arts from Varro to the time of Charlemagne, see Th. Davidson, *Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals*, London 1892 p. 239–247 (Appendix). — With the expression itself, cf. Cic. de orat. III 19, 72 veteres illi . . . omnem omnium rerum . . . cognitionem et scientiam cum dicendi ratione iungebant. See also note c. 6 12 and Gericke, *de abund. gen. dic. Tac.* p. 52 ff.

21 **itaque hercule** · · · **possit**: Observe the consummate art with which the author, by the use of emphatic exclamation (hercule), anaphora (non — non — non — non denique and ille — ille — ille) epanalepsis, climax, evenly balanced clauses, and an accumulation of synonymous or redundant expressions succeeds in reflecting stylistically the warmth of feeling and intensity of conviction which animates the speaker in this closing part of his argument, and this in spite of the fact that the entire paragraph betrays an unmistakable indebtedness to Ciceronian passages both in thought and phraseology. — The necessity of acquiring as universal a knowledge as possible is constantly inculcated by Cicero. Cf. e. g. de orat. I 6, 20. 13, 58. 16, 72. 35 ff. II 9, 38 III 14, 54. 20, 76 Brut. 93, 322 Orat. 4, 14. 5, 17 and on the usefulness of the various branches here enumerated also Quintilian e. g. I 4, 5. 8, 12. 10, 1 ff. II 21, 1 ff. XII 2, 1 ff. 3, 1 ff. 4.

23 **ita est enim** · · · **ita est**: An instance of epanalepsis, a figure used in solemn or emphatic asseverations, e. g. Cic. Verr. II 4, 52, 117 est ita iudices, est ita Dem. de cor. 297 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, Olynth. IV 18 εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσίν. The expression *ita est* is particularly common in Seneca. Cf. also Cic. pro Cluent 35, 96 non fuit illud igitur iudicium iudicii simile, iudices, non fuit. — In Tacitus, *enim* always precedes *est*, except here. In c. 31 6 the MSS. vary. On this much disputed question, cp. Hand, *Tursell.* III 492 Dr. *H. S.* II 164 ff. Madvig, de fin. I 13, 43 Wilkins, de orat. I 2, 7 Sandys,

Orat. 1, 2. The rule of Seyffert, Lael. p. 104–106 that 'est' takes second place when it is the mere copula, but third place if it denotes existence, is justly called into question by Müller and is very decidedly refuted by our passage. The position, if not wholly arbitrary, seems to be determined by the degree of emphasis called for by the context.

24 **ex multa eruditione** etc: On the climax, see note c. 33 19.

25 **exundat et exuberat:** Doubtless suggested by Cic. de orat. I 6, 20 ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus. Etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio. Tac. uses these words in a figurative sense also in Ann. XIV 53 tam lato fenore exuberat (sc. animus meus) and III 72 exundantes opes. — **admirabilis:** Cicero repeatedly contends that it must be the ultimate aim of the orator to render his speech worthy of admiration. Cf. de opt. gen. 4, 12 quid? dubium est, utrum orationem nostram tolerabilem tantum an etiam admirabilem esse cupiamus? Quint. VIII 3, 6 recteque Cicero his ipsis ad Brutum verbis quadam in epistula (not extant) scribit: 'nam eloquentiam, quae admirationem non habet, nullam iudico. See also Sandys' note to Orat. 28, 97. In selecting this particular epithet, therefore, Tacitus not only endorses Cicero's own view, but at the same time also pays a very high compliment to his oratorical excellence.

26 **orationis vis et facultas:** *Vis* and *facultas* are frequently combined. Cf. e. g. Cic. de orat. I 31, 142 Quint. XII 1, 33.

Andresen (*Emend.* p. 157 f.) objects to the reading 'ceterae artes' as an illogical correlative to oratoris, 'rerum' in the sense of 'artium' being in his opinion also inadmissible. The latter objection is abundantly refuted by Cic. de orat. I 5, 19. 6, 20 (cited in previous note as the model of Tac.) 28, 128 III 22, 84 (quoted c. 32 11). The inconcinnity pointed out may be admitted; it is, however, paralleled by similar incongruities in the use of 'ceteri' and 'alius.' Cf. Tac. H. IV 56 *legatis* tantum legionum interfectis, *ceterum* vulgus Ann. I 31 III 42 (where see Nipp.) XV 37 Cic. Verr. I 1, 16, 47 Nep. Eum. 7, 1. The traditional reading might, therefore, be plausibly defended. All difficulties, however, vanish at once, if we write *orationis* (an emendation curtly dismissed by Andresen) for 'oratoris.' The two nouns are often confused in the MSS. e. g. in Quint. I 10, 27 VI 2, 19 X 2, 12 XII 1, 11. — The passages cited by Kleiber p. 30 and John ad loc. in support of the collocation of 'oratoris' with 'vis' or 'facultas' seem to me quite irrelevant, as no antithesis with 'artes' or 'res' is either expressed or implied in any of them.

27 **angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur**: Cf. Plin. Ep. III 7, 13 tam angustis terminis . . . concluditur. Cicero says 'terminis circumscribere' (de orat. I 12, 52. 16, 70) or 't. saepire' (ibid. II 2, 5). 'angustus' and 'brevis' also occur combined in Tac. G. 6 and in Plin. Ep. II 7, 4. — *Cludo* for 'claudo' is found in Tacitus, provided the MSS. can be relied upon, only here, c. 35 4 G. 34. 45 (twice) H. I 33 and Ann. XV 64. No instance is cited from Cicero Caesar, Sallust or Livy. Occasionally in Seneca : e. g. Ep. 73, 13. Cp. also A. Köhler, *De auct. belli Afr. et belli Hisp. latinitate* in *Act. Sem. Phil. Erlang.* I p. 367 ff. — **is est orator** etc. : This definition is illustrated by many passages in Cicero. Cf. esp. de orat. I 15, 64 is orator erit . . . qui, quaecunque res inciderit, quae sit dictione explicanda, prudenter et composite et ornate et memoriter dicet cum quadam actionis etiam dignitate 31, 138 primum oratoris officium esse dicere ad persuadendum adcommodatum III 14, 53 de invent. I 5, 6 officium autem eius facultatis videtur esse apposite ad persuasionem Orat. 36, 123 is erit ergo eloquens, qui ad id, quodcunque decebit, poterit adcommodare orationem Quint. II 15, 1 ff. — *pulchre,* further explained by 'pro dignitate rerum,' is here taken in its ethical sense, in accordance with the contention of Quintilian 'non posse oratorem esse nisi *virum bonum*' discussed at length in XII 1 ff. — *ornate* pertains to the formal side of a speech, which should give aesthetic pleasure to the hearer (cum voluptate audientium). — *apte dicere,* calls for a treatment of the subject in agreement with the requirements of the case and the exigencies of the occasion (ad utilitatem temporum).

31. 2 **opus esse ut**: This construction, perhaps formed on the analogy of 'necesse est ut' occasionally found in classic prose, occurs in Plautus : Truc. II 3, 7. 6, 19 V 11 Poen. V 7, 36, then again in Mart. VII 92, 9 hoc opus est, subito fias ut sidere mutus and Lact. Opif. XI 1 opus fuerat ut aleretur. So once with 'ne' in Plin. Ep. VII 6, 3 cui opus esset, ne reus videretur. In Tac., it is like *sufficere* ut (c. 32 1) and *expedire* ut (Ann. III 69) a ἀπ. εἰρ. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 273 f. Dahl, *Die latein. Partikel 'ut,'* Christiania 1882 p. 249 and esp. the exhaustive treatment of Woelfflin, *Archiv* II 207 ff. IV 152. 325. Draeger ad Ann. l. c. very ingeniously suggests that Tacitus may have used this construction to avoid the dependence of one infinitive upon another. If so, this would furnish another very striking proof of the Tacitean authorship of the

Dialogus, for none of the other examples can be accounted for on the same motive! — **declamarent**: The word 'declamare' in the sense of a rhetorical exercise first came into vogue in the time of Cicero, as we learn from Cic. Brut. 90, 310 commentabar declamitans — sic enim nunc loquuntur and from Sen. Contr. I prooem. 12 declamabat autem Cicero non quales nunc controversias dicimus . . . ipsa 'declamatio' apud nullum antiquum auctorem ante Ciceronem et Calvum inveniri potest qui declamationem a dictione distinguit; ait enim declamare iam se non mediocriter, dicere bene; alterum putat domesticae exercitationis esse, alterum verae actionis.

3 **fictis nec . . . ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis** etc.: On this subject, see notes c. 35 ext. — Ciceronian reminiscences in thought and diction are particularly abundant in this chapter. Cf. de orat. I 33, 149 equidem probo ista . . . ut, causa aliqua posita consimili causarum earum quae in forum deferuntur, dicatis quam maxime ad veritatem adcommodate, sed plerique in hoc vocem modo, neque eam scienter, et viris exercent suas et linguae celeritatem incitant. III 30, 121 hanc ad consuetudinem exercitationis vos . . . cohortatus Antonius atque a minutis angustisque concertationibus ad omnem vim varietatemque vos disserendi traducendos putavit . . . non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua est, sed onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum suavitate, copia, varietate.

5 **de bonis et malis**, etc.: i. e. touching the good and bad things in life, the practical harm or usefulness of which constituted the theme of discussion in the 'genus deliberativum' referred to immediately below. So Cic. de orat. I 10, 42 nihil te de bonis rebus in vita, nihil de malis . . . didicisse and Orat. 33, 118 nihil de bonis rebus aut malis, nihil de virtutibus aut vitiis. The same enumeration occurs in Sen. Ep. 95, 58 continent vitam, bona et mala, honesta et turpia, iusta et iniusta.

Tacitus may have designedly written 'de bonis *ac* malis' to prevent the phrase from being taken in the sense of 'de bonis *et* malis' which, unless 'rebus' is added, generally serves as the Latin equivalent for περὶ ἠθικῶν. But the habitual confusion of 'et, ac, and aut' in our MSS. (e. g. c. 12 17 16 18 19 8 20 5) and the fact that the cod. D has *et* here, render it not improbable that this represents the original reading (see the passage from Seneca). We should thus also preserve the customary symmetrical grouping in all three pairs of opposites, for the *very few* exx. in Tacitus of a change of conjunctions are confined to *adversative* collocations. Cf. c. 24 4 ingenio

ac spiritu sed etiam eruditione et arte G. 27 lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt H. I 81 manere ac deprehendi, an fugere et dispergi II 68 pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris III 20 armis ac manu . . . ratione et consilio Ann. IV 1 largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia. In c. 18 ext. et — atque . . . et — atque the grouping is perfectly symmetrical and in c. 22 18 the variation is necessary. See note.

6 **oratori subiecta materia:** A Ciceronian phrase. Cf. de orat. I 46, 201 omnis haec et antiquitatis memoria . . . tamquam aliqua *materies* eis *oratoribus* qui versantur in re publica *subiecta esse debet* II 27, 116 ita omnis ratio dicendi tribus ad persuadendum rebus est nixa: ut probemus . . . ad probandum autem duplex est *oratori subiecta materia* III 14, 54 atque ea est ei (sc. *oratori*) *subiecta materies* Quint. II 21, 20 materiam rhetorices esse omnes res ad dicendum ei subiectas.

These passages can leave no reasonable doubt that 'ad dicendum' is out of place by the side of 'oratori,' a view confirmed by the variants in our MSS.: subiecta ad dicendum — ad dicendum subiecta, which unmistakably point to an interlinear gloss which subsequently came into the text in different places. The phrase was evidently taken from c. 37 29 'ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent,' where it is quite appropriate, not to say essential to the context.— As *est* is here part of the verb, its emphatic position before *enim* is unjustifiable.

7 **in iudiciis** refers to the genus iudiciale (δικανικόν), **in deliberationibus** to the g. deliberativum (συμβουλευτικόν), **in laudationibus** to the g. demonstrativum (ἐπιδεικτικόν), and **de aequitate, de utilitate, de honestate** correspond respectively to the de iusto et iniusto, de bonis et malis and de honesto et turpi. Cf. Arist. Rhet. I 35 Auct. ad Herenn. I-III Cic. de inv. II 4, 12 de orat. (see below) Top. 24, 91 Quint. II 21, 18 III 4, 1-16. — **fere** 'chiefly,' belongs to 'disserimus.' In this sense, 'ferme,' which takes the place of 'fere' in the later writings of Tacitus, is not uncommon. Cf. H. IV 70 ut f. acerrima . . . proximorum odia sunt Ann. II 2. 54 IV 5. 9. 58 VI 17 XII 36 XIV 20 XV 21. On 'fere principia,' see crit. note c. 20 2. — The entire passage is directly based upon Cic. de orat. I 31, 141 sed causarum quae sint a communi quaestione seiunctae, partim in iudiciis versari, partim in deliberationibus; esse etiam genus tertium quod in laudandis aut vituperandis hominibus poneretur; certosque esse locos quibus *in iudiciis* uteremur, in quibus *aequitas* quaereretur, alios in *deliberationibus* quae omnes

ad *utilitatem* dirigerentur eorum quibus consilium daremus; alios item in *laudationibus* in quibus ad *personarum dignitatem* omnia referrentur.

9 **sed . . . misceantur**: Justice, utility and morals, though constituting the principal topics of discussion in the respective 'genera dicendi' to which they properly belong, are nevertheless all so closely interrelated as to render the treatment of one to the rigid exclusion of the other practically impossible. The same thought is brought out by Quint. III 4, 16 ne iis quidem accesserim qui (the authors referred to in § 9 ff.) laudativam materiam honestorum, deliberativam utilium, iudicialem iustorum quaestione contineri putant, celeri magis ac rotunda usi distributione quam vera. *Stant enim quodammodo mutuis auxiliis omnia.* Nam et in laude iustitia utilitasque tractatur et in consiliis honestas et raro iudicialem inveneris causam in cuius parte non aliquid eorum, quae supra diximus, reperiatur and again III 8, 1 deliberativas quoque miror a quibusdam sola utilitate finitas. ac si quid in his unum sequi oporteret, potior fuisset apud me Ciceronis sententia (de orat. II 82, 334) qui hoc materiae genus dignitate maxime contineri putat. nec dubito quin ii qui sunt in illa priore sententia, secundum opinionem pulcherrimam ne utile quidem nisi quod honestum esset, existimarint.

With the solitary exception of Philipp, *Dial. Tac. . . . quae genuina fuerit forma*, Vienna 1887 p. 29 f., the emendation of Ursinus 'de utilitate, in laudationibus' has met with general acceptance. Philipp bases his objections upon unwarrantable inferences drawn from Cic. de orat. II 10, 43 III 30, 121 Quint. III 8, 1 and X 1, 47 and ignores the tripartite enumeration 'de bonis etc.' which the 'nam' clause is evidently intended to illustrate. Ursinus' restorations, both here and in c. 5 16, where the existence of a lacuna has also unjustly been denied by Kiessling, *Index schol.* Greifswald 1884/5, are among the most certain emendations made in this treatise. — 'Ita tamen ut,' though again found in c. 16 22 38 7 and hence preferred by some editors, is palaeographically not so easy as the equally satisfactory '*sed ita ut*' (disserimus*it*aut). So e. g. Cic. de off. II 18, 64 habenda ratio est rei familiaris *sed ita ut* illiberalitatis avaritiaeque absit suspicio.

10 **copiose et varie et ornate**: Cf. Cic. Orat. 9, 29 ornate vero et graviter et copiose dicere 33, 118 de orat. I 11, 48 composite, ornate, copiose loqui 13, 59 oratorem plenum atque perfectum esse eum qui de omnibus rebus possit copiose varieque dicere.

12 **pravitatemque vitiorum**: The expression is not properly antithetical to *vim virtutum*, 'vis' being here, as often, synonymous

with 'intellectus.' 'Pravitas' seems to have been merely added for the sake of stylistic libration. See note c. 1 21. — **intellectum** sc. cognovit. For a perfectly analogous construction, cf. c. 17 25 ad spatium temporis si . . . *referas* . . . si ad naturam saeculorum ac *respectum* . . . aevi. The expression closely approaches the so-called figura etymologica, on which see note c. 22 17.

There is, therefore, no valid reason for assuming a zeugma, as Philipp, p. 30, does, nor for inserting 'habet' before or after 'intellectum.' Schopen's emendation, accepted by Halm, Peter and Joh. Müller, is objectionable also, because 'intellectum habere' is always used in the passive sense of 'intellegi, significare' e. g. Quint. II 14, 2 III 6, 45 V 10, 1 VII 9, 2 VIII 3, 83 and Tac. G. 26 hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur. See Kleiber p. 41 John ad loc.

13 **nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur**: i. e. the Stoic ἀδιάφορα. Cf. Diog. Laert. VI 105 τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα λέγουσιν ὁμοίως Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Χίῳ. *Indifferens*, the Latin equivalent, coined by Cicero (see de fin. III 16, 53) seems to have been generally accepted by later writers. Cf. e. g. Sen. de vit. beat. 22, 4 Gell. IX 5, 5. — The entire passage was suggested by Cic. de orat. I 12, 53 Quis enim nescit maximam vim existere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad *iram* aut ad odium aut ad dolorem *incitandis* vel ab hisce eisdem permotionibus ad *lenitatem misericordiamque* revocandis? Quae nisi qui *naturas hominum* (I 11, 48 natura hominum . . . moribus) vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas, quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur, penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.

17 **exercitationibus versatus**: 'possessed of a thorough *training* in these subjects.' On the meaning of 'versari,' cp. Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 109. — **sive apud infestos** etc : The author simply enumerates, without any attempt at antithesis, climax or symmetrical libration, some of the more common moods or dispositions which an orator is apt to encounter in an average audience. *Cupidus* can, of course, in the present context be understood only in malam partem, 'biassed.'

19 **dicendum habuerit**: On this construction, see note c. 8 11. — **tenebit venas animorum** etc : The orator should, like a skillful and thoroughly trained physician, after carefully diagnosing the psychical condition of his hearers, apply such remedies (adhibebit manum) from out his well-stocked (parato omni instrumento) and ever

available (ad omnem usum) oratorical storehouse, as will establish the necessary *entente cordiale* between him and his audience. For the figure, cf. Cic. de orat. I 52, 223 teneat oportet venas cuiusque generis, aetatis, ordinis et eorum apud quos aliquid aget aut erit acturus, mentes sensusque degustet.

20 **prout cuiusque** sc. iudicis or auditoris. Cf. Quint. XII 10, 56 nam id quoque plurimum refert, quo modo audire iudex velit atque 'eius vultus saepe ipse rector est dicentis' ut Cicero praecipit. — *prout*, not found in early Latin, Caesar or Sallust, occasionally in Cic. and Livy, not uncommon in Silver Latin, is particularly frequent in Tacitus. Cp. Lex. Tac. s. v. and Dr. *H. S.* II 654.

Throughout this paragraph, Tacitus is intent on pointing out that an orator, to be successful, must accommodate himself to the feelings and the temper of his *audience*, an opinion also shared by Cic. and Quint. ll. cc. but apparently contradicted by Aper (see c. 6 17). With 'sunt apud quos etc.' the author proceeds to give some of the reasons for this requirement, and enumerates some of the sources which may serve as models to the orator for the accomplishment of his purpose, in certain situations. The particular character of the lawsuit itself is clearly of no importance whatever in determining this mode of procedure. Andresen's emendation 'cuiusque *causae*' (Emend. p. 159 f.) is, therefore, unnecessary. The passages, cited by him in support of this conjecture, from c. 23 23 Cic. de orat. II 27, 115 Brut. 80, 279 Orat. 36, 125 Quint. IX 4, 139. 147 (to which Cic. ad Att. XI 6 ext. prout res postulat Quint. V 12, 14 prout ratio cuiusque causae postulabit might have been added), are either quite irrelevant or only prove that the phrase 'prout res, (causa) postulat (poscit) is of common occurrence, but this fact does not justify a correction of the text, which cannot be shown to be corrupt or objectionable on internal grounds.

21 **instrumento** sc. dicendi. The word frequently occurs in this figurative sense. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 36, 165 Quint. XII 5, 1. 11, 24. In Tac. again H. I 88 instrumentum belli and of individuals Ag. 14 instrumenta servitutis I 22 pessimum principalis matrimonii instr. IV 7 boni imperii instr. Ann. XII 66 Locusta . . . inter instr. regni. See also note to c. 26 19.

22 **sunt apud quos . . . meretur**: The indicative after 'sunt qui' occurs in Tac. only here and Ag. 28 fuere quos . . . illustravit. In the present passage, it may be accounted for on the ground that the author had two distinct and definite classes of hearers in mind. The construction is extremely rare in post-Aug. prose, though quite common in poetry. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 531–534 Kühner II 860 R.

V. III p. 502 f. note 507 Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* § 242 W. G. Hale, *Cum Constructions* p. 111 f. — **adstrictum et collectum**: 'concise and succinct.' *adstrictum* is synonymous with 'pressus, contractus.' Cf. Cic. Brut. 90, 309 quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia, but *collectum* is very rare in this sense, e. g. Sen. Ep. 100, 11 non erunt sine dubio singula circumspecta nec in se collecta nec omne verbum excitabit. The metaphor is taken from the folding of a dress, as is clear from c. 39 3 paenulas istas quibus *adstricti* et velut inclusi. — **singula statim argumenta concludens**: i. e. the speaker will adopt a more popular style, free from intricate syllogistic reasoning and enthymemes, which his hearers might have some difficulty in following with intelligence.

24 **dialecticae** sc. Stoicorum. For it was chiefly this sect which practiced the 'adstrictum genus dicendi' in contradistinction to the 'fusa oratio' of the Peripatetics. Cf. Cic. Brut. 25, 94 ille quidem ornatior sed tamen *adstrictior*. fuit enim doctus ex disciplina Stoicorum 31, 120 ut Stoicorum *adstrictior* est oratio aliquantoque *contractior* quam aures populi requirunt sic illorum (sc. Peripateticorum Academicorumque) liberior et latior, quam patitur consuetudo iudiciorum et fori 30, 114. — **dedisse proficiet** sc. oratori. On the perfect infinitive, see note c. 18 13.

Fidem, as all our MSS. have it, was doubtless due to 'scriptura continua' (fidemeretur) and, therefore, unmistakably points to 'fide' as the reading of the archetypon. But this genitive, while well attested for the poets (e. g. ap. Cic. de off. III 26, 98 Hor. C. III 7, 4 Ov. Met. III 341 VI 506 VII 728. 737) is found only once in prose, viz. Plancus ap. Cic. ad fam. X 17, 3. It seems, therefore, somewhat hazardous to introduce this form into the text of Tacitus, as Sirker, *Tac. Formenl.* p. 21 demands. For these genitive forms, in general, cp. Neue I 377 ff.

fusa et aequalis: *Fusa* 'smoothly' is synonymous with 'profluens, lenis, tractus.' Cf. Cic. de orat. II 15, 64 verborum autem ratio et genus orationis *fusum* atque tractum et cum lenitate quadam aequabiliter profluens 38, 159 genus sermonis adfert non liquidum non fusum ac profluens sed exile, aridum, concisum ac minutum. — *aequalis* 'steadily.' The word is so used, not only in Quint. III 8, 60 id quoque aequalius erit non tumultuosius atque turbidius 9, 2 *aequaliter fusa* but also, according to *all our MSS.*, in Cic. Orat. 36, 126 *aequaliter* toto corpore orationis *fusa* esse debet and 58, 198 sed omnis nec claudicans nec quasi fluctuans sed *aequaliter* constanterque ingrediens. Elsewhere Cicero has *aequa-*

biliter e. g. Orat. 30, 106 ieiunas igitur huius multiplicis et *aequabiliter* . . . *fusae* orationis de orat. II 54, 218 *aequabiliter* in omni sermone *fusum*.

From the above passages, it must be clear that 'aequalis' and 'aequabilis' are synonymous, and that both rest upon equally good authority. Hence I can see no necessity for writing 'aequabilis' in our passage, against the unanimous testimony of the MSS. Arbitrarily to insist on uniformity in Cicero in favor of 'aequabiliter' and then to adduce his 'invariable' usage for the purpose of emending other recalcitrant readings, is hardly a legitimate mode of argumentation.

25 **communibus ducta sensibus oratio**: Reflections drawn from the common experience of mankind. Cf. Cic. de orat. III 29, 115. On the semasiological history of the phrase 'communis sensus' cp. Sir Wm. Hamilton's edit. of Reid's works p. 774 cited by Wilkins, ad Cic. de orat. I 3, 12. On the various meanings of 'sensus' in the Dial., see note c. 20 16 and on the 'collocatio verborum,' see note c. 12 8.

27 **in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos**: *Loci* is here not equivalent, as often, to 'loci communes' but used in the sense of 'lines of argument' *τόποι*. Cf. Cic. Orat. 14, 46 idemque (sc. Aristoteles) *locos* — sic enim appellat — quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis in utramque partem traheretur oratio de orat. I 13, 55 quibus de rebus Aristotelem et Theophrastum scripsisse fateor . . . etenim cum illi in dicendo inciderint loci . . . ut de dis immortalibus, de pietate, de concordia, de amicitia . . . de omni virtutis genere sit dicendum, where Sandys and Wilkins cite numerous other passages. — Observe the stylistic balance of these clauses: sunt apud quos . . . apud hos — alios . . . ad hos, with a symmetrically constructed 'oratio trimembris' in each: adstrictum et collectum et . . . concludens etc. — fusa et aequalis et . . . ducta etc. (a — a — b :: a — a — b).

28 **Academici pugnacitatem**: On the *εἰς ἑκάτερα ἐπιχείρησις* characteristic of the New Academy, see note c. 24 10. — *pugnacitas* is a post-Aug. word. Cf. e. g. Plin. N. H. X, 33, 51, 101 Quint. IV 3, 2 argumentorum pugnacitas. — **Plato altitudinem**: On *altitudo* = sublimitas, see note c. 21 16. In their high admiration of Plato's style, the ancients, barring a few ill-humored protests of Dionysius, are unanimous. Cf. Cic. de or. I 11, 47 principi longe omnium in dicendo gravissimo et elegantissimo III 4, 15 libros Platonis mirabiliter scriptos Brut. 31, 121 quis enim uberior in

dicendo Platone? Iovem sic, aiunt philosophi, si Graece loquatur, loqui (= Dionys. De Dem. 23 Plut. Cic. 24) Orat. 19, 62 longe omnium, quicumque scripserunt aut locuti sunt exstitit et gravitate et suavitate princeps Tus. Disp. I 32, 79 Quint. X 1, 81 Quis dubitet Platonem esse praecipuum . . . eloquendi facultate divina quadam et Homerica? multum enim supra prosam orationem . . . surgit, ut mihi non hominis ingenio sed quodam Delphici videatur oraculo dei instinctus Plin. Ep. I 10, 5 Platonicam illam sublimitatem. Dionys. l. c. *τινὲς ἀξιοῦσι πάντων αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητόρων ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὰ πράγματα δαιμονιώτατον* Περὶ ὕψους 13, 1 *ὁ Πλάτων . . . τοιούτῳ τινὶ χεύματι ἀψοφητὶ ῥέων, οὐδὲν ἧττον μεγεθύνεται.* — **Xenophon iucunditatem**: Cf. Cic. Orat. 9, 32 cuius sermo est ille quidem melle dulcior 19, 62 X. voce Musas quasi locutas ferunt (= Quint. X 1, 33) Brut. 35, 132 molli et Xenophonteo genere sermonis de orat. II 14, 58 with Wilkins' note. Val. Max. V 10 ext. Quint. X 1, 82 quid ego commemorem X. *iucunditatem* illam inadfectatam sed quam nulla consequi adfectatio possit? ut ipsae sermonem finxisse Gratiae videantur . . . in labris eius sedisse quandam persuadendi deam Dionys. Ep. ad Pomp. 4 *συντίθησιν αὐτὰ* (sc. *τὰ πράγματα*) *ἡδέως πάνυ καὶ κεχαρισμένως* de comp. verb. 10 *ἡδέως μέν, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, οὐ μὴν καλῶς γε, ἐφ' ὅσον ἔδει* Laert. Diog. II 57 *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα γλυκύτητι τῆς ἑρμηνείας* Suidas s. v. *Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα ἐπωνομάζετο.*

29 **Epicuri . . . et Metrodori**: On *Epicurus* of Samos (342/1–270), see Zeller, *Gesch. d. griech. Philos.* III 1, 363 ff. and Susemihl, *Gesch. der griech. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit* I p. 87–97. On *Metrodorus* of Lampsacus (330/29–277 B. C.), his favorite disciple, and called by Cic. de fin. II 28, 92 paene alter Epicurus, see Zeller III 1, 368 note 3. and Susemihl I p. 98–100. — **honestas quasdam exclamationes**: The reference is to the pithy moral maxims of Epicurus, called *προσφωνήσεις* or *ἀνακραυγάσματα ἱερά*, of which latter 'honestae exclamationes' seems to be a translation. Cf. Cic. de fin. II 16, 51 itaque, Torquate, cum diceres, *clamare* Epicurum non posse iucunde vivi, nisi honeste et sapienter et iuste viveretur. They formed part of the *κύριαι δόξαι*, on which see Usener, *Epicurea* p. 71–81 Susemihl I 93 note 420 and E. Thomas, *Eine Studie zu den Epicureischen Sprüchen* in *Hermes* XXVII p. 22–35.

31 **neque enim sapientem informamus** etc: It is not my contention, says Messalla, that the orator should be a professional

philosopher (sapiens) or lose himself in the dialectical subtleties practiced by the Stoics and their followers; what I do insist on, is that, while having a complete mastery over some branches of study (haurire), he should be also sufficiently conversant (libare) with them all, to enable him to utilise such knowledge, whenever occasion arises, as it must needs do often (incidunt enim). In this plea for a liberal education by the side of strictly professional training, Tacitus again voices the sentiments of Cicero e. g. de orat. I 50, 217 f. at hoc ne philosophi quidem ipsi . . . dicere audent, *geometriam* aut *musicam* philosophi esse quia Platonem omnes in illis artibus praestantissimum fuisse fateantur. ac si iam placet omnes artes oratori subiungere, tolerabilius est sic potius dicere . . . sit boni oratoris multa auribus accepisse, multa vidisse, multa animo et cogitatione, multa etiam legendo percucurrisse, neque ea ut sua possedisse sed ut aliena *libasse.* Plat. Prot. 312 B.

'comitem' is so clearly the only proper solution of the compendium *c̆item*, preserved in A, the word is so preëminently suited to the context, that the intrinsically and palaeographically improbable emendations of others (p. 41) may be dismissed without further comment. Cp. Vahlen, *Comm. Momms.* 1877 p. 667 and John's note ad loc. As for Seek's absurd conjecture (*Hermes* XII 509) and the far-reaching inference which he draws from it — difficile est satiram non scribere.

32 **haurire:** See note c. 28 29. — **libare,** though common in this figurative sense, is not elsewhere so used in Tacitus. Cf. e. g. Cic. de orat. I 34, 159. 50 218 (cited above) Tusc. Disp. V 29, 82. Both verbs combined in Cic. de div. I 49, 110 haustos animos et libatos habemus. For a similar figure, cf. Sen. Ep. 36, 3 perbibere liberalia studia, non illa quibus perfundi satis est, sed haec quibus tingendus est animus. Observe the different expressions for the antithesis between scientific knowledge on the one hand (haurire, comprehendebant, scientia) and superficial acquaintance on the other (libare, imbuebantur, notitia).

This doubtless intentional symmetry is an additional proof of the correctness of the reading libare.

ideoque = itaque. Very common in Quintilian e. g. X 1, 22 where see Peterson. In Tacitus only here and G. 26. *Que* joins an entire sentence as in c. 32 6 and 6 6, where other examples from Tac. are cited.

33 **iuris civilis scientiam:** The necessity of a profound study of civil law is repeatedly inculcated by Cicero e. g. de orat. I 36, 165.

40, 184. 44, 197 his ego de causis dixeram, Scaevola, eis qui perfecti oratores esse vellent, iuris civilis cognitionem esse necessariam 46, 201 Orat. 34, 120 Quint. XII 3 (necessariam iuris civilis oratori scientiam) and c. 32 ext.

Some MSS., both here and c. 30 20, where the same sciences are enumerated, exhibit the Greek endings (grammatice, musice, geometrice). But Tacitus, very unlike Quintilian in this respect (see Bonnell Lex. Proleg. XX–XXVI), habitually avoids Greek forms and inflections, no less than Greek words (on which see note c. 5 32), the only exceptions being perhaps the name *Oxionas* (G. 46) and the quasi-proper name *megistanas* (Ann. XV 27), a word of Persian origin, signifying magnates. On 'rhetoras,' see note c. 30 4.

34 **imbuebantur,** used of superficial training, as in c. 19 21 quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus at certe imbutus, where see note.

35 **incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ... pleraeque autem:** i. e. 'For occasions may arise in which a superficial acquaintance with the law is all that's desired, nay I may say, this will generally, if not always be the case; in many instances, however, also a thorough knowledge of the above mentioned subjects will be necessary.'

36 **haec ... scientia** i. e. harum artium scientia. Cf. Cic. Orat. 33, 118 sine ea scientia (i. e. earum rerum) ... quam dixi ... explicari potest de orat. I 3, 10 ei scientiae (i. e. eius artis) 41, 186 huic scientiae (i. e. huius rei). Cp. Kühner II 44.

'incidunt' implies the idea of casual occurrence and hence 'plurimae quidem etc.' is added to prevent any misunderstanding of the speaker's real meaning. 'quibus iuris etc.,' the reading of all the MSS., is clearly distinguished from 'in quibus' below, for the law pertains to the entire case, a knowledge of music, geometry, etc. only to particular parts. Cp. John ad loc. and note c. 21 32. Baehrens (*Comm. Crit.* p. 88) understands 'haec scientia' to refer to the knowledge of the law, and regards 'notitia ... desideratur' and 'scientia requiritur' as a climax, an interpretation which he is unable to uphold without a number of arbitrary changes. Andresen, overawed by the alleged difficulties of the passage, deletes the entire clause, from 'incidunt–requiritur.' It may be admitted that these words are not essential to the context, but how a scribe ever came to insert, on mere caprice, *three* lines, it were difficult to divine.

32. 1 **sufficere ut** is very rare. Cf. Plin. Ep. IX 21, 3 interim sufficiet ut exorari te sinas; with 'ne,' ibid. 33, 11 and Tac. Ann. XVI 5; with 'si,' Plin. Ep. V 1, 9 Pan. 88, 2. Cf. Dr. *H. S.* II

272. 357 and see note c. 31 2. The impersonal use of 'sufficere' is confined to post-Aug. Latin. — **ad tempus** 'For the occasion.' So also Cic. de orat. I 16, 69 quid est cur non orator de rebus eis eloquentissime dicat quas ad certam causam tempusque cognorit. The meaning usually given to this phrase 'for the time being, for the moment' (See Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 196, Tac. Ann. I 1 IV 19) seems less appropriate here.

2 **uniforme**: Apparently not met with elsewhere, except in late Latin e. g. Macrob. VII 5 Apul. Met. 11 Aurel. Vict. Epit. 9 Arnob. II 88 (uniformiter). — **primum enim** etc.: The thought was perhaps suggested by Cic. de orat. III 23, 86 omnes enim artes aliter ab eis tractantur qui eas ad usum transferunt, aliter ab eis qui ipsarum artium tractatu delectati, nihil in vita sunt aliud acturi.

3 **longeque interesse**: *Longe* is a poetic and post-Aug. equivalent for multum, multo. Cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 40 longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt. c. 33 10 longe magis . . . contineri 24 longe paratiorem G. 8 longe impatientius Ann. IV 40 longe acrius arsuras XII 2 1. rectius. For examples in other writers, see Lexica.

4 **possideat . . . an mutuetur**: *An* in indirect question with 'utrum' omitted, is more common in Tacitus than in other writers. Cp. Lex. Tac. s. v. *an* (p. 77). *No* similar instance occurs in Quintilian. The same ellipsis after 'interesse' e. g. in Plaut. Most. II 1, 60 pluma haud interest, patronus an cluens probrior sit. — The truth of the statement is well illustrated by the Dialogus itself which, in spite of palpable indebtedness to Cicero and others, has yet preserved a high degree of originality.

5 **etiam aliud agentes**: Genuine culture will manifest itself, even in those parts of a speech in which the orator was not consciously availing himself of his acquired knowledge. Most commentators take the phrase 'aliud agentes' to refer to the orator's extra-forensic activity, his social intercourse and the like, but this interpretation is quite excluded by the clause 'idque . . . fateatur.' The phrase itself is originally colloquial usage but of common occurrence and opposed to 'hoc agere,' 'to do something intentionally.' Cf. Ter. Eun. 348 Hec. 826 Publ. Syr. 115 R. Cic. Rosc. Am. 22, 60 (where see Landgraf) pro Cluent. 64, 179 aliud agentem ac nihil eius modi cogitantem de orat. III 14, 51 Brut.

66, 233 Quint. X 1, 19 unde nos non id agentes furtim decor ille discentibus traditus prosequatur 3, 25 (cf. Bonnell, Lex.). In Tac.: Ag. 43 hic aliud agens populus and c. 28 28.

6 **ubi minime credas**: Cf. Sen. Ep. 100, 7 ubi minime expectas. — **eminet et excellit**: The same words are grouped, but in inverse order (see note c. 4 3) in Cic. de rep. II 28, 50 excellit atque eminet vis Plin. Pan. 2 hoc magis excellit atque eminet. Seneca seems disposed to deny the truth of this statement. Cf. Ep. 88, 36 'at enim delectat artium notitia multarum.' Tantum itaque ex illis retineamus, quantum necessarium est . . . plus scire velle quam sit satis, intemperantiae genus est. — **idque**: On initial 'que,' see note c. 6 6. — **non** · · · **modo** · · · **et**: On separated 'non-modo,' cf. note c. 2 6.

7 **legitime**: 'properly.' In this sense, the word is common in the Elder Pliny, but apparently not elsewhere so used, except once in Iuv. XII 100.

8 **per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse**: On the use of 'per' after verbs of motion, with an acc. of extent, see note c. 19 22. — The figure seems to be taken from the fencing school. Cf. Quint. X 1, 4 sed athleta qui omnes iam perdidicerit a praeceptore numeros with Mayor's and Peterson's notes ad loc. — **ut** · · · **ut** · · · **ut denique**: Cf. the anaphora in c. 30 20 38 12 and note c. 9 10. — **oratorem** sc. eum. The omission of a demonstrative pronoun in these and analogous constructions is quite characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. e. g. Ag. 11 positio caeli corporibus habitum (eum) dedit H. I 72 scelera exercuit conrupto . . . Nerone, quaedam ignaro (eo) ausus Ann. I 5 talia agitantibus (iis) gravescere valetudo Augusti II 70 lenta videri (ei) veneficia; festinare (eum) et urgere ut 82 in extremas terras relegatum (eum) IV 60 gnarus praeferocem (eum esse) XIII 27 quos . . . non liberavit (eos) velut vinculo servitutis non attineri XV 20 de reo censuerat provincia Creta depellendum (eum esse) and c. 5 15 (id) studium quo 17 28 (eos) oratores, quos 37 24 (eas) orationes, quas. — On the a fortiori use of 'orator,' cf. note c. 1 6.

Andresen has justly abandoned his emendation 'alium' in place of 'aliter,' for inconcinnity of correlation in *Tacitus* constitutes no justifiable ground for condemning an otherwise unobjectionable reading supported by the unanimous testimony of the MSS.

11 **armis instructus** · · · **artibus armatus**: With the expression, cf. Sen. Ep. 109, 8 numquid instructus omnibus rebus agricola . . . numquid armatus miles quantum in aciem exituro satis est . . . satis

enim vitae instructus, satis armatus est (sc. sapiens) and for the military metaphor, see note c. 5 32 and Quint. X 1, 29.

The ease with which Tac. might have avoided the slightly mixed metaphor, by transposing 'instructus' and 'armatus,' renders it highly probable that the MSS. have preserved the original reading. The author's reason for writing, as he did, seems to have been his dislike of the figura etymologica. Cf. note c. 22 17. For an analogous inconcinnity, see Cic. de orat. II 21, 88 cited by Binde p. 46.

For the entire paragraph from deinde–exierit, Cicero was again laid under contribution. Cf. esp. de orat. I 16, 72 f. sentio neminem esse in oratorum numero habendum, qui non sit omnibus eis artibus quae sunt libero dignae, perpolitus; quibus ipsis si in dicendo non utimur, tamen apparet atque exstat, utrum simus earum rudes an didicerimus: ut qui pila ludunt . . . et qui aliquid fingunt . . . sic in orationibus . . . etiamsi proprie ceterae non adhibeantur artes tamen facile declaratur, utrum is, qui dicat, tantummodo in hoc declamatorio sit opere iactatus an ad dicendum omnibus ingenuis artibus instructus accesserit. 6, 20 (cited c. 30 25) III 22, 84 neque enim apud homines res est ulla difficilior neque maior neque quae plura adiumenta doctrinae desideret.

13 **huius . . . cotidiani sermonis**: *huius* = nostri. So horum temporum diserti (= c. 1 5) and c. 36 4 horum temporum oratores. For other exx., see note c. 7 16. — Combined with 'cotidianus,' also in Cic. in Pis. 26, 64 in hac cotidiana urbanaque vita Ep. ad Quint. frat. I 1, 6, 19 in his privatis nostris cotidianisque rationibus 12, 37 in hac privata cotidianaque vita Caesar ap. Cic. Brut. 72, 253 hunc . . . cotidianum novisse sermonem. — Quintilian (XII 10, 40 ff.) also speaks of a class who insisted that 'nullam esse . . . eloquentiam nisi quae sit cotidiano sermoni simillima,' but, unlike Messalla, admits that their claims were not altogether unreasonable 'qua in disputatione nonnihil veri est, ideoque non tam procul, quam fit a quibusdam, recedendum a propriis atque communibus.'

14 **pudenda**: The gerundive of impersonal verbs such as piget, paenitet and pudet is first met with in the Augustan poets and from the time of Livy also occasionally in prose. 'Pudendus,' in particular, first occurs in Virgil e. g. Aen. XI 55 pudendis vulneribus and then in Liv. XXIII 3 XXV 6 XL 56. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 857. It is not uncommon in Quintilian, but *never* used by him as an adjective. In Tac. again H. II 61. 90. 95 III 84 Ann. II 38 III 53 XV 44.

'Ius civitatis' for 'ius civile,' as the phrase is generally interpreted in our passage, or in the sense of 'publica iura quae sunt propria civitatis atque imperi' (Cic. de orat. I 46, 201), which John adopts, is nowhere met with in Latin writers. It *invariably* designates the right to enjoy or to obtain the privileges of citizenship, a meaning quite impossible here. Cf. e. g. Cic. pro Arch. 5, 11 pro Caec. 34, 98. 35, 102 Verr. II 4, 11, 26. All difficulty is at once disposed of by the simple insertion of 'suae' which easily dropped out (*iuscivitatis*). So similarly the majority of the MSS. in Quint. X 1, 100 omit 'suae,' though essential to the context. — With the expression itself, cf. Cic. de orat. I 40, 184 haec igitur et horum similia *iura suae civitatis ignorent*.

16 **praecepta prudentium,** here virtually equivalent to 'philosophorum placita' (c. 19 9), as shown by 'sapientiae studium' to which it is added for the sake of nearer definition, on which see note c. 9 1. The substantive use of 'prudens,' no less than its occurrence as a synonym of 'sapiens' is extremely rare, but quite Tacitean. Cf. Ag. 25 specie prudentium H. III 58 consilia prudentium Ann. I 9 apud prudentes 47 prudentes (sc. consilii sui) II 23 officia prudentium (sc. rerum nauticarum) I 70 nihil . . . sapiens ab inprudenti . . . differre Ag. 27 sapientes (= prudentes) Sen. Ep. 90, 33 multa enim facit (sc. sapiens) quae ab inprudentissimis. — On the chiasmus at the close of an enumeration, cp. Proleg. p. cxvi; on the alliteration, ibid. p. cxvii. — With the thought, cf. Quint. XII 2, 8 sed quia deserta ab his qui se ad eloquentiam contulerunt, studia sapientiae non iam in actu suo atque in hac fori luce versantur, sed in porticus et in gymnasia primum, mox in conventus scholarum recesserunt, id, quod est oratori necessarium nec a dicendi praeceptoribus traditur, ab iis petere nimirum necesse est, apud quos remansit sqq.

17 **paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias:** Of this style, Seneca is our only extant representative. Cf. Quint. X 1, 130 si rerum pondera *minutissimis sententiis non fregisset* (sc. Seneca). IX 3, 74 f. XII 10, 46 ff. Sen. Ep. 100, 5. 114. On the meaning of 'sensus' and 'sententia,' see note c. 20 16.

18 **detrudunt eloquentiam:** i. e. they dethrone eloquence and degrade her to the position of a slave. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 11, 46 oratorem . . . excludi ab omni doctrina rerumque maiorum scientia ac tantum in iudicia et contiunculas tamquam *in aliquod pistrinum detrudi* et compingi videbam Acad. Pr. 35, 112. — On the personification of eloquence, see also note c. 12 7.

detrudunt etc., though joined asyndetically to the preceding, points out the direct result of the neglect of legal and philosophical studies. Hence the indicative, preserved in D in place of 'detrudant' of the other MSS., is the only admissible reading.

19 **expulsam regno suo**: For a similar metaphor, cf. Cic. de orat. III 32, 126 ex angustiis oratorem educere ausus es et in maiorum suorum regno collocare ad fam. IX 18, 1 amisso regno forensi. — **omnium artium domina**: With the personification, cf. Eur. Hec. 816 πειθὼ δὲ τὴν τύραννον ἀνθρώπων μόνην Quint. I 12, 18 omnium regina rerum oratio and similarly Cic. de off. II 19, 66 huic (sc. eloquentiae) a maioribus nostris est in toga dignitatis principatus datus.

20 **pulcherrimo comitatu**: 'stately retinue.' Cf. Cic. de orat. III 6, 23 quocunque ingreditur (sc. eloquentia) eodem est instructu ornatuque comitata. The personification, momentarily abandoned in the phrase 'pectora implebat,' is again taken up in the following.— **circumcisa et amputata** 'curtailed and shorn,' forms the antithesis to 'pulcherrimo comitatu.' The metaphor is derived from the clipping of the vine or trees. Cf. Cic. de fin. V 14, 39 scientia atque ars agricolarum quae circumcidat, amputet. Both words are frequently grouped together by Cicero: de fin. I 13, 44 amputata circumcisaque inanitate omni et errore de orat. I 15, 65 licet hinc quantum cuique videbitur, circumcidat atque amputet Tusc. Disp. IV 26, 57 quae evellenda et extrahenda penitus, non circumcidenda nec amputanda sunt Acad. Pr. 45, 138 circumcidit et amputat multitudinem and so similarly Plin. Ep. I 20, 9 amputata oratio et abscisa Gell. VII (VI) 5, 8 decisis amputatisque falsis opinionibus. The same metaphor, applied to speech, is also found in Greek e. g. Arist. Rhet. III 8, 6 κολοβὸς περίοδος Rhet. Gr. III 313 Sp. ἀποκεκομμένον.

21 **sine ingenuitate** i. e. eloquence is no longer practiced for its own sake, in conformity with the dignity required of a Roman freeman, but has been degraded into a money-making profession (Andresen). Cp. the very similar complaint of Maternus in c. 13 9 lucrosae huius . . . eloquentiae usus recens et ex malis moribus natus, the passage from Tac. Ann. XI 5 there cited and note to 'sordidissimis.'—The word 'ingenuitas' is of comparatively rare occurrence. In Tac. only here and Ann. XIII 27 ingenuitatis iudicium and in Cic. de orat. II 59, 242 Acad. Post. 9, 33 in Verr. II

1, 44, 113 Plin. N. H. XXXV 10, 36, 66 Suet. Octav. 74. — *Sine* with a substantive serves as a substitute for a missing adjective. So e. g. Cic. pro Planc. 5, 12 Cn. Manlium non solum ignobilem, verum sine virtute, sine ingenio (where see Landgraf's note) and very frequently in Tac. e. g. c. 41 11 sine obsequio, sine severitate, contumax, temeraria, adrogans G. 35 sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella H. I 9 invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate Ann. III 15 Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit XIII 35 sine galeis, sine loricis, nitidi et quaestuosi. Cp. A. Gerber, *Philol.* XXXIV 628 note Kühner II 164 f. Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 75 R. V. III 525 f. note 512. See also note c. 34 21.

22 **una ex sordidissimis artificiis** = una omnium artificiorum sordidissima. 'una' is used by a kind of attraction for 'unum,' because the personification of eloquence and her degradation to a servile occupation, indicated also by 'detrudunt' and 'sine ingenuitate' are throughout uppermost in the mind of the speaker. On these constructions, common in both Greek and Latin, see Kühner II 21 f. R. V. III 14 note 329. — *unus*, when added to a superlative, either in the genitive, or more rarely with a preposition, as here, imparts special emphasis. Cp. R. V. III 182 note 403[c]. — *sordidissimis* 'vulgar, low.' A characteristic epithet, illustrative of the contempt of the higher classes for handicrafts or professions, followed for the sake of pecuniary gain. Cf. Tac. H. I 4 III 74 Ann. IV 62 sordida mercede XI 6 and Sen. Ep. 108, 36 in a similar passage: qui philosophiam velut *aliquod artificium venale* didicerunt. — **primam et praecipuam**: 'Praecipuam' was probably added to prevent 'primam' from being taken in the numerical sense of 'first,' which would imply that Messalla was about to give other reasons, but this he had originally no intention of doing. See below. The same alliterative collocation occurs in Tac. Ann. VI 4 praecipuus olim . . . et tunc primus and in Quint. II 15, 1.

The MSS., as in Cic. Orat. 32, 115, vary between 'ego' and 'ergo.' The former seems far more suitable to the context, because of the implied antithesis with 'si testes desiderantur,' i. e. I myself believe this to be etc.' but if etc.' Again, this closing sentence intentionally recalls, by its very form, the question put to Messalla by Maternus in c. 24 ext. exprome nobis . . . causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus. Messalla, therefore, having partially complied with this request, very appropriately ends his speech: hanc *ego* etc. The latter collocation appears to me prefer-

able to 'ego hanc.' Cf. Cic. Orat. 26, 90 hanc ego iudico formam and Tac. Ann. I 42 hunc ego nuntium III 54 hunc ego XV 2 hunc ego . . . genitum.

24 **si testes desiderantur:** i. e. of the study of philosophy among the ancients, not that of law, as is clear from the illustrations that follow.

26 **Platonis auditorem:** This tradition, due probably to that love of synchronism so characteristic of the Greeks, is universally accepted by the ancients and may be traced back to Hermippos (3d cent. B. C.), a very untrustworthy source of biographical information. Cf. Plut. Dem. 5 *Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτωνι* Polemon ap. Diog. Laert. III 46 Schol. Plat. Phaedr. 261 a Pseudo Plut. X orat. 844 b Cic. de orat. I 20, 89 de off. I 1, 4 Quint. XII 2, 22. 10, 24.—Olympiodorus ap. schol. Plat. Gorg. 515 D and Cic. Orat. 4, 15 (where see Sandys) Brut. 31, 121 appeal to the testimony of a letter of Demosthenes himself, but this particular correspondence, like most of the extant epistolary literature of the Greeks, is unquestionably apocryphal.

27 **et Cicero:** Observe the anacoluthon, for we expect 'et apud nos Ciceronem qui' but such studied symmetry would not have been in keeping with the ἦθος of this passage, which merely draws attention to two statements of fact.—The passage alluded to occurs in Orat. 3, 12 fateor me oratorem . . . non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse. Cf. also Quint. X 1, 81 philosophorum, ex quibus plurimum se traxisse eloquentiae M. Tullius confitetur XII 2, 23 nam M. Tullius non tantum se debere scholis rhetorum quantum Academiae spatiis frequenter (in writings now lost) ipse testatur.—**his ut opinor verbis refert:** '*ut opinor*' or 'ut arbitror,' especially when introducing quotations and in dialogue generally, does not imply any real doubt in the mind of the speaker, but is here designed to avert the impression of accurate learning in familiar conversation. Cf. c. 25 3 qui primum, ut opinor, controversiam movit 37 8 ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita Cic. Brut. 15, 58 est igitur sic apud illum (sc. Ennium) in nono, ut opinor, annali Tusc. Disp. III 9, 19 quae apud Homerum Achilles queritur, hoc ut opinor modo. There follows an *exact* translation. Quint. XI 1, 59 in libro, ut arbitror, septimo dixi . . . quartus liber continet. Cp.

Vahlen, *Abh. Berl. Acad. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1877 p. 15 note 1 and especially the exhaustive treatment of Anton, *Stud.* II 180 ff.

'officinis,' accidentally omitted in the MSS., is necessary, for 'rhetorum' cannot be made dependent upon 'spatiis.' The instrumental abl., especially in the case of 'spatiis,' seems to me also out of place. I insert 'ex' before both nouns, on the basis of the original passage. 'Consequi ex aliqua re' is quite common, e. g. Cic. pro Pomp. 1, 2 ex vestro iudicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus Quint. VII 2, 42 ex qua (sc. poena) minus incommodi consecuturus quam ex facto gaudii. On the repetition of the preposition in adversative clauses, see crit. note c. 10 25.

29 **sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves**: The same phrase occurs in Plin. Ep. I 19, 1 magnae et graves causae V 8, 6 egi m. et g. causas. — Both adj. are used as synonyms also in Tac. H. II 59 quamvis magna transibat, inpar curis gravioribus.

30 **vobis aperiri aequum est**: On the so-called dativus subjectivus see note c. 4 8.

quoniam like 'quando' is frequently intensified, esp. in Cicero, by 'quidem.' See Landgraf, pro Rosc. Am. 11, 31 R. V. III 291 note 432[a]. But the further addition of 'iam' renders it somewhat doubtful, whether 'quidem' is here in its proper place. I am strongly inclined to think, that it originally belonged after 'magnae,' having been accidentally transferred to the line below, after 'quoniam.' 'magnae quidem' would then be equal to 'magnae illae quidem,' on which see note c. 3 8. Cf. also the exactly similar passage in c. 34 18 nec praeceptor deerat, optimus quidem (i. e. opt. ille quidem) et electissimus. — Andresen strangely takes 'quidem ego' as an anastrophe (!) of 'ego quidem.' I have been unable to find a parallel instance of this hyperbaton in Tacitus.

31 **in consuetudine**: On these prepositional phrases, see note c. 18 17.

32 **si haec audierint**: This phrase again betrays the non-historical character of the dialogue. Cf. note c. 14 20.

33 **dum . . . laudo**: *Dum* with the ind. pres. in oratio obliqua or within a subj. clause is rare in classic Latin. In Cic. only once, in a translation of a verse of Simonides (Tusc. Disp. I 42, 101). It occurs sporadically in Livy e. g. XXIV 19, 3, is not uncommon in Silver Latin, but *never* found e. g. in Quintilian, Pliny and Suetonius. Most frequent, if not the rule, in *Tacitus:* G. 12 H. I 33 III 38. 70 V 17 Ann. II 81 XI 33 XIII 15 XIV 58 XV 2. 45. 59 XVI 5. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 605 f. *Stil* p. 68 Kühner II 1035 f. note 2 R. V. III 341 note 450, with the literature there cited. — On the attitude of the Romans toward the study of philosophy, see note c. 19 19.

34 **ineptiis meis plausisse**: 'foolish hobbies.' On the various meanings of 'ineptiae,' see e. g. Cic. de orat. I 24, 111 'indiscretions' II 4, 18 'folly' III 49, 187 'want of taste' Catull. XIV[b] Mart. II 86, 9 XI 1, 13 = nugae Plin. IV 14, 8 longa praefatione vel excusare vel commendare ineptias (i. e. de suis hendecasyllabis) ineptissimum est. Neither 'ineptiae' nor the adj. 'ineptus' occurs elsewhere in Tacitus.—With this closing remark, cp. Cassius ap. Tac. Ann. XIV 43 ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer.

Ch. 33–36. *Maternus draws attention to the manifest incompleteness of Messalla's treatment of the subject, and requests him to supplement it by giving also an account of the manner in which the youth of the period, after completing their theoretical education, acquired a thorough practical training, a requirement equally essential to a successful oratorical career* (— c. 33 12). *Messalla complies by showing that such forensic experience was gained by constant personal attendance in the law-courts themselves and by actual association with the most renowned speakers of the day* (— c. 34). *This inspiring and instructive method is thereupon contrasted with the modern pernicious practice of moot-courts, conducted within the walls of the school-rooms of good-for-nothing rhetoricians and dealing with fictitious, grotesque and far-fetched themes. Thus brought up in a purely artificial atmosphere, the youth of the day are helpless, when called upon to take part in real forensic or judicial encounters* (— c. 35). The close of the speech is lost.

33. 2 **peregisse . . . incohasse**: The same antithesis occurs in Quint. VI 4, 1 altercationis praecepta poterant videri tunc incohanda cum omnia . . . peregissem.

3 **vestigia ac liniamenta**: A double metaphor. *Vestigia* occurs a number of times in a figurative sense in Tacitus e. g. Ag. 16 quorum vestigiis et studiis vitam duxerit 2 patris . . . vestigia premere, but 'liniamenta,' though common in Cicero (Orat. 56, 186 Brut. 87, 298), is used in but one other passage in Tac. and then in its regular meaning of 'outlines.' G. 16 picturam et liniamenta colorum imitetur. — Peter well observes that 'ostendisse' in place of 'tradidisse' still further emphasises the incompleteness of Messalla's previous exposition. Cf. Ag. 13 divus Iulius . . . potest videri ostendisse posteris non tradidisse (sc. Britanniam). — On the repetition 'videris . . . videaris.' See note c. 1 8.

5 **adversus** 'as compared with.' Cf. Ann. XII 15 nec fuit in arduo societas potentiam Romanam adversus rebellem Mithridatem ostentantibus XV 19 labores educandi adversus fraudem . . . adoptionis enumerant. Ann. III 29 and XV 63, cited respectively by Peter and Wolff, are quite different. This usage seems not to occur elsewhere, except in two passages in Livy: VII 32 quid autem esse duo prospera . . . bella Samnitium adversus tot decora populi R. and XXIV 8 adversus veterem . . . imperatorem comparabitur.

6 **fecundissima**: In this figurative sense, the word is post-Augustan. In Tacitus again: H. I 51 II 92 IV 50 Ann. VI 27 XIV 13 but not used absolutely as here.

7 **quem ad modum** in comparative clauses is extremely rare in Tacitus. Cf. Ann. III 55 ut quem ad modum temporum vices ita morum vertantur VI 24 ut q. . . . complevisset, ita . . . exsolveret. See note c. 36 32. — **iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri**: The *et* is epexegetic, on which see note c. 7 16.

The words of Messalla at the beginning of the following chapter, as well as the clear antithesis between 'artibus instrui' and 'exercitationibus' strongly favor 'ingressi' as the original reading. Writing 'ingressuri' we should also expect 'et iam forum,' as suggested by Ernesti, or 'et forum iam.' — Cornelissen's easy emendation 'conformare' commends itself on two grounds: it is more closely allied in meaning to 'alere' and avoids the ὕστερον πρότερον. The word is used in the same figurative sense in Tac. Ann. IV 8 orbatos sibi et posteris conformaret. Cf. also Hor. A. P. 307 alat *formet*que poetam, but Cic. de orat. II 28, 123 has aluero confirmaro.

11 **abnues** = negabis. The acc. with inf. after 'abnuere' in this sense is still rare in Cicero e. g. de leg. I 14, 40 but more common in Livy. In Tac. e. g. H. III 54 abnuenti vera esse quae adferret Ann. XV 22 abnuentibus consulibus ea de re relatum. Cp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* IV 581.

12 **significare vultu videntur**: We must supply 'se non abnuere' not 'eloquentiam contineri,' as is clearly indicated by 'vultu.'

13 **cum Aper · · · adnuissent**: The phrase was perhaps suggested by Cic. Fragm. Hortens. 4 Or. quod cum uterque nostrum adnuissent.—**quoque · · · idem**: The same pleonastic collocation, if such it be, is found e. g. Quint. XII 3, 4 idem Graecos quoque factitasse. Cp. Binde, *De T. dial. quaest. crit.* Berl. Diss. 1884 pp. 28–41. Maternus had previously inferred the acquiescence of Aper and Secundus only by their negative attitude, now they both gave positive assent.

14 **quasi rursus incipiens**: Doubtless also a Ciceronian reminiscence. Cf. Brut. 55, 201 Cum haec disseruissem uterque *assensus est.* et ego *tamquam de integro ordiens, quando.* — **initia et semina**: Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. V 24, 69 inde est indagatio initiorum et *tamquam* seminum Quint. II 20, 6 initia quaedam ac semina sunt concessa natura. On the omission of an apologetic particle, see note c. 5 23.

15 **docendo**: On the modal abl. of the gerund, see note c. 11 6.

16 **instituí erudirique**: Combined also in Cic. Verr. II 3, 69, 161 eos (sc. liberos) instituere atque erudire ad maiorum instituta . . . debuisti.

17 **quamquam** 'of course.' On this use of 'quamquam' at the beginning of a sentence, cf. note c. 28 8. — **ipsis artibus inest**: Tacitus invariably construes 'inesse' with a dative in his later writings, and so generally in Silver Latin; Cicero, on the other hand, always has a preposition, with the single exception of de off. I 42, 151 quibus autem artibus . . . prudentia maior inest. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 416. But the 'm' of quamquam immediately preceding may possibly have caused the omission of 'in,' so that T. would be here still following Ciceronian usage, as in c. 11 15 and 30 4, where see notes.

The numerous variants in our MSS. seem to me due to the fact that 'varias,' having been accidentally omitted, was placed above the line and on being reintroduced into the text caused the confusion now existing. As 'varias' is more closely allied to 'tot' than 'reconditas,' I have had no hesitation in accepting John's transposition (*Fleck. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 574), but I now prefer to read 'ac' for 'aut,' for 'varias' and 'reconditas' constitute no logical alternative but are simply enumerative. 'So many, so various and abstruse subjects.' 'Ac was either confused with 'aut' (cf. crit. note 31 5) or omitted after 'varias' (-acac) as an apparent dittography. — With the asyndeton, cf. e. g. Liv. V 54, 5 tot tam valida oppida XXV 37, 13 tot tam inopinata and Dr. *H. S.* II 12 f.

19 **nisi ut** = nisi ita ut. So Quint. V 10, 57 Plin. II 11, 16 Suet. Claud. 35. In Tac. perhaps in but one other passage: Ann. IV 38 alii modestiam . . . quidam ut (= ita ut) degeneris animi interpretabantur. — **scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus**: The ancients generally regarded three things as essential to complete culture (1) φύσις, natura, ingenium, facultas (2) ἐπιστήμη, μάθησις, scientia, doctrina, ars (3) μελέτη, γύμνασις, ἄσκησις, exercitatio, declamatio. In our passage the last category seems to be subdivided into (a) meditatio μεμελετημένος λόγος 'theoretical exer-

cises' (b) usus 'actual forensic experience.' Cp. Arist. ap. Diog. Laert. V 18 φύσεως, μαθήσεως, ἀσκήσεως. Dionys. Halic. ap. Syrian. (Rhet. Gr. IV 41 W.) Ps. Plut. de educ. 4 Rhet. ad Her. III 16, 28 f. Cic. de invent. I 2 Quint. III 5, 1. — Other examples of climax in Tacitus are c. 30 24 32 8. 21 34 8 Ag. 41 infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus. These instances ought perhaps to be distinguished as κλῖμαξ διανοίας from the following which are chiefly phraseological (κλῖμαξ λέξεως): H. II 32 Italiam ... transitu exercitus vastam, non frumentum usquam exercitui nec exercitum sine copiis retineri IV 74 nam neque quies gentium sine armis neque arma sine stipendiis neque stipendia sine tributis. For exx. in other writers, cp. Sandys, Orat. 39, 135 Volkmann, *Rhet.* p. 403 and esp. Gerber, *Die Spr. als Kunst* II 197 ff.

John ad loc., following Sauppe (*Philol.* XIX 262), deletes 'eloquentiae' as an interpolation, perhaps caused by the preceding phrase 'facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri.' This is possible, and it must be admitted that the word is not essential to the context. But when John bases his condemnation upon the supposition that it is not likely that 'usus eloquentiae' would be here put down as the ultimate outcome of theoretical instruction rather than the result of actual experience, he seems to me to misinterpret the passage which does not imply any such contradiction to c. 34 8, but simply inculcates the necessity of rounding out one's theoretical education by *subsequent* (*accedat*) practical training, i. e. scientia and meditatio together with the requisite amount of native talent (facultas) must be supplemented by 'usu eloquentiae' before the orator is thoroughly equipped for his future career.

20 **per quae** = quibus. See note c. 24 5.

21 **et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis**: i. e. the character of one's theoretical knowledge will determine the expediency of its particular use and so inversely what the orator carries out in practice, will depend upon the thoroughness of his theoretical training. In other words, theory and practice are reciprocally related and must always go hand in hand, one being incomplete without the other. This opinion is apparently not shared by Quintilian. Cf. XII 6, 4 est tamen proprius quidam fori profectus, alia lux, alia veri discriminis facies, plusque, si separes, usus sine doctrina quam citra usum doctrina valeat, but see also X 1, 1 ff. The obscurity of the phrase, admitted by the author himself (cf. also c. 42 4), was doubtless due to his desire to formulate an artistic epigrammatic antithesis. It is an example of

the figure termed ἀντιμεταβολή, commutatio, which is defined by the Auct. ad Her. IV 28, 39: commutatio est cum duae sententiae inter se discrepantes ex transiectione ita efferuntur ut a priore posterior contraria priori proficiscatur e. g. poema loquens pictura, pictura tacitum poema debet esse, which is a translation of a saying ascribed to Simonides ap. Plut. Quaest. Conv. IX 5 ζωγραφία μέν ἐστι φθεγγομένη ἡ ποίησις, ποίησις δὲ σιγῶσα ἡ ζωγραφία. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 39, 180 Brut. 39, 144 (Scaevola) iuris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium iuris peritissimus pro Cluent. 2, 5 ut et sine invidia culpa plectatur, et sine culpa invidia ponatur. In Tacitus e. g. c. 39 2 ridiculum videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur H. I 1 ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet II 37 ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent III 73 quae iusserat, vetare, quae vetuerat, iubere and perhaps c. 28 18 where see crit. note. This figure is also very common in modern writers e. g. Shakespeare, Hamlet, 'Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis, 'tis true, which may be added to the many exx. cited from the English, French and German by Gerber II p. 212–216. See also Sandys' note to Cic. Orat. 39, 135 and Volkmann *Rhet.* p. 416.

22 **scientiam ab exercitatione separat**: This was done, for instance, by Cicero's brother, as we learn from de orat. I 2, 5 solesque nonnumquam hac de re a me in disputationibus nostris dissentire, quod ego eruditissimorum hominum artium eloquentiam contineri statuam, tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinae segregandam putes et in quodam ingeni atque exercitationis genere ponendam, and was especially characteristic of the Stoics: de orat. II 38, 159 III 18, 65. Cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. II 10 (p. 46 ff.).

23 **concedet** with acc. cum inf., as in c. 12 19.—**plenum** with the abl. for the more usual genitive. Tacitus uses both constructions. Cp. Lex. Tac. s. v. Dr. *H. S.* I 559, Quint. IX 3, 1 cited to note c. 3 14 and Plin. Ep. II 1, 7.

24 **instructum . . . longe paratiorem . . . venturum**: Cf. Cic. Verr. I 3, 7 paratum atque instructum ad iudicium venire Orat. 5, 20 ad permovendos . . . animos instructi et parati Brut. 76, 263 paratus ad causas veniens. — *longe* = multo. Cf. note c. 32 3.

25 **videntur** 'are generally held to be.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 12, 54 totus hic locus philosophorum proprius videtur, where some inferior MSS. read 'putatur,' an evident gloss of 'videtur.' See Wilkins l. c. So similarly δοκεῖ in Gk.

34. 1 **ergo** marking the resumption of a theme, after a digression or interruption. Cf. Tac. G. 45 Ann. XIV 3 XV 33. 50. — **foro et eloquentiae**: Hendiadys.

3 **deducebatur a patre** etc. On this practice, cf. Cic. Lael. 1 ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga ut quoad possem et liceret a senis latere numquam discederem Brut. 89, 305 f. Quint. X 5, 19 quare iuvenis qui rationem inveniendi eloquendique a praeceptoribus diligenter acceperit . . . exercitationem quoque modicam fuerit consecutus, oratorem sibi aliquem, quod apud maiores fieri solebat, deligat, quem sequatur, quem imitetur: iudiciis intersit quam plurimis et sit certaminis cui destinatur frequens spectator XII 11, 5 frequentabunt vero eius (sc. Domiti Afri) domum optimi iuvenes more veterum . . . hos ille formabit quasi eloquentiae parens . . . sic ad se Caelium deductum a patre Cicero profitetur (pro Caelio 4, 10) sic Pansam, Hirtium, Dolabellam (ad fam. IX 16, 7 VII 33) in morem praeceptoris exercuit cotidie dicens audiensque Plin. Ep. II 14, 3 at hercule ante memoriam meam . . . ne nobilissimis adulescentibus locus erat nisi aliquo consulari producente. See also note c. 2 7.

4 **principem in civitate locum obtinebat**: Cf. c. 38 11 primum obtinent locum Ann. I 13 principem l. III 75 principem in civitate locum . . . adsecutus IV 38 XI 16 pr. loc. implere. 'principem,' as John well observes, must here be understood in a relative sense, for *all* these youths could not attach themselves to *one* orator. Translate: 'who held a *leading* position in the commonwealth.'

5 **sectari** = adsectari, on which see note c. 1 18; for the meaning, cf. note c. 2 7. — **dictionibus**: Translate: 'public utterances,' for the usual meaning 'orations' (Cic. de orat. I 15, 64. 33, 152 Quint. II 4, 27) is inapplicable here, as 'altercationes' and 'iurgia' are also included. The speeches made by these orators in the senate are designedly omitted, because their young followers could not be present at these meetings.

altercationes . . . iurgiis: *Altercatio* designates the tilts between the contending parties, usually consisting of short questions and quick repartee and as such opposed to perpetua or continua oratio. Cf. Liv. IV 6, 1 res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset Tac. H. IV 7 paulatim per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes provecti sunt. The subject is treated by Quintilian in a special chapter (VI 4). Cf. also Cic. ad Att. I 16, 8

Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu cum oratione perpetua, plenissima gravitatis, tum altercatione. The orator Crassus is said by Cicero in Brut. 43, 159 to have had no equal in this field: iam in altercando invenit parem neminem. *Iurgiis*, because these encounters easily led to personal abuse. Cf. Quint. l. c. asperrima in hac parte dimicatio est, nec alibi dixeris magis mucrone pugnari, but he adds 'bonus altercator vitio iracundiae careat . . . ne turbidus et clamosus tantum sit altercator. — Both nouns are found together in Suet. Tib. 2 nonnulli in altercatione et iurgio tribunos plebis pulsaverint. — On the repetition 'interesse–interesset,' see note c. 1 8.

7 **ut sic dixerim**: According to Woelfflin *Philol.* XXVI 139 the classical 'ut ita dicam,' occasionally found in Silver Latin, took the form 'ut sic dicam' or 'ut ita dixerim' which in turn was probably due to a confusion with 'ut dixerim,' as Nipp. Ann. XIV 53 suggests. Both forms were then combined in 'ut sic dixerim.' This construction is perhaps first met with in Val. Max. VI 2 init. and is especially characteristic of Tacitus and Quintilian. Cf. c. 40 10 Ag. 3 G. 2 Ann. XIV 53 Quint. Pr. 23. I 6, 1. 12, 2 II 13, 9 V 13, 2. 11 IX 4, 61 VI 3, 93 Plin. Pan. 42. — The logical perfect subj. in subordinate clauses is very rare and chiefly post-Augustan. Cf. Cic. Phil. XIV 6, 7 Liv. VIII 18, 3 Quint. X 1, 77 Plin. Ep. V 1, 10 and Tac. H. II 50 V 7 Ann. VI 22. Cp. in general, Woelfflin l. c. Dr. *H. S.* II 699 *Stil* p. 13 Gantrelle, *Style* § 77 Schmalz *Syntax* p. 518 E. Wolff *Die Sprache d. Tac.* p. 24 J. P. Lagergren *De . . . elocut. C. Plinii*, Upsala 1872 p. 168 Nipp. and Furneaux ad Ann. XIV 53.

8 **pugnare in proelio**: Tacitus avoids the figura etymologica, on which see c. 22 17. — **constantiae** 'self-possession.' Used of the orator e. g. by Ascon. in Milon. p. 42. Or., cited c. 37 27.

10 **in media luce**: 'In the full light of publicity.' A common metaphor. Cf. e. g. Cic. Brut. 8, 32 forensi luce caruit intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo . . . est postea consecutus de sen. 4, 12 Quint. I 2, 18 ante omnia futurus orator cui . . . in media rei publicae luce vivendum est, adsuescat . . . non reformidare homines neque illa solitaria et velut umbratica vita pallescere XII 2, 8 in hac fori luce and similarly Cic. de leg. III 6, 14 mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum non modo in solem atque in pulverem sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit. —

aliquid as shown by its position belongs to both adverbs, so *statim* below. Cf. c. 11 7. — **contrarie** 'inconsistent.' The meaning 'irrelevant, zweckwidrig' usually given to this phrase here, although not intrinsically impossible, seems to me less in keeping with the context, while the version in Lex. Tac. s. v. 'sibimet ipse contradicit atque ita causae suae nocet' is acceptable only in part, for the 'adversarius' would not likely have protested (exprobret) on seeing opposing counsel injure his own case, but he would be quick to point out contradictions. The following passage from Quintilian (VIII 3, 57) also favors the above rendering: rerum vitia (i. e. in oratione) sunt *stultum*, commune, *contrarium*, *supervacuum*. — **quo minus** 'but that.' On this use of 'quo minus' as an epexegetic adversative conjunction, see note c. 3 15.

12 **iudex respuat**: Cf. Quint. VI 4, 19 est inprimis acuti videre quo iudex dicto moveatur, quid respuat. 'Respuere' and 'aspernari' are also grouped in Cic. in Pis. 20, 45 auribus respuat, animo aspernatur de orat. III 25, 99 de fato 20. — With the entire passage, cf. Quint. XII 6, 5 nonnulli senes in schola facti stupent novitate cum in iudicium venerunt. At illic et iudex *tacet* et adversarius obstrepit et nihil temere dictum perit et, si quid tibi ipse sumas, probandum est.

13 **igitur**: On the position, cp. note c. 3 1.

14 **quamquam**: On the subj., see note c. 8 6.

15 **causis et iudiciis** 'civil and criminal cases.' Cf. Cic. Brut. 27, 105 Carbo est in multis iudiciis causisque cognitus Div. in Caec. 1, 1 in causis iudiciisque publicis. See John ad loc.

16 **habebantque**: *que* = etiam. See note to 'hodieque' (l. 35). — **ipsius populi** · · · **aurium copiam**: A genitive depending upon another is of comparatively rare occurrence in Tacitus e. g. H. III 75 civium sanguinis parcum Ann. III 34 multa duritiae veterum IV 8 valetudinis eius dies V 4 domus Germanici exitium XI 33 spem incolumitatis Caesaris XIV 3 pueritiae Neronis educator (Ann. XII 26 cited by Dr. *H. S.* I 474 *Stil* p. 35 contains no instance) Quint. VI 1, 9 indignitate calumniae conspirationis. On this usage in other writers, cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 220 Kühnast, *Liv. Synt.* p. 70 Lupus, *Sprachgebr. des Corn. Nep.* p. 13 ff. Fischer, *Die Rection der Casus bei Caesar* II 23 (64 instances) Kühner II 306 and esp. R. V. III 529 note 513[a], where numerous other references are given.

18 **ita** not = 'itaque,' as the Lex. Tac. erroneously takes it. See below. — **optimus quidem** = optimus ille quidem. Cf. note c. 3 8 and crit. note c. 32 30.

19 **faciem . . . non imaginem**: i. e. the real countenance not a mere counterfeit. Cf. Cic. Orat. 3, 9 perfectae eloquentiae speciem animo videmus, effigiem auribus quaerimus Tusc. Disp. III 2, 3 consectaturque nullam eminentem effigiem virtutis, sed adumbratam imaginem gloriae Quint. X 2, 11 necesse est minus sit eo quod imitatur, ut umbra corpore et imago facie Apul. Met. 10, 27 mulier . . . supprimens faciem, praetendens imaginem.

20 **rudibus**: *rudis* is a foil or perhaps a wooden stick used in fencing exercises. In a figurative sense also in Cic. de opt. gen. 6, 17 non enim in acie versatur (sc. Isocrates) et ferro sed *quasi* rudibus eius eludit oratio. Tacitus, as often, omits the apologetic particle.

'sed,' the reading of our MSS. is unintelligible and probably arose out of the wrong solution of a compendium. 'Sic,' followed by 'ut,' is correlated to 'ita' above. 'In this way, there lacked not — thus it was that.' An original 'nec' would scarcely have been corrupted into 'sed.'

21 **auditorium . . . ex invidis et faventibus**: The prepositional phrase, denoting the material out of which an audience is composed, is here joined as an attributive directly to the substantive. Cf. e. g. Tac. H. IV 76 nullas esse Ceriali nisi e reliquiis Germanici exercitus legiones Cic. in Verr. II 4, 27, 62 pocula ex auro Liv. I 34 ex virtute nobilitas, and so often with other prepositions as 'a, de, sine.' Usually, however, some verb such as 'compositus, mixtus, constitutus' is added. E. g. Tac. H. IV 37 mixtus ex Chattis Usipis Mattiacis exercitus 79 (cohors) ex Chaucis Frisiisque composita. The present instance is particularly noteworthy, because the prepositional clause is added as an attributive adjective, a collocation apparently found only with 'sine,' on which see note c. 32 21.

'Semper novum' is, in my judgment, an interpolation, for this epithet was, of course, quite as applicable to the audiences of the speaker's own day as to those of the Republic. Hence the phrase has no place in the present context, which deals only with points of *difference* between the two periods. This suspicion derives strong external support from the fact that the MS. variants (p. 45) also unmistakably point to a supralinear gloss which subsequently intruded into the text in different places.

22 **nec bene nec male dicta dissimularentur**: With 'nec bene,' understand in thought 'simularentur' i. e. the praiseworthy utter-

ances were openly recognised, while those deserving of censure were not intentionally disavowed. The ellipsis of an affirmative expression to be supplied from a negative, a species of zeugma, is characteristic of Tacitus. E. g. H. I 8 Rufus vir facundus et pacis artibus (sc. expertus), belli inexpertus Ann. I 55 ipsi tempus fore quo crimina et innoxios (sc. ab noxiis) discerneret XII 64 Agrippina quae filio dare imperium (sc. quibat, poterat), tolerare imperitantem nequibat XIII 56 deesse nobis terra ubi vivamus (sc. potest), in quo moriamur non potest. On this usage in other writers, see Seyff.-Müll. Lael. 16, 59 (p. 387 f.) Madvig, de fin. II 8, 25 Kühner II 1043 f. This interpretation gives an unobjectionable sense, it is in conformity with Tacitean usage and calls for no alterations in the text.

23 **duraturam**: On fut. act. part. = adj. see note c. 9 22.

24 **in diversis subselliis** 'on the benches of the opposition.' *Diversus* = adversus is quite common in Tacitus. Cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 305. So also Quint. XI 3, 133 diversa subsellia but 132 adversis subselliis. With the thought, cf. c. 37 ext. — **inde quin immo**: For this anastrophe see note c. 6 7.

The repetition of the preposition in a comparative clause after 'quam' is the rule in Tacitus (e. g. c. 20 11 Ag. 5. 32 H. II 44. 54. 76. 77 Ann. III 12. 55 XV 6) and so generally in Latin prose. Exceptions are very rare. E. g. Liv. III 19, 4 non in plebe coercenda quam senatu castigando vehementior fuit. Cp. Hand, *Tursell.* III 409 f. Kühner II 422. Haase's statement in R. V. III 731 note 576 that the ellipsis of 'in' after 'quam clauses' is confined to a few instances in poetry is, therefore, substantially true, for the 'm' of quam easily caused the omission of the preposition *in* here as perhaps also in the few exx. cited as exceptions.

25 **fidelius**: 'More strongly, lastingly.' *Fidelis* in Tac. only here and Ann. XV 67, and both times in the comparative. Otherwise 'fidus, fidissimus' is used, and twice (Ann. I 57 XII 13) 'magis fidus.' In the same sense also in Quint. I 4, 5 nisi oratoris futuri fundamenta fideliter iecerit VI 4, 14 quod fideliter firmum est.

As Messalla began with a recapitulation of his first speech (qui foro . . . studiis) so here in like manner, before passing on to another topic, he gives a brief summary of his arguments, retaining, it will be observed, their exact sequence (oratorum . . . experimentis). So again in c. 35 7 (locus . . . adferat) and in c. 5 19 (vel ad utilitatem etc.) the mode of treatment is carefully outlined by way of preface. This evident design on the part of the author will suffice to refute the conjectures of Classen and Baehrens (see p. 45).

27 **fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum** 'in the forum, in the law-courts.' For a similar objective genit. cf. c. 37 17 ambitu comitiorum Ann. II 34 ambitum fori III 31 XV 25 Syriae exsecutio, where see Nipp. Cic. pro Flacc. 2, 5 Cretae vitia pro Sest. 5, 13 quaestura Macedoniae ad Quint. frat. I 1, 25 itinerum atque agrorum furta. Cp. also Dr. *H. S.* I 468 f. *Stil* p. 31 f.

28 **alienis experimentis** 'by the experience derived from others.' The same phrase occurs in Tac. Ag. 19 doctus per aliena experimenta. Cf. note c. 29 17.

29 **in oculis:** So H. I 37 II 35 IV 77 Ann. III 29.

30 **populi aures** 'likes and dislikes.' *aures* is frequent in the D. in the sense of 'opinion, judgment, taste.' Cf. c. 9 5 19 8. 23 21 11 a. iudicium 27 28 34 16 ipsius populi a. and so H. I 90 (genus orandi) crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum Ann. XIII 3 ingenium . . . temporis eius auribus adcommodatum. — **accusationem susceperat:** Cf. Liv. XLV 37 Ser. Galba in L. Paullo accusando tirocinium ponere et documentum eloquentiae dare voluit Cic. pro Cael. 30, 73 voluit vetere instituto eorum adulescentium exemplo qui post in civitate . . . clarissimi cives exstiterunt, industriam suam a populo Romano ex aliqua illustri accusatione cognosci. While a successful defence was considered more difficult, an accusation was apt to be attended with greater renown. See Quint. V 13, 3 accusationibus etiam mediocres in dicendo suffecerunt, bonus defensor nemo nisi qui eloquentissimus fuit. nam, ut quod sentio, semel finiam, tanto est accusare quam defendere, quanto facere quam sanare vulnera facilius XII 7, 1–3. Among the speeches of Cicero, there are but few 'accusationes.'

31 **solus . . . et unus:** *Unus* in other writers seems always to precede, when joined with 'solus.' Cf. Cic. in Pis. 40, 96 te unum solum pro Sest. 62, 130 in Verr. II 2, 5, 13. 75, 185 Hor. Ep. I 6, 1 una . . . solaque Plin. Pan. 76 unus solusque. Cp. note c. 17 13.

32 **nono decimo . . . L. Crassus C. Carbonem:** Cf. Cic. de orat. III 20, 74 quippe qui omnium maturrime ad publicas causas accesserim annosque natus *unum et viginti* nobilissimum hominem et eloquentissimum in iudicium vocarem de off. II 13, 47 L. quidem Crassus, cum esset admodum adulescens (Brut. 43, 159) . . . sibi ipse peperit maxumam laudem ex illa accusatione nobili et gloriosa, et, qua aetate qui exercentur, laude adfici solent, ut de

Demosthene accepimus, ea aetate L. Crassus ostendit id se in foro optume iam facere, quod etiam tum poterat domi cum laude meditari. The defendant, C. Papirius Carbo (see c. 18 3), committed suicide before sentence was pronounced upon him (Cic. ad fam. IX 21, 3 Brut. 27, 103 Val. Max. III 7, 6).

33 **uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabellam:** Cf. Suet. Caes. 4 composita seditione civili (i. e. M. Aemilio Lepido D. Iunio Bruto coss. 77 B. C. Cf. C. I. L. I p. 439 Brut. 92, 317 f.) Cornel. Dolabellam consularem et triumphalem repetundarum postulavit. This speech (mentioned also by Ascon. in Scaur. p. 26 Or. Vell. Pat. II 43 Plut. Caes. 4) established Caesar's oratorical reputation. Cf. Suet. Caes. 55 post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis adnumeratus est.

The MSS. all have *nono decimo* . . . L. Crassus etc., which date, as Lambinus and Brotier pointed out, conflicts with the express testimony of Cic. l. c. Nipperdey, *Rhein. Mus.* XIX 577 ff. (=Opusc. 323 ff.), has, therefore, substituted *uno et vicensimo*. That the trial of Carbo (see also note c. 18 3) took place *after* his consulship in 120 B. C. (C. I. L. I p. 534) is clear from a comparison of Cic. de leg. III 16, 35 and de orat. II 40, 170, and as Crassus (see Cic. Brut. 43, 161) was born in 140 B. C., it follows that he was not *nineteen* but *twenty-one* years of age in 119 B. C. — In the second date the MSS. are again at variance with the facts, as Casaubonus and Lipsius observed, for according to the unimpeachable testimony of Suetonius l. c., Caesar (born July 13, 100; see Violet p. 169) must have been at least 23, not 21 years old, when he accused Dolabella. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the dates given in our MSS. involve two chronological errors, but the propriety or justification of emending the text accordingly, must be very seriously questioned, for apart from the intrinsic improbability of *two* palpable errors in the MSS., the corrections proposed destroy the chronological sequence (19–21–22–24) evidently designed by the author. Under these circumstances, we are forced to the conclusion that the dates here given are due to Tacitus or rather to the source which he consulted. This is rendered the more plausible, as the chronological data concerning the speeches of famous orators seem to have been of a *particularly conflicting* character, as we must infer from an interesting passage in Gell. N. A. XV 28, on which see Proleg. p. xcvii where some reasons are also advanced for believing that Tacitus is directly indebted for the erroneous information in question to Mucianus.

altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem: *C. Porcius Cato*, a relative of Cato Uticensis, was tribunus plebis in 56 and accused by Pollio (born 76 B. C.) for maladministration. He was defended by Calvus and M. Scaurus and acquitted, July 3, 54 B. C. Cf. Cic.

ad Att. IV 15 (written 54) 4 ante diem III. Non. Quinct. Suffenas et Cato absoluti 16, 5 quaeris de Catone. Lege Iunia et Licinia scis absolutum.

35 **non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium**: According to Quint. XII 6, 1 Calvus, who was born in 82 B. C., began his oratorical career some time before he had reached the quaestorian age (i. e. the 27th year). The present allusion must, therefore, be understood of the *first* accusation of Vatinius in 58, when Calvus was 24 years old, which perfectly agrees with the statement 'non multum aetate antecedens' (sc. Crassum Caesarem Pollionem). This indisputable inference, as well as 'hodieque . . . *legimus*,' below, admirably confirms the conjecture that this first speech against Vatinius, though never actually delivered, was subsequently put in writing. See note c. 21 10. — With the phrase 'non multum etc.,' cf. Cic. Brut. 21, 82 aetate paullum his antecedens Quint. X 1, 103 paulum aetate praecedens eum. — Observe the studied symmetry in the collocation of the proper names, the praenomen being added in the first and third groups and omitted in the second and fourth. In the historical works of Tac. a different principle obtains, for of the names here mentioned all, with the exception of C. Cato and Dolabella, had already been introduced to the reader. Cp. note c. 18 17. — **insecuti**, in its technical sense 'to prosecute,' Gk. διώκειν.

'iis' and 'his' (EV) are habitually confounded in our MSS., so that the context is the only guide to follow. In the present instance, *his*, which John alone of commentators advocates, is, in my judgment, though syntactically perfectly admissible, utterly out of place, for *his* orationibus could only signify 'the orations still extant,' a very superfluous remark in view of the following clause, and John himself translates, as if the reading were 'illis.' Cp. also c. 39 ext. itaque hercule eiusmodi libri extant etc., where John, if consistent, ought also to have changed 'eius modi' into 'huius modi.'

hodieque 'still, to-day' in the sense of 'hodie' or 'hodie quoque' 'noch heutzutage' first occurs in Vell. Pat. e. g. I 4, 2 and thereafter frequently in Silver Latin, particularly in the Elder Pliny, Seneca and Suetonius. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 46 Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVI 160 Peterson, Quint. X 1, 95 and esp. the excellent article in Schmalz, *Antib.* I p. 597. In Tacitus again: G. 3 quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, where 'hodieque' is taken by some less correctly, it would seem, in the sense of 'et hodie' 'und bis auf den heutigen Tag.'

The same confusion between 'hodieque' (CDEV) and 'hodie quoque' (AB) is found e. g. in the MSS. of Livy: I 17, 9 XL 12, 10. It was probably due to a wrong solution of a compendium; in any case, 'hodieque' was more likely to have been changed into the more familiar and less ambiguous 'hodie quoque' than the reverse.

35. 1 **at nunc:** The same phrase, here marking the transition to the modern as opposed to the ancient educational methods, occurs c. 29 1.

The words 'sed ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas' (l. 5), as well as the expression 'in rhetorum scholis' (c. 31 2), leave no doubt that the emendation 'in scholas istorum' restores the original reading. The variants in our MSS. arose, as John ingeniously suggests, out of a gloss '*sc. in* scholas,' designed to explain the unintelligible reading 'in scholasticorum.'

2 **rhetores . . . quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse:** i. e. in the earlier half of the middle of the second cent. B. C. See the edict in Gell. XV 11 and Suet. de gramm. 25: C. Fannio Strabone, M. Valerio Messalla coss. (161 B. C.) senatus consultum de philosophis et de rhetoribus factum est. M. Pomponius praetor senatum consuluit. Quod verba facta sunt de philosophis et de rhetoribus, de ea re ita censuerunt, ut M. Pomponius praetor animadverteret curaretque, uti (ut si — *Suet.*) ei e republica fideque sua videretur, uti Romae ne essent. This measure was ineffectual, as may be inferred from Suet. l. c. *rhetorica* quoque apud nos . . . sero recepta est, paulo etiam difficilius, quippe quam constet nonnumquam etiam *prohibitam* exerceri.

4 **Crasso et Domitio censoribus** etc. L. Licinius Crassus, the orator and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus were censors in 92 B. C. This edict has also been preserved by Gellius and by Suetonius ll. cc. Renuntiatum est nobis, esse homines qui novum genus disciplinae instituerunt, ad quos iuventus in ludum conveniat; eos sibi nomen imposuisse Latinos *rhetoras*, ibi homines adulescentulos dies totos desidere. Maiores nostri, quae liberos suos discere et quos in ludos itare vellent, instituerunt. Haec nova, quae praeter consuetudinem ac morem maiorum fiunt, neque *placent* neque recta videntur. Quapropter et his qui eos ludos habent, et his qui eo venire consuerunt, videtur (visum est — *Gell.*) faciundum, ut ostenderemus nostram sententiam, nobis non *placere.* That this radical measure was also unsuccessful appears to be certain, and it is doubtless, therefore, but accidental that

we do not hear of the opening of a rhetorical school till 81 B. C., to which year Hieronymus (ann. Abrah. 1936) notes: Vultacilius Plotius Latinus rhetor, Cn. Pompei libertus et doctor scholam aperuit. — Roman educational regulations were based upon the 'mos maiorum' not upon well-defined laws, a fact which called forth the censure of Polybius. Cf. Cic. de rep. IV 3, 3 nostrorum institutorum neglegentiam accusat, nullam certam aut destinatam legibus aut publice expositam aut unam omnium esse voluerunt. — The phrase 'ludum impudentiae' is cited from Cic. de orat. III 24, 93 ff. where Crassus justifies his course in this affair at some length: etiam Latini . . . hoc biennio magistri dicendi exstiterunt, quos ego censor edicto meo sustuleram non quo, ut nescio quos dicere aiebant, acui ingenia adulescentium nollem, sed contra ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam . . . 94 hos vero novos magistros nihil intellegebam posse docere, nisi ut auderent . . . hoc cum unum traderetur et cum *impudentiae ludus* esset, putavi esse censoris, ne longius id serperet, providere. Cp. also Athen. XIII 610 *Ῥωμαῖοι δ' οἱ πάντα ἄριστοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης ὡς διαφθείροντας τοὺς νέους.*

6 **ut dicere institueram** 'But as I was saying.' A frequent formula of resumption, for the more colloquial 'coepi dicere' e. g. Cic. in Verr. II 2, 16, 41 verum ut institui dicere 27, 65. 3, 10, 24 pro Caec. 5, 15. See John ad loc. This usage is not met with elsewhere in Tacitus nor in Quintilian.

The preposition before 'quibus' could only have been legitimately omitted, if the antecedent were in the same case. Cp. R. V. III p. 728 note 575.

non facile dixerim: These expressions are very common in Cicero and Tacitus, but comparatively rare in other writers. Cf. H. III 28 haud facile discreverim 78 haud f. . . . adsignaverit Ann. II 83 h. f. . . inierit III 22 h. f. dispexerit IV 34 h. f. dixerim XV 49 nec. f. memoraverim. Quint. uses it but once: I Prooem. 15 facile concesserim.

7 **utrumne** occurs again c. 37 16. It is met with first in Sisenna, then in Cato, Hor. (Sat. II 3, 251. 6, 73), but once in Cicero (de invent. I 31, 51), not in Livy, and rarely, with the exception of Seneca, in Silver Latin. Only twice e. g. in Quint. (III 3, 13 XII 1, 40). Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 496 Kühner II 1016, 8 R. V. III p. 304. 'Utrum' is also extremely rare in Tac. Cf. G. 28 Ann. I 58 (in a

speech). — With Messalla's exaggerated statement, cp. the admirable discussion of Quint. I 2 (utilius domi an in scholis erudiantur), particularly § 4 f. 16 sed ut fugiendae sint magnae scholae (cui ne ipse quidem rei adsentior, si ad aliquem merito concurritur) non tamen hoc eo valet ut fugiendae sint omnino scholae. aliud est enim vitare eas, aliud eligere.

The plural after disjunctive particles in indirect questions seems to occur in but a *single* passage in Latin: Suet. Oct. 86 dubitas, Cimberne Annius an Verranius Flaccus imitandi tibi sint? for in the other instance cited by Dr. *H. S.* I 179 from Liv. XXX 32, 2 Roma an Carthago iura gentibus darent, ante crastinam noctem scituros, the subjects are clearly taken, as often, in the sense of Romani, Carthaginienses. I have, therefore, had no hesitation in removing the intolerable solecism by writing 'adferat' for 'adferant.' This plural, it may be added, cannot be defended even on the ground that it agrees with the nearest subject. See also note c. 37 26.

8 **nihil reverentiae** i. e. As both teacher and pupil are virtually on the same low level of culture and intelligence, the school is not calculated to generate the respect which a superior learning and skill on the part of the instructor would be certain to impart. The complaint of a lack of respect for the schoolmaster is as old as Plaut. e. g. Bacch. 121–169. 379. 438–498 but especially common in the imperial age. Cf. also Quint. II 2, 8 quem discipuli, si modo recte sunt instituti, et amant et verentur 9, 1 discipulos id unum interim moneo, ut praeceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament et parentes esse non quidem corporum, sed mentium credant Plin. Ep. VIII 23, 3 quotus quisque vel aetati alterius vel auctoritatis ut minor cedit? statim sapiunt, statim sciunt omnia, *neminem verentur*, imitantur neminem atque ipsi sibi exempla sunt Iuv. VII 203 ff. qui praeceptorem sancti voluerunt parentis esse loco etc. with Mayor's notes.

9 **nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat**: The incomplete comparison must be supplied in thought by 'atque (or et) alter.' This ellipsis with 'aeque' is extremely common. Cf. e. g. Plaut. Mil. IV 2, 73 Aetna mons non aeque altus Ter. Phorm. III 3, 32 Cic. ad fam. IV 6, 1 de fin. IV 23, 63 Liv. XXIX 19, 2 Suet. Tib. 2 extant et feminarum exempla aeque i. e. ac virorum. In Tac. also: H. I 7 eademque novae aulae mala aeque gravia, non aeque excusata 29 si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod aeque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. John ad loc. takes *intrat* in the sense of 'passing in and out,' i. e. aeque imp. intrat et imp. exit, comparing

c. 20 8 adfluens. But this interpretation places the emphasis upon a very secondary element in the thought. Translate: For there is nothing of respect in a school-room, into which *all* (teacher and pupil) who enter are equally ignorant, nothing of progress in the pupils themselves etc.

With the exception of sed (set) which was corrupted out of *est* by metathesis (cf. crit. note c. 12 14), the much disputed passage appears to me perfectly sound. John, followed by Wolff, writes 'ut in quem . . . intrat,' but has to have recourse to a 'Erneuerung eines altlateinischen Gebrauchs' like 'sunt qui with ind.' (!) and to a 'Freiheit des Modus des Tacitus.' The other emendations proposed seem to me equally improbable and unnecessary.

10 **cum pueri** etc. Quint. II 2, 14 shares the same view: pueros adulescentibus permixtos sedere non placet mihi. nam etiamsi vir talis, qualem esse oportet studiis moribusque praepositum modestam habere potest etiam iuventutem, tamen vel infirmitas a robustioribus separanda est et carendum non solum crimine turpitudinis, verum etiam suspicione.

11 **pari securitate** i. e. there is no one present who by virtue of superior attainments could accurately and properly criticise the work done. Cf. Quint. II 2, 9–13.

12 **contrariae**: The very exercises themselves run counter to the intellectual needs of the pupil, the *practical* aim of his training being lost sight of. — **nempe enim**: 'for as you all know.' *Nempe* simply strengthens 'enim.' This collocation is found in Plautus e. g. Trin. 61 (So Ritschl, Trin. *Proleg.* p. 75 for the MS. reading 'namque enim') and was revived in Silver Latin. Cf. Quint. II 13, 9 VIII prooem. 6 Plin. Ep. III 16, 8 Pan. 62. In Tacitus only here. For analagous pleonasms, cf. e. g. itaque ergo (Ter. Eun. 317 Liv. XXVIII 12) ita sic (Liv. II 10) deinde postea (Cic. Tusc. Disp. IV 1, 2) Tac. G. 10 et illud quidem etiam. Cp. Kühner II 1052 f. and R. V. III 839 f. note 613[a. b.] with the literature there cited.

13 **rhetoras**: On the Greek acc., see note c. 30 4. — **suasoriae et controversiae**: *Suasoriae* belong to the genus deliberativum (*συμβουλευτικόν*), *controversiae* to the genus iudiciale (*δικανικόν*). The epideictic branch is here omitted, because rhetoricians regarded its treatment as unimportant and beneath their notice. Cf. Quint. II 1, 2 facultatem tradere officii sui ducunt idque intra deliberativas iudicialesque materias (nam cetera ut professione sua minora de-

spiciunt) X 1, 46 ut de laudibus, exhortationibus consolationibus taceam. That 'suasoriae' were taken up at an earlier age is clearly implied by Quint. II 1, 3. Cp. in general, Hulsebos, *de educat.* etc. p. 117 ff. Volkmann, *Rhet.* 244 ff. Grasberger, *op. cit.* III 366–374 Friedländer III[6] 387–391 Schmidt, *Gesch. der Denk- u. Glaubensfreih.* etc. p. 424 ff. Mayor, Iuv. I 16. 161 X 166.

14 **suasoriae quidem etsi** etc.: Translate: 'Though the 'suasoriae,' it is true, are given over to boys, owing to a belief (tamquam) that they are more elementary and require less skill, the 'controversiae' are assigned to the more mature, — good heavens! what stuff they are made of, how contrary to actual happenings they are concocted!' Tacitus means to say that the themes of suasoriae are bad enough, but being confined, from a mistaken notion of their character, to a lower grade of instruction, they possibly work less havoc than the equally objectionable controversiae, whose pernicious influence naturally strikes a deeper and firmer root in minds that are more mature, and thus incapacitates them for the forensic career, upon which they are so soon to enter.

The editors of the Dial. have with astonishing unanimity deleted 'etsi,' found in all the MSS., without even attempting to explain the origin of the alleged corruption. The objection to 'etsi' seems to be based upon the assumption that 'suasoriae' and 'controversiae' are *contrasted.* But this is not the case, as Vahlen, *Prooem. Berol.* 1881 p. 81, was the first to point out. "Tacitus noluit suasorias et controversias *pari iugo* coniungere, sed hoc dicit, in suasoriis quidem, etsi minus damnum sit, quia minoribus attribuantur, controversias plus nocere, in quibus robustiorum ingenia contundantur et hebescant." See also John ad loc. Andresen's note involves a petitio principii. He remarks that, "where 'quidem' serves like μέν to introduce a *contrast*, the second member is either followed by 'autem' (δέ), as in c. 8 21 18 23 25 14, or the adversative particle is omitted," for which ellipsis he cites — the present passage! To my mind, this exception clearly proves that *no* contrast is here intended. "If, however," he continues, "quidem has a concessive force (which it unquestionably has here), it is either followed by 'tamen' as in c. 9 26 or by 'sed' as in c. 5 31 8 8." This is but partially true, for not only is the ellipsis of adversative particles very common in Tacitus (see the exx. cited in note c. 6 19) but instances of the omission of 'sed' after a *concessive* 'quidem' are particularly frequent! Cf. e. g. Tac. H. I 77 Vitellio quidem . . . bello opus erat, Otho . . . munia imperii obibat Ann. I 42 illum quidem . . ., imperium Romanum IV 29 hi quidem statim exempti: in patrem ex servis quaesitum VI 28 antiquitas quidem obscura: inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus CCL anni fuerunt. For many other exx. from Seneca, Curtius, Quintilian and Pliny, cp. Ant. Ludwig, *Prag. Philol. Stud.* III (1891) p. 65 f.

14 **tamquam plane leviores**: Cf. Quint. II 1, 2 ad prosopopoeïas usque et ad suasorias, in quibus onus dicendi vel maximum est, inrumpunt . . . hinc ergo accidit ut, quae alterius artis prima erant opera, facta sint alterius novissima, et aetas iam altioribus disciplinis debita in schola minore subsidat. — *tamquam* introduces the opinion of the rhetoricians. Cp. note c. 2 2. — On *plane* with comparative, see note c. 27 4.

15 **robustioribus**: 'more mature,' opposed to 'pueri.' For the same figurative sense of the word, cf. G. 13 magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam *adulescentulis adsignant:* ceteri *robustioribus* ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur and so frequently in Quint. e. g. I 1, 8 priora illa ad pueros magis, haec sequentia ad robustiores pertinebunt X 5, 1 puerorum . . . robustioribus studiis (cf. Bonnell, Lex. Quint. s. v.).

16 **per fidem** without some intervening words like deum, deum atque hominum, is very rarely met with. Cf. e. g. Petron. 100, 5 per fidem, inquam, pater, cuius haec navis est? Apul. Met. 6 quam vellem, inquit, per fidem nutum meum precibus tuis accommodare and perhaps Plaut. Amphit. I 1, 220 pro or per (pr̃.) fidem. See also Verg. Aen. II 142 per si qua est . . . fides. The oath was a very ancient one and still common in Plutarch's day. Cf. Numa 16 τὴν Πίστιν ὅρκον ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίοις μέγιστον ᾧ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦσιν.

17 **compositae** = fictae. See note c. 12 19. — **sequitur ut**: 'and furthermore, in addition to,' i. e. as if these exercises were not bad enough in themselves, they are rendered still more intolerable by bombastic delivery. On this use of 'sequitur ut' in transition, cf. e. g. Cic. Orat. 23, 75 sequitur ut cuiusque generis nota . . . quaeratur de off. I 27, 93 de nat. deor. II 32, 80 Quint. IV Pr. 6. — **materiae abhorrenti** etc.: Cf. c. 31 3 fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis Quint. II 10, 3 sint ergo et ipsae materiae quae fingentur, quam simillima veritati et declamatio . . . imitetur eas actiones in quarum exercitationem reperta est 12 quare declamatio, quoniam est iudiciorum consiliorumque imago, similis esse debet veritati X 2, 11 f. iis (sc. orationibus) quae in exemplum adsumimus subest natura et vera vis; contra omnis imitatio facta est . . . quo fit, ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant quam orationis, quod in illis vera, in his adsimilata materia est 5, 14 declamationes vero . . . si modo sunt ad veritatem adcommodatae et orationibus similes, non tantum

dum adulescit profectus, sunt utilissimae . . . sed etiam cum est consummatus ac iam in foro clarus V 12, 17–20 and Chassang, *de corrupta post Ciceronem a declamatoribus eloquentia*, Paris, 1852.

18 **declamatio**: 'Bombastic delivery.' Cf. l. 21 ingentibus verbis. With the thought, cp. Quint. II 12, 9 IV 2, 37. 39 XI 3, 184. On the ordinary meaning of the word, cf. c. 31 2. — **tyrannicidarum praemia**: The great popularity of these particular themes was doubtless due to the fact, that they afforded the only opportunity in an age of despotism for the expression of anti-monarchical sentiments, under the seemingly innocent guise of school exercises, although some emperors occasionally resorted to harsh measures in suppressing even these. Thus Caligula, according to Cass. Dio LIX 20, 6, banished one Carinus Secundus ὅτι λόγον τινὰ ἐν γυμνασίᾳ κατὰ τυράννων εἶπε and Domitian (Cass. Dio LVII 12, 5) Μάτερνον δὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκῶν ἀπέκτεινε (91 A. D.). Cf. in general, Luc. Bis accus. 32 τυράννων κατηγορίας . . . ἐκφυγόντα Quint. VII 8, 3 qui duos uno tempore tyrannos occidit, duo praemia petit 3, 7; 4, 21; 7, 2. 5 Iuv. VII 150 ff. declamare doces . . . perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos, where Mayor cites other passages. For extant treatments of this subject, cf. Ps. Quint. Decl. 253. 282. 288. 345. 374. 382 Calpurn. Decl. 1. 13. 22 Sen. Contr. I 7 Exc. Contr. IV 7 Liban. p. 798–817. 921–4 κοινὸς τόπος ὑπὲρ τυραννοκτόνου.

19 **vitiatarum electiones**: Cf. Sen. Contr. I 5 Rapta raptoris aut mortem aut indotatas nuptias optet II 11 III 23 VII 23 Exc. Contr. III 5 IV 3 Ps. Quint. Decl. 247. 251. 252. 262. 276. 280. 301. 309. 343. 368. 383 Calpurn. Decl. 16. 25. 33. 40. 42. 44. 49. See also Quint. IV 2, 68 f. VII 8, 4. — **pestilentiae remedia**: Cf. Ps. Quint. Decl. 326 legati filius victima pestilentiae 384 Calpurn. Decl. 19. 43 Anton. Lib. 25 Liban. Decl. 43 de Mago pestilentiam compescere sollicito. — **incesta matrum**: Cf. Quint. VII 8, 3 incesti damnata et praecipitata de saxo vixit: repetitur Ps. Quint. Decl. 18. 330 abdicandus qui alit adulteram matrem. Excerpta p. 405 B.

20 **quidquid aliud cotidie in schola agitur**: See the numerous similar themes in the Ps. Quint. Decl., Calpurn. Decl., Sen. Contr. and in general, Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 45, 6 ff.

It cannot possibly have been the author's intention to make the sweeping condemnation involved in 'quidquid'; in fact, *magna ex parte* contrariae alone disproves this. I, therefore, have accepted Andresen's easy emendation 'quidquid aliud,' which he himself has now unjustly abandoned. — On this favorite collocation in Tac. cf. note c. 5 9 and Binde p. 34.

20 **in foro**: On the ellipsis of 'sed,' see note c. 6 19.

21 **ingentibus verbis persequantur** 'harangue with mighty bombast.'

As 'prosequi' and 'persequi' are repeatedly confused in our MSS. (cf. Schmalz, *Antib.* II 376), there seems no reason for departing from the classical usage, even though 'prosequi oratione, verbis' is frequently met with in post-Augustan writers.

22 **cum ad veros iudices ventum**: The sentence may be completed by supplying some phrase like 'they become silent, or make a fiasco' i. e. from lack of actual experience. Cf. Sen. Contr. IX praef. 5 itaque velut umbroso et obscuro prodeuntes loco clarae lucis fulgor obcaecat sic istos e scholis in forum transeuntes omnia tamquam nova et invisitata perturbant nec ante in oratorem conroborantur quam . . . puerilem animum scholasticis deliciis languidum vero labore durarunt. Petron. 1 nunc et rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt, ut, *cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos* et ideo ego adulescentulos existimo stultissimos fieri quia nihil ex eis, quae in usu habemus aut audiunt aut vident Quint. II 10, 9 nihil ergo inter forense genus dicendi atque hoc declamatorium intererit? si profectus gratia dicimus, nihil . . . quae nos, quamlibet per alia in scholis exercitati simus, tirones in foro inveniunt. For concrete illustrations, cp. the incidents related by Sen. Contr. VII praef. 7 f. of Albucius, who after an unsuccessful encounter with L. Arruntius remarked: quid habeo quare in foro dicam, cum plures me domi audiant quam quemquam in foro? cum volo dico, dico quamdiu volo, assum utri volo and IX praef. 3 Latronem Porcium, declamatoriae virtutis unicum exemplum cum pro reo . . . Rustico Porcio propinquo sui diceret, usque eo esse confusum, ut a soloecismo inciperet, nec ante potuisse confirmari tectum ac parietem desiderantem quam impetravit, ut iudicium ex foro in basilicam transferretur etc. The same anecdote is also alluded to by Quint. X 5, 18. — **nihil humile, nihil abiectum**: This collocation is quite common, e. g. Cic. de fin. V 20, 57 *nihil abiectum, nihil humile cogitant* Orat. 57, 192 humilem et abiectam orationem Sen. de ira III 32, 3 videre quam humilia et abiecta sint Quint. IV 1, 14 humiles abiectosque Ps. Quint. Decl. 15, 2 Lactant. Inst. V 15, 8. Cp. Thielmann, *Archiv* IV 552 ff. So similarly c. 8 11 sordidius et abiectius, where see note. — On the anaphora, cf. c. 22 14 nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis and Cic. l. c.

We have no criterion to decide between 'cogitant,' the reading of the X class, and 'cogitare,' of Y. The former, however, looks suspiciously like an attempt to round off the sentence. — 'nihil' is preferable to 'vel' (AB), because more in keeping with the ἦθος of the passage. It is also supported by the Ciceronian parallel. 'vel' may have arisen out of 'nil.'

Ch. 36–40 7. *After the conclusion of Messalla's speech, Secundus continues the discussion by drawing attention to the fact that one of the chief causes of the decline of eloquence may be found in the untrammeled freedom of speech and action enjoyed by democratic Athens and republican Rome. In those days of popular autocracy, oratorical ability was the only means to political honors, and the frequent sensational trials of illustrious defenders, conducted in the inspiring presence of great multitudes, could not but give an additional impetus to the development of a superior eloquence. Finally the very mode of legal procedure, in the days of the Roman Republic, with its liberal time allowance and its publicity, was also highly conducive to the growth of oratory. This happy state of affairs is contrasted with the deplorable restrictions placed upon the orators of the speaker's time. The great change was, it is admitted, the inevitable historical result of a monarchical régime, but the tranquillity and order thus secured, however desirable in themselves, were necessarily subversive of the very conditions essential to oratorical excellence.*

36. 1 **magna eloquentia sicut flamma** etc.: This beautiful simile was perhaps suggested by Cic. Brut. 24, 93 Quem (sc. Galbam) fortasse vis non ingeni solum sed etiam animi et naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat efficiebatque, ut et incitata et gravis et vehemens esset oratio; dein cum otiosus stilum prehenderet motusque omnis animi tamquam ventus defecerat, flaccescebat oratio . . . ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis illa vis et quasi flamma oratoris exstinguitur.

The evidently intended climax seems to me rudely destroyed, if we accept the MS. reading 'urendo clarescit.' Andresen translates 'erglänzt im Verzehren' (so similarly Peter) and adds by way of explanation 'wie die Flamme dann zugleich am hellsten glänzt, wenn sie am verheerendsten (!) auftritt' etc. I cannot admit either that this is physically true or that 'urendo' can have this meaning. In my judgment, the brightness of the fire is the immediate effect of 'motibus excitatur,' in which case the thought "and it brightens as it burns" is but an otiose repetition which I am loth to attribute to the author. The proper climax is brought out by the easy change of 'clarescit' into 'calescit,' i. e. 'Eloquence like fire is

fed by its material, it is fanned into brightness by breezes and waxes warm in the burning.' Cf. c. 22 12 tarde *commovetur*, raro *incalescit* 39 22 ut *frigidissimos* quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia *excitare* et *incendere* potuerunt Cic. pro Pomp. 2 de harusp. resp. 19, 41 *excitandos inflammandosque* de nat. deor. II 10, 26 agitatione *excitatus* . . . cum motu atque exercitatione *recalescunt*.

2 **eadem ratio . . . in nostra quoque civitate:** The same explanation, Secundus says, by which I accounted for the supreme excellence of Attic eloquence, holds good for republican Rome. — That Secundus had previously spoken of the Greek orators, is made evident by 'nostra *quoque* civitate.' A discussion of Greek oratory might seem irrelevant at first sight; it was, however, foreshadowed by the remark of Messalla in c. 15 13 ff. quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem quia video etiam Graecis accidisse etc. An explanation of this remarkable coincidence, after having once been pointed out, was imperatively called for, and the author very appropriately assigned this task to Secundus, the scholar and historian in the company, but the exposition itself was lost together with the beginning of his speech.

4 **consecuti sunt** etc.: i. e. although the orators of our day have also acquired a fair share of influence (cp. Aper's speech, esp. c. 8 4. 17 ff.), so far as this is compatible with the more regulated and better organized order of things, existing under the present monarchical government, still the ancients believed that they could secure greater personal prestige by following an oratorical career than in any other vocation, for amid the anarchical condition of affairs and in the absence of a single ruler, the influence of the individual grew in direct ratio to his ability to control the wavering populace by his eloquence.

I am unable to see the slightest justification for the many violent changes which Andresen (*Emend.* p. 127–129 *Critical Appendix* to his edit.[3]) has deemed fit to introduce into the text. His arguments rest partly upon the erroneous assumption that Messalla is the speaker, partly upon the supposition that the subject of 'videbantur' is 'horum temporum oratores,' whereas it is clearly 'antiqui,' as shown by *illa*. So similarly in c. 38 2 *illud* forum refers to 'veteres.' — 'sibi' belongs to 'adsequi' and 'plura' is predicative, the full comparison having to be supplied as in the above paraphrase. See also John's note ad loc.

5 **composita** 'settled.' Cf. c. 41 2 compositae civitatis Ann. IV 1 nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae. 'compositus' and 'quietus' are also grouped together by Sen. Ep. 100, 8. — Ob-

serve that Maternus in c. 40 8 non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur significantly omits 'beata,' also substituting 'otiosa' in place of 'composita,' for he does not quite share the political optimism of Secundus, and affirms c. 41 1 quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori *non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est.* His acquiescence in the monarchical régime solely rests like that of Tacitus himself upon grounds of expediency. Cf. note c. 2 2 and Proleg. pp. xxxvi–xl.

6 **perturbatione ac licentia** correspond respectively to 'mixtis omnibus' and 'moderatore uno carentibus.'

7 **mixtis omnibus**: *Omnibus* is a subst. neut. plur. as in c. 19 20 pervulgatis iam omnibus. See also note c. 21 1.

8 **saperet**: 'was thought wise, credited with political sagacity to just the extent, that' — **erranti populo**: 'wavering, fickle populace,' now bestowing its favor upon one leader, now upon another. Cf. Cic. de off. I 19, 65 qui ex errore imperitae multitudinis pendet, hic in magnis viris non est habendus. c. 40 20 donec erravit, generally quoted as a parallel, seems to me slightly different. — The alliteration was probably unintentional here. — **hinc**: 'out of such conditions arose.' On this use of 'hinc,' cf. Tac. Ann. III 27 secutae leges . . . dissensione ordinum et apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque ob prava per vim latae sunt. hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis. On the usual omission of 'esse,' see note c. 10 33. Observe the anaphora, esp. frequent in these closing chapters. e. g. l. 15 tanto. 17 plus. 18 ff. hi . . . hos . . . hos . . . hi. 26 ff. cum. 37 2 ff. ne. 24 nec. 34 ff. quo. 38 8 ff. omnia. 39 2 ff. quantum. 16 ff. cum. 40 18 ff. omnia. 20 f. donec. 21 f. nulla. 41 13 ff. quid. Cp. Proleg. p. cxvi.

9 **leges adsiduae et populare nomen**: 'decrees without end and consequent popularity.' *Adsiduus* is a more emphatic equivalent of 'frequens, creber, continuus.' Cf. c. 4 2 frequens et adsidua . . . contentio 30 9 infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et . . . adsiduae exercitationes 38 17 continuum . . . otium et adsidua . . . tranquillitas 40 1. — The *et* is epexegetic, on which see note c. 7 16.

10 **pernoctantium in rostris**: With this hyperbole, cf. Cic. Brut. 89, 305 hi quidem (sc. Q. Varius, C. Carbo, Cn. Pomponius) habitabant in rostris de orat. I 62, 264 qui habitaret in subselliis pro Mur. 9, 21 in foro habitant. With the thought we may compare

Lucil. fragm. incert. 2. — **accusationes . . . reorum**: 'Accusations of malefactors.' The same collocation occurs again in Tac. Ann. XI 5 continuus inde et saevus accusandis reis but apparently not elsewhere. The expression is not genuinely tautological, for 'reus' originally signified simply any party to a suit. Cf. Aelius Gallus ap. Fest. s. v.: reus est qui cum altero litem contestatam habet, sive is egit, sive cum eo actum est Cic. de orat. II 43, 183 reos autem appello non eos modo qui arguuntur sed omnes quorum de re disceptatur 79, 321 Liv. VI 24 orare ut reum fortunae eius diei crimine eximerent Tac. Ann. II 24 cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret H. IV 6 agmen reorum ('offenders').—With the thought cf. c. 37 14 his accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum.

11 **adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae**: i. e. 'handed down as a kind of testamentary injunction from family to family.' In this legal sense, 'adsignari' seems to be post-Aug. John ad loc. aptly cites Quint. IV 2, 62 huic parti . . . adsignata et velut dedita IX 4, 29 verbum in clausula positum adsignatur auditori et infigitur XII 10, 41 cum sua cuique (sc. verbo) sint adsignata nomina. — Tacitus may possibly refer to the long-standing enmity between the elder Gracchus and the Scipios. Cf. Liv. XXXVIII 52 ff., esp. 57 cited in note c. 40 3. Cp. also what Tac. says of the Germans, G. 21 suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est.

12 **procerum factiones**: The following words render it probable that Tac. here has particularly in mind the factional quarrels in the senate, of which Roman history furnishes abundant illustrations. Cf. Tac. Ann. III 27 pulso Tarquinio *adversum patrum factiones* multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis.

adversus: Pfitzner's assertion (*Die Annal. d. T. krit. bel.* p. 86) that as a nearer definition of 'certamina' or similar expressions, *adversus* is used, when the activity of both sides is implied, but *in*, if one party remains inactive, is not confirmed by the exx. in the Lex. Tac. Cf. e. g. Ann. II 56 discordes sunt adversus Romanos odio et *in* Parthum *invidia* with XVI 18 unde *invidia* Tigellini quasi *adversus* aemulum (sc. Petronium). — On the repetition of 'adsidua,' see c. 1 8.

13 **distrahebant**: Cf. Tac. Ag. 12 olim regibus parebant (sc. Britanni) nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur Ann. I 4 rem publicam . . . distrahant. — **exercebant tamen** etc.: Cf. c. 38 2 eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat.

14 **cumulare** aliquid aliqua re is poetic and in prose, with the exception of Livy, post.-Aug. usage. In Tac. also H. II 57 vocata contione virtutem militum laudibus cumulat III 36 frequenti contione pietatem militum laudibus cumulat. On the thought, cf. Cic. pro Mur. 14, 30 duae sunt artes quae possunt locare homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis: una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni Brut. 49, 182 volo enim sciri in tanta et tam vetere re publica maximis praemiis eloquentiae propositis omnes cupisse dicere Tac. Ann. XI 6 cited c. 10 1.

16 **quanto . . . tanto**: A positive by the side of the comparative in such clauses is found in the minor writings only c. 37 37 where see, but common in the later works. Cp. Nipp. Ann. I 68 Dr. *Stil* p. 73 Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXV 108 R. V. III 171 note 402.

17 **anteibat** with acc. is still rare in Cicero (e. g. Acad. Post. 9, 35 Brut. 64, 229), who uses the verb absolutely, as Caesar, or with the dative. Beginning with Nepos, Sallust and Livy, the accusative becomes the more usual, and so in Tac. who has the absolute construction eight times, but the dative only once: Ann. V 3. See Lex. Tac. s. v. and Heraeus to H. I 45. Cf. also Tac. Ann. XV 50 quem . . . in animo principis anteibat.

17 **plus apud principes gratiae**: Cf. c. 13 5 in quo (sc. secessu Vergilii) neque apud Augustum gratia caruit.

18 **plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem**: Cf. c. 13 6 apud populum Romanum notitia. The collocation 'notitiae ac nominis' occurs again in c. 11 11, where see note. The alliteration 'apud principes . . . patres . . . plebem,' has the effect of emphasising the three salient elements in this anaphoric enumeration. So similarly c. 20 6 and 26 8, where see notes. It seems intrinsically improbable that Maternus who claimed the above distinctions for the poet, in order to offset Aper's glowing description of the rewards of oratory, should in this chapter in almost identical language and with unmistakable enthusiasm attribute the same to the orators! In the mouth of Secundus, on the other hand, these utterances are appropriate. — **hi** is properly used, because the plural idea is contained in 'quisque.'

19 **clientelis . . . etiam exterarum nationum**: According to Cic. de off. I 11, 35 tanto opere apud nostros iustitia culta est, ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patronum essent more maiorum and App. B. C. II 4 goes so far as

to say ἁπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔστι τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ προστάτης. The reference in our passage cannot, therefore, be to this custom, for Secundus is speaking only of the honors which *orators* were wont to achieve, and the well-known names of patroni, such as the Marcelli (Sicily), Fabii (Allobroges), Fabricius (Samnites), which Peter cites, are not known to us as orators. I am rather inclined to see, with Wolff ad loc., an allusion to the words of Aper c. 3 18 cum te tot coloniarum . . . clientelae in forum vocent, where see note. Cf. also c. 41 4.

19 f. **hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant** i. e. in order to have influential orators to protect their interests during their absence (cf. e. g. Cicero's speech pro leg. Man.) and to secure their powerful aid in case of accusations (e. g. for extortion in the provinces), when they return. Maternus, in opposition to Secundus, deprecates the homage received by orators under such conditions, not regarding it as anything to be proud of. Cf. c. 41 3 ff. quis enim nos (sc. oratores) advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? quod municipium in *clientelam* nostram venit nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? quam *provinciam* tuemur nisi *spoliatam* vexatamque.

20 f. **hos . . . consulatus vocare ultro videbantur**: The boldness of this personification is somewhat lessened by the addition of 'videbantur' which has the force of 'quasi.'—*Ultro* 'without effort on their part,' see note c. 5 23. Cp. the saying 'The office must seek the man, not the man the office.'—This admiring comment, if attributed to Maternus, would be irreconcilable with the low estimate of such honors expressed in c. 13 3 licet illos certamina et pericula sua vel ad consulatus evexerint.

21 f. **hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant**: *privatus* as opposed to 'magistratus.' Cf. Cic. de inv. I 25, 35 privatus an cum potestate Tac. Ann. VI 2 (8) privatos an e magistratibus XV 21 olim quidem non modo . . . consul sed privati etiam mittebantur. But in the imperial age, it often simply designated the 'subject.' Cf. Tac. Ag. 39 privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli Mayor to Iuv. XIII 41.—*potestas* is here somewhat loosely, as also elsewhere in Tacitus, used as a synonym of 'potentia, vis.' Cp. notes c. 5 23 19 23 and Lex. Tac. s. v.—Cicero's struggle with Antony may furnish an instance in point.

22 **consilio et auctoritate**: Combined also in Tac. G. 12 consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt H. II 44 consilio precibus auc-

toritate flexerat, but H. II 18 quo plus auctoritatis esset consiliis. The same collocation is common in Cic. e. g. pro Caec. 18, 52 but not found in Quintilian.

23 **qui quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant**: The speaker passes on from the political honors which eloquence secured or facilitated to a consideration of its indispensability in all the walks of life.— On the anastrophe of the conjunction, cf. note c. 6 7.

With the reading 'quin immo sibi persuaserant' (so B), this conviction would be predicated of the ancients generally, thus involving another change of subject, which, though common enough, is here rendered improbable by the following explanatory clauses: nec mirum etc. cum etiam *inviti* . . . producerentur etc. It seems to me far more suitable to the context to say, that those who aspired to a conspicuous position in the commonwealth, had the conviction forced upon them, that it was only by means of eloquence that they could hope to satisfy their ambition. This meaning is secured by retaining 'ipsi' and reading 'qui quin,' an ingenious emendation of John (Fleck. *Jahrb.* 1888 p. 576) which he has unjustly, I think, abandoned in his note ad loc. Perhaps the unintelligible reading of C 'quidem qui' (l. 22) owes its existence to a misplacement of the 'qui' before 'quin.'

25 **nec mirum**: On the ellipsis of the copula, usual with this phrase, cf. note c. 19 17.

26 **cum parum esset . . . nisi qui**: The use of a negative conditional sentence after negative expressions like 'parum est' and the like, where the strictly logical sequence of thought would rather require an adversative coördinate clause, is peculiarly idiomatic. Cf. Plaut. Trin. 249 non satis id mali ni etiam amplius quod ecbibit Merc. IV 2, 1 Ter. Phorm. IV 5, 12 non satis est tuum te officium fecisse, id si non fama adprobat Cic. pro Quinct. 4, 17 non satis erat in tabulis inspexisse, quantum deberetur nisi ad Castoris quaesisses quantum solveretur pro Rosc. Am. 17, 49 parum miseriae sit quod aliis coluit nisi etiam quod omnino coluit crimini fuerit (where see Landgraf p. 316) Verr. II 5, 60, 157 parumne multa . . . pericula subeunda, nisi etiam hae formidines ab nostris magistratibus . . . impendebunt de rep. I 2, 2 nec habere virtutem satis est nisi utare Liv. VI 14, 11 nec iam . . . contentos esse nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant 40, 18 XXXVIII 54, 9 XLII 3, 6 Vell. Pat. II 76, 4 parum habebat summa accepisse . . . nisi in id ascendisset Sen. Ep. 86, 13 parum est sumere unguentum nisi bis die terque renovatur 89, 20 hoc quoque parum est nisi latifundiis vestris maria cinxistis de benef. II 12, 2

parum . . . insolens fuerat qui de capite consularis viri soccatus audiebat, nisi in os senatoris ingessisset imperator epigros suos Quint. V 10, 121 non magis hoc sat est . . . nisi corpus . . . natura iuvatur. So also in Greek e. g. Hom. λ 158 Soph. Antig. 308 Xen. Cyr. VII 5, 75. The regular construction occurs in c. 23 16 parum est aegrum non esse [sed] fortem . . . volo. Cp. on this usage, Hand, *Tursell.* IV 400, 5 John ad loc. and Vahlen, *Prooem.* 1878/9 p. 7.

28 **in aliquam invidiam aut crimen**: The same collocation occurs in Tac. H. III 75 invidiam crimenque adgnovisse. The statement itself, regarded, be it observed, by the speaker as one of the many *advantages* possessed by the ancients, cannot possibly have been put into the mouth of Maternus, because of c. 11 15 nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tuetur quam eloquentia (= sua voce).

29 **respondendum haberent**: On the gerundive with 'habere,' see note c. 8 11. — **testimonia quoque in publicis iudiciis**: *testimonia* i. e. in behalf of others. — *quoque* must not be taken with 'testimonia,' but belongs properly after 'publicis.' An exactly similar instance of a misplaced 'quoque' occurs in Tac. Ann. XI 13 comperto quoque Graecam litteraturam, where editors have followed Lipsius in emending the text to 'Graecam quoque,' and perhaps we ought to transpose the word here, the false position being due to the accidental omission of 'iudiciis,' on which see below. But in Liv. X 14, 9 quoque aperta pugna has also been allowed to stand. Cp. R. V. III 232 note 417[b] *Antib.* II 426 Dr. *Stil* p. 95. — Personal attendance, says Secundus, was in those days compulsory also in public trials, but now even this requirement has been done away with. See Quintilian (cited below) and Tac. Ann. II 35. John supposes that in the republican period written testimony may have been accepted in private suits only, a privilege subsequently extended to public trials as well. But this hypothesis is not based upon historical evidence, as John himself admits; it takes 'quoque' as belonging to 'testimonia' and is in any case refuted by 'magna etiam necessitas accedebat,' which, without an express statement to the contrary, can only refer to private *and* public trials.

'in publicis' is the reading of *all the MSS.* As the phrase is unintelligible by itself, and as the mention of public trials is essential to the

context, as has been shown, it follows that 'iudiciis' is a necessary emendation. On what methodical grounds the deletion of 'in publicis' and the retention of 'iudiciis' which is *not* found in the MSS., can possibly be justified, I confess not to understand.

30 **non absentes nec per tabellam dare**: *per tabellam* 'in writing.' Cf. Curt. VI 9, 27 absens diceret causam Quint. V 7, 1 maximus tamen patronis circa testimonia sudor est. Ea dicuntur aut per tabulas aut a praesentibus. . . . nemo per tabulas dat testimonium nisi sua voluntate. Our passage has been overlooked by Cramer, *Archiv* VII 401.—**coram et praesentes**: The two synonyms are combined (cf. also Seyff.-Müll. to Cic. Lael. 1, 3) to establish a symmetrical antithesis with the preceding.—On the meaning of 'coram,' cf. Cic. de leg. agr. III 1, 1 coram potius me praesente dixisset ad Att. VII 15, 1 sed ut loquerer tecum absens . . . cum coram id non licet Tac. H. IV 65 coram ('face to face') adire adloquique Veledam negatum Ann. IV 54 nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta. Cp. Nipp. and Furneaux ad loc. and Lex. Tac. s. v.

31 **ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna necessitas accedebat**: The longing regret at the changed condition of affairs implied in this phrase seems to me quite incompatible with the statement of Maternus in c. 13 18 remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et *necessitate* cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi.

32 **quo modo . . . sic contra**: *quo modo* in comparative clauses, while still rare in Cicero and altogether avoided by Livy, is far more common in Tac. than 'quem ad modum' (on which see c. 33 7). Cf. c. 25 10 39 6 41 9 Ag. 34 G. 19. 41 H. IV 8. 42. 64. 79 Ann. IV 35. 70 XIV 54 XV 21 XVI 16. 31. See Dr. *H. S.* II 632 *Stil* p. 70 and Heraeus, Tac. H. III 77.

34 **mutum et elinguem**: The same collocation e. g. in Liv. X 19 quod ex muto atque elingui facundum etiam consulem haberent Suet. Vit. 6 prope mutum et elinguem Gell. V 1, 9 mutus adeo et elinguis diu habitus est.—Observe the stylistic symmetry of this closing period (a : bb :: aa : b). See also notes c. 12 ext. 15 ext. 34 ext.

37. 1 **rubore** = pudore is common in Tac. e. g. G. 13 H. I 30 IV 7. 62 Ann. XI 17 XIII 15 XIV 55.

2 **clientulorum**: This diminutive is a vox Tacitea, occurring only here and in Ann. XII 36 incedentibus regiis clientulis (so Walther), a reading now confirmed by the accurate recollation of

the Mediceus made by Andresen. Cp. *Progr. Ascan. Gymn.* 1892 p. 8 f. Peter's assertion that the word is found a few times in later writers cannot be verified.

4 **non suffecturi honoribus** 'incompetent to hold office.' Cf. Suet. Octav. 43 pro magistratibus qui non sufficerent and Tac. Ann. I 13 quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent, where 'suffecturi' seems to be used absolutely, as in G. 13 sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit.— 'non impetrarent' designates the result of their indolence (inertes), 'impetratos (sc. honores) etc.' that of their incompetence.

5 **nescio an** occurs in Tac. only here and Ann. III 53. On the syntactical use of the phrase, see R. V. III 308 f. notes 440 f. with the many references there cited.

6 **haec vetera**: i. e. the speeches of the republican period. For 'vetus' in this restricted sense, see Tac. Ann. IV 32 veteres populi Romani res composuere and note c. 19 9.

'vetera' as a neuter substantive occurs also in Hor. Ep. II 1, 23 sic fautor veterum, which parallel disposes of the emendations of Baehrens and Andresen.

et . . . manent et contrahuntur: i. e. These oratorical documents are still preserved in the private libraries of antiquarians and are even now being issued in abridged selections by Mucianus and thus rendered more generally accessible. Only with this interpretation of 'contrahere,' as John well points out, is the contrast indicated by 'et . . . et' brought out. Cf. Quint. X 7, 31 Ciceronis ad praesens modo tempus aptatos (sc. commentarios) libertus Tiro contraxit, opp. to 'in libros digesti' (§ 30), where see Peterson and perhaps XII 11, 16 quaelibet enim ex iis artibus . . . in paucos libros contrahi solet.

7 **cum maxime** 'at present.' Cf. note c. 16 29.—**Muciano**: *C. Licinius Mucianus*, the Warwick of Roman history, was in command of Syria in 67, three times consul suffectus (c. 66 A. D. 70 and 72) and chiefly instrumental in placing Vespasian upon the throne. He died between 75 and 77. See Proleg. p. xxv f. His character is repeatedly sketched by Tacitus e. g. H. I 10 L. M. vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus . . . attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe . . . malis

bonisque artibus mixtus; nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes. palam laudares, secreta male audiebant II 5. 84 III 8. Besides the historical compilations here cited, he was the author of another work (Travels in Syria?), from which Pliny (and perhaps Josephus) has preserved some very untrustworthy information. Cf. Teuffel § 314, 1 and L. Brunn, *de C. Lic. Muc.* Leipz. 1870.

8 **ut opinor** does not express any genuine doubt as to the actual number of books already published, but simply serves to avoid an air of learning in what purports to be an informal conversation between friends. Cp. note c. 32 27.—**Actorum libris**: 'Acta,' as the context shows, must not be taken in its technical sense of Acta populi, or acta senatus, publica, diurna, urbana ὑπομνήματα, on which see Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* III 1017 Teuffel § 216 Wilkins in Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. and esp. E. Hübner, *Fleck. Jahrb. Suppl.* III 5 pp. 558–632, but as a general title, virtually equivalent to 'Actiones' (cf. c. 17 22 32 11). The work of Mucianus probably contained an epitomised selection of the more noteworthy speeches delivered in the assembly, the senate, the forum and the law-courts, with sundry biographical and chronological notes of interest, and it has been plausibly conjectured that many of the oratorical fragments preserved in Gellius, Fronto and Macrobius were taken from this identical compilation. To the same source, I am disposed to attribute the information given in c. 34 ext. and the learned item in c. 38 15 f. where see notes and cp. also Proleg. p. xcvi.—**tribus Epistularum**: These were probably miscellaneous excerpts similar to the 'Electa' in 160 bks. made by the elder Pliny (Plin. Ep. III 5, 17). Cf. also Fronto, Ep. ad Antonin. 2, 5 (p. 107 N.) memini me excerpisse ex Ciceronis epistulis ea dumtaxat, quibus inesset aliqua de *eloquentia* vel philosophia vel de re publica disputatio; praeterea si quid eleganti aut verbo notabili dictum videretur, excerpsi.

9 **Cn. Pompeium**: On his oratorical ability, Cic. Brut. 68, 239 maiorem dicendi gloriam habuisset nisi eum maioris gloriae cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. erat oratione satis amplus, rem prudenter videbat; actio vero eius habebat et in voce magnum splendorem et in motu summam dignitatem (See note c. 21 20) Vell. Pat. II 29, 3 eloquentia medius Quint. XI 1, 36 abunde disertus rerum suarum narrator. Plut. Pomp. 1 πιθανότης λόγου.

10 **M. Crassum:** Cic. Brut. 66, 233 mediocriter a doctrina instructus, angustius etiam a natura . . . labore et industria et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas causas curam etiam et gratiam, in principibus patronis aliquot annos fuit. In huius oratione sermo Latinus erat, verba non abiecta . . . nullus flos tamen neque lumen ullum . . . omnia fere ut similiter atque uno modo dicerentur pro Mur. 23, 48 vir summa dignitate et diligentia et facultate dicendi Plut. Crass. 3. — **non . . . modo — sed . . . quoque:** On this correlation, see note c. 2 6. — **viribus . . . armis:** The same collocation e. g. H. II 74 IV 23. 68 Plin. Ep. II 7, 2.

11 **Lentulos:** Among the many Lentuli known to us, only such, of course, as were contemporaries of Cicero are here alluded to. Cf. Cic. Brut. 66, 234 *Cn.* autem [Cornelius] *Lentulus* [Clodianus. cons. 72] multo maiorem opinionem dicendi actione faciebat quam quanta in eo facultas erat . . . nec abundans verbis . . . calebat in agendo, ut ea, quae deerant, non desiderarentur . . . sic Lentulus ceterarum virtutum dicendi mediocritatem actione occultavit, in qua excellens fuit. 235 *P. Lentulus* [Sura] cuius et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formae dignitas . . . in hoc nihil praeter actionem fuit cetera etiam minora quam in superiore. 70, 247 *Cn.* autem *Lentulus Marcellinus* nec umquam indisertus et in consulatu (56 B. C.) pereloquens visus est, non tardus sententiis, non inops verbis, voce canora, facetus satis. 77, 268 Duo praeterea Lentuli consulares, quorum *P.* [Cornelius Lentulus Spinther. cons. 57] . . . quidquid habuit . . . totum habuit e disciplina; instrumenta naturae deerant . . . *L.* autem [Cornelius] *Lentulus* [Crus. cons. 49] satis erat fortis orator, si modo orator. — **Metellos:** Brut. 70, 247 duo etiam Metelli, *Celer* (cons. 60) et *Nepos* (cons. 57) non nihil in causis versati nec sine ingenio nec indocti ad Att. VI 3, 10 orationem Q. Celeris mihi velim mittas contra M. Servilium. — **Lucullos:** *L. Licinius Lucullus* (born c. 114 cons. 74 died 57) called by Plut. Luc. 33 δεινὸς εἰπεῖν. His less famous brother *M. Terentius Licinianus Varro* (cons. 73) is mentioned among the political orators by Cic. Brut. 62, 222. — **Curiones:** 'Familia Curionum, in qua tres continua serie oratores extiterunt' (Plin. N. H. VII 133) viz. (1). *C. Scribonius Curio* (praet. 121) according to Brut. 32, 122 sane illustris orator, cuius de ingenio ex orationibus eius existimari potest (2) *C. Scrib. Curio* C. F.: Cf. Brut. 58, 210 erant . . . quibus videretur illius aetatis tertius Curio (cons. 76 died 53 B. C.)

quia splendidioribus fortasse verbis utebatur et quia Latine non pessime loquebatur usu . . . domestico; nam litterarum admodum nihil sciebat 59, 213 f. 216 (3) *C. Curio* C. F. (trib. pleb. 50 died 49 B. C.): Brut. 81, 280 ita facile soluteque verbis volvebat satis interdum acutas . . . ut nihil posset ornatius esse, nihil expeditius . . . parum a magistris institutus naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Lucan. I 269 vox quondam populi IV 819. — Excepting Q. Metellus Celer (see above), the fact that the persons here mentioned left written speeches, is known to us only from this passage. — Peter's unqualified assertion that the author is chiefly indebted for the above information to Cicero's Brutus is amazing, in view of the explicit statement of Tacitus to the contrary that it was taken from Mucianus (*ex his intellegi potest*). — The very intimate knowledge of the history of Roman oratory displayed in this chapter (see also c. 38 13 ff.) is quite incompatible with the supposition that the *poet* Maternus is the speaker, while, on the other hand, it is in the highest degree appropriate to the *historian* Secundus.

13 **nec quemquam**: In Tac. 'nec quisquam' is never separated by an intervening word; 'neque q.,' barring three exceptions (H. IV 61 Ann. III 36 IV 11), always. Cp. Spitta p. 117 Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVII 119.

14 **sine aliqua eloquentia**: 'without eloquence of some kind or other,' i. e. irrespective of its quality. On this force of 'aliquis,' see Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 199, and on its use after a negative, cf. note c. 6 7. The thought is a virtual repetition of c. 36 24 f.

15 **splendor reorum**: *splendor* is here used of the illustrious birth of the defendants. Cf. Tac. Ag. 6 splendidis natalibus ortam H. II 76 splendidior origine quam nos . . . sed et Nero nobilitate natalium Vitellium anteibat Suet. Vesp. 1 magnum indicium splendoris familiae et vetustatis. — **et ipse** 'likewise.' Cp. note c. 30 1. With the thought, cf. Cic. de orat. I 4, 15 excitabat eos *magnitudo* varietas multitudoque in omni genere *causarum*.

16 **multum interest utrumne**: Cf. c. 32 3 longe interesse possideat quis . . . an. On 'utrumne,' see note c. 35 7.

17 **formula**: Cf. note c. 20 4. — **interdicto**: *Interdictum* is a decree of the praetor calling upon the parties in a suit to conform to certain injunctions or abstain from doing certain acts. It is, in particular, either an order of restitution or of production or of abstention ('Restituas, exhibeas, vim fieri veto'). Cp. Smith, *Dict.*

Ant. I³ 1017–1021. — **dicendum habeas**: Cf. note c. 8 11. — **de ambitu comitiorum**: e. g. Cicero's speech pro Murena. — On the objective genitive, see note c. 34 27.

18 **expilatis sociis**: e. g. the speeches against Verres. With the phrase cf. Cic. pro Pomp. 19, 57 ad expilandos socios . . . legatos eduxerint. de off. II 21, 75 at vero postea tot leges . . . tot rei tanta . . . expilatio direptioque sociorum. 'expilare' does not occur elsewhere in Tac. and is extremely rare in post-Aug. Latin, though common in Cicero. — **civibus trucidatis** e. g. Cicero's speech pro Milone, pro Rabirio.

The artistic libration of periods, perhaps the most characteristic stylistic feature of the Dialogus, is rudely destroyed by the universally accepted reading of the MSS. Apart from this, the use of 'et' after an asyndeton, still extremely rare in the minor writings, in the present instance conflicts with one of the *four* conditions, under which Tac. permits this departure from earlier usage (in all about seventy times):

(1) *If the asyndetic members belong closely together, another may be joined to them by 'et,' provided it contains a new thought or more general idea or sums up.* E. g. G. 30 6 (Halm) 44 5 H. I 36 12 II 95 9 IV 1 14 Ann. I 25 6 IV 32 10 38 10.

(2) *If the last clause is composed of two parts, joined by 'ac' or 'que.'* E. g. H. I 50 12 V 12 4 Ann. XI 35 15.

(3) *If the last clause is amplified.* E. g. H. I 51 28 Ann. I 32 13 II 56 8 XV 55 5.

(4) *If the last clause, whether amplified or not, is not in what may be called syntactical symmetry with the preceding.* E. g. H. II 59 11 III 9 14 Ann. I 3 3 XIII 8 18.

Now 'sociis' and 'civibus' belong as closely together as in Ann. IV 38 socios cives et deos ipsos precor or as 'formula et interdictio.' We have, therefore, a clear violation of Rule I. The equilibrium evidently intended by the author (a : bb : : a : bb) is at once restored and the stylistic objection removed by the simple insertion of 'aut' before 'expilatis,' its omission having been caused by the preceding 'aut.' Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 454–456.

19 **sicut** . . . **ita**, for the more usual 'ut . . . ita.' Cf. note c. 11 7. With the thought, cf. c. 41 6 atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari.

21 **crescit enim** etc.: For 'crescere' (in Tac. only here and H. I 33 IV 70. 76) or 'crebresco' (H. I 39 II 67 III 34 IV 12 Ann. III 60), we find 'gliscere' used exclusively in the Annals (19 times), in the Hist. only II 8. 83 IV 25. 43. See Woelfflin, *Philol.* XXVII 144 and Lex. Tac. s. vv. — On the thought, cf. Tac. Ann. III 69 excitari quosdam ad meliora magnitudine rerum, hebescere alios.

Schiller: Es wächst der Mensch mit seinen höheren Zwecken. — Andresen translates 'vis ingenii' by 'Darstellungsvermögen.' I can see no warrant for this rendering, either in the context or in the phrase itself.

22 **claram et inlustrem**: Also grouped in Cic. de rep. VI 11 inlustri et claro quodam loco de div. II 3, 8 exempla clara et inlustria Plin. Ep. VI 29, 3 claras et inlustres (sc. causas). Cf. also Quint. X 1, 67 clarius inlustraverunt. — On the repetition 'inlustrem . . . inlustrant,' see note c. 1 8.

24 **nec** = 'nec ideo.' So often in a conclusion. Cf. e. g. c. 12 13. poetis et vatibus abundabat qui . . . defenderent. nec ullis etc. G. 8 inesse (sc. feminis) . . . sanctum aliquid et providum putant nec . . . responsa neglegunt Ann. IV 35 suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt . . . qui . . . etiam mei meminerint. For other exx., cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 922[b]. — **opinor**: A parenthetical 'opinor' is generally used with a tinge of irony, and thus distinguished from 'ut opinor.' Cp. Anton, *Studien* II 186, cited to c. 32 27. — **Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores composuit**: Demosthenes began his suit against his guardians (Aphobus, Demophon, and Therippides) in 363 B. C., at the age of twenty-one. He obtained a verdict against them, but eventually secured but a small amount of his patrimony. Of these so-called ἐπιτροπικοὶ λόγοι, five speeches, partly supposititious, have come down to us, viz. κατὰ Ἀφόβου, I. II. πρὸς Ἄφοβον ψευδομαρτυριῶν Φάνῳ, πρὸς Ὀνήτορα ἐξούλης I. II. The ill-success of these early attempts of the orator is sneeringly alluded to by Aesch., Ctesiph. 173 τὰ πατρῷα καταγελάστως προέμενος. Cp. also Plut. Dem. c. 6. — Secundus probably spoke of some of the more famous speeches of Demosthenes, in the portion now lost, so that it was not necessary to complete the antithesis here, the more so, as he was chiefly intent on illustrating his argument by Roman examples. — Peter remarks that 'composuit' not 'habuit' is used, because the speaker has in mind the extant *written* speeches and the reputation which they even at the present day possess, but in that case we should also expect 'circumdant' in place of 'circumdederunt.' — On the ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun (eas), cf. note c. 32 8.

26 **P. Quintius defensus**: The earliest speech of Cicero, delivered in 81 B. C., in his twenty-sixth year. — On the use of the perf. pass. participle for an abstract noun, see note c. 29 12. — *aut* = et, hence

the plur. pred. Cp. notes c. 18 3 35 7.—**Licinius Archias**: Defence of the poet Archias, accused of illegal enrollment as a Roman citizen, delivered in 62 B.C. The speech is still, but unjustly, in my opinion, held in very low estimation by many modern scholars. —**Catilina**: The four speeches against Catiline were delivered Nov. 8, 9 Dec. 3, 5, 63 B.C. — On the ellipsis of 'sed,' see note c. 6 19.

27 **Milo**: Unsuccessful defence of T. Annius Milo, the assassin of P. Clodius Pulcher. The original speech delivered in 52 B.C., for we possess only the orator's later elaboration, was still extant in the time of Asconius Pedianus. Cf. in Milon. p. 42 Or. Cicero cum inciperet dicere exceptus est acclamatione Clodianorum qui se continere ne metu quidem circumstantium militum potuerunt. Itaque non ea, qua solitus erat, constantia dixit. (Plut. Cic. 35). Manet autem illa quoque excepta oratio. Scripsit vero hanc quam legimus ita perfecte ut iure prima haberi possit. This verdict is fully endorsed by modern critics.—**Verres**: Only the first of the six orations against Verres was actually spoken (Aug. 5, 70 B.C.), although the five remaining speeches (de praetura urbana, de iurisdictione Siciliensi, de frumento, de signis and de suppliciis) maintain the fiction of having been delivered in court in the presence of the defendant.—**Antonius**: i. e. the fourteen so-called Philippic orations against M. Antonius. I (Sept. 2, 44) III. IV (Dec. 20) V (Jan. 1, 43) VI (Jan. 4) VII (End of Jan.) VIII (Beginning of Feb.) IX (Middle of Feb.) X (End of Feb.) XI. XII (Middle of March) XIII (Mar. 20) XIV (Apr. 22). The second and most famous was never spoken, but purports to be an extemporaneous answer to Antony's bitter invective against Cicero, delivered in the senate, Sept. 19, 44 B.C.—**hanc** 'the present, still existing.' Cf. note c. 12 9.—On the celebrity of the Philippics, see Iuv. X 124 f. ridenda poemata malo | quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae, volveris a prima quae proxima Sen. Suas. 7 'Deliberat Cicero, an scripta sua conburat, promittente Antonio incolumitatem, si fecisset,' a hackneyed theme in the schools of rhetoric. Cp. Mayor to Iuv. l. c.—**famam circumdederunt**: The same phrase occurs in Tac. Ag. 20 egregiam famam paci circumdedit H. IV 11 qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdederunt, and similarly IV 45 planctum et lamentum et supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi circumdata cum contumeliis ac probris Ann. XIV 15 nec ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum

circumdedit quam illa colluvies 53 tu (Nero) gratiam inmensam . . . circumdedisti (sc. mihi, Senecae) Ps. Quint. Decl. 18, 6 auctoritatem circumdare and so in Greek e. g. Isocr. Arch. 3 *μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμᾶς πείσῃ τοιαύταις αἰσχύναις τὴν πόλιν περιβαλεῖν.*

28 **non quia tanti fuerit . . . ut**: i. e. I do not wish to be understood as believing for a moment that . . . simply for the sake that. The supposition is purely imaginary and merely designed to prevent any possible misinterpretation of Secundus' own views. Hence the subj. after 'non quia' (= non quo or non quod, neither of which occurs in Tac.) is necessary. Cp. note c. 9 13. John ad loc., Reuss, *De coniunct. caus. ap. Tac. usu*, Halle 1876 p. 18 and in general, Dr. *H. S.* II 686. — *Tanti* is here used absolutely and not as a correlative of 'ut,' which is final. Cf. e. g. Cic. Cat. II 7, 15 est mihi tanti . . . dummodo Quint. VII 2, 42 an etiam tanti putaverit poenam subire XII 8, 4 cum dicturis tanti suae non sint (cited by Peter ad loc.) Cic. Cat. I 9, 22 sed est tanti, dummodo Ov. Met. II 424 sunt iurgia tanti and Tac. Ann. VI 2 (8) neque sibi vitam tanti si armis tegenda foret. — **ferre** = gignere. In this figurative sense, the word is comparatively rare, except with expressions denoting time. Cf. Cic. Brut. 12, 45 haec aetas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit Tusc. Disp. I 42, 101 tales innumerabiles nostra civitas tulit. Hor. C. I 12, 42 Curium tulit et Camillum | saeva paupertas III 6, 46 aetas . . . tulit | nos nequiores Quint. III 7, 3 quos priora tempora tulerant X 1, 76 cum decem (sc. oratores) simul Athenis una aetas tulerit 123 quo in genere (sc. philosophia) paucissimos adhuc eloquentes litterae Romanae tulerunt. In Tac.: c. 37 33 40 23 (where see note) Ag. 12 *fert* Britannia aurum . . . *gignit* et Oceanus margarita. With 'aetas,' H. IV 84 Ann. III 55. 75 VI 22; 'tempora,' Ann. VI 7; 'dies,' Ann. XVI 33.

29 **subinde** = identidem, viz. c. 36 6. 14 37 20. *Subinde* does not seem to occur before the time of Livy; in Silver Latin it is very common. Cf. the exx. in Kleiber p. 67.

32 **melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari**: Cf. Tac. H. II 37 ego ut concesserim apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia . . . ita neque . . . sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantam vulgi moderationem reor, ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant bellum pacis caritate deponerent, which passage, with its libration of clauses and elaborated antithesis, at the same time shows that

Tacitus even in his historical works occasionally wrote in his earlier manner.

33 **proeliatores**: An extremely rare word, first met with in Val. Max. III 2, 24 quod ad proeliatorum . . . fortitudinem attinet. Then in Iustin. XV 4 ext. and again in Tac. Ann. II 73 and in his imitator, Amm. Marcell. XIX 7, 8. Its exact analogue 'pugnator' is equally rare e. g. Liv. XXIV 15 Plin. N. H. XXX 15, 49, 142 Suet. Caes. 39 ext. Sil. Ital. XV 598.

34 **quo . . . quoque . . . tanto** for quanto . . . tanto, though the regular correlation in the historical works of Tacitus, is found in the minor writings only here and c. 6 10. Dr. *Stil* p. 73 cites the present passage as an instance of the complete form! Cf. also Ter. Phorm. II 2, 14 quo magis novi, tanto saepius Cic. ad fam. X 23, 5 quo magis . . . tanto maiorem and in general Woelfflin *Philol.* XXV p. 118 *Archiv* I 93 ff.

35 **quoque . . . quoque** = et quo. See note c. 8 12. — **intulerit ictus et exceperit**: This 'collocatio verborum' is common in Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 33 inventa Britannia et subacta G. 11 aut incohatur luna aut impletur H. I 47 omisisset offensas an distulisset III 9 aut corrumperet hostem aut terreret Ann. II 38 sive indulserint largitionem sive abnuerint XIII 12 qui attulissent salutem et qui accepissent XVI 24 tentaretne defensionem an sperneret and so similarly c. 34 30 f. sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem Ag. 17 aut victoria complexus est aut bello 42 nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. See Weinkauff, p. 100.

36 **desumpserit** = sumpserit. Cf. note c. 7 17. The word is rare and apparently not found before Livy: VII 20 pop. Rom. . . . sibi desumerent hostem XXXVIII 45 sibi hostes des. Plin. Ep. VIII 20, 7 quasi cursum certamenque desumunt. With the thought, cf. Cic. de orat. I 34, 157 educenda deinde dictio est ex hac domestica exercitatione et umbratili medium in agmen, in pulverem, in clamorem, in castra atque aciem forensem.

37 **altior et excelsior**: Combined in Cic. Tusc. Disp. II 4, 11 te natura excelsum . . . et altum . . . genuit (see note c. 4 3) Plin. Ep. IX 26, 1 altis et excelsis adiacent praerupta. Cp. also c. 34 22 ff. 40 2. — **nobilitata**: Cf. e. g. Tac. H. I 2, 7 nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus Cic. pro Flacc. 26, 63 spectata ac nobilitata virtus Liv. I 16, 4 illam alteram (sc. famam) . . . nobilitavit. — On the positive by the side of the comparative, in the same clause, cf. Tac.

Ann. II 5 quanto acriora in eum studia militum et aversa patrum voluntas III 43 quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium; in adversative clauses, note c. 36 16. — **in ore hominum agit** = 'in fama esse, versari.' Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I 49, 116 Harmodius in ore est et Aristogiton Tac. H. II 73 erat in ore famaque Vespasianus 78 nec quicquam magis in ore vulgi Ann. XIV 56 mea avaritia . . . in ore omnium versabitur Plut. Thes. 20 πάντες . . . διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν. The phrase is generally regarded as a reminiscence of Sallust who uses it, however, in the sense of 'in conspectu.' Cp. Schönfeld, *De Tac. studiis Sallust.* p. 30 Heraeus H. III 76. But this meaning is out of place here, partly, as John well observes, because the phrase 'in the light of publicity' does not admit of a comparison (altior), partly because forensic oratory naturally has its sphere 'in conspectu hominum' or 'in media luce' (cf. c. 34 10), as opposed to 'declamatio' conducted within the walls of the schoolroom. — *agit* expresses the activity of eloquence, the personification being kept up throughout. On the military metaphor, see Proleg. p. cxix (17); on the personification of 'eloquentia,' cf. c. 32 19 and note c. 12 7. 'The more blows eloquence deals out, the more she receives in return; the worthier her antagonists and the fiercer the battles she engages in, the more will her prowess win universal admiration, the more glorious will be her renown.'

There ought to be no doubt that the combined emendations of Latinius, Lipsius, Boetticher and Orelli have succeeded in restoring the words of Tacitus which have been variously corrupted in the MSS. 'Nobilitatus criminibus' arose out of 'nobilitadiscriminibus' (Vahlen, *Prooem. Berl.* 1881 p. 9). The same scholar (p. 10) is disposed to retain 'ipsas' on the sole ground of an alleged analogous inconcinnity in c. 38 18 ab ipso tamen Pollione, but see note ad loc.

38 **secura velint, periculosa extollant**: Men, says Secundus, naturally desire peace and safety (cf. Tac. H. IV 76 et neminem adeo in arma pronum ut non idem pretium quietis quam periculi malit Ann. I 2 cunctos otii pellexit . . . tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent), but by a strange contradiction, they nevertheless admire perilous achievements, although these are possible only under conditions, destructive of the very things they fain would enjoy. Exactly the same observation and couched in almost identical language is made by Ps. Plut. Περὶ παίδ. ἀγωγῆς 9 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἐπαινεῖται μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ

θαυμάζεται. Cf. also Plin. Ep. IX 26, 3 eloquentiam nihil magis quam ancipitia commendant; sunt enim maxime mirabilia quae maxime periculosa.

The MSS. have 'secura velint,' a reading universally rejected since the time of Rhenanus. As John (*Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1888 No. 46 and ad loc.) has shown, an antithesis is imperatively called for. This fact in itself disposes of the conjectures of Rhenanus and Walther. The remaining emendations, with two exceptions, all imply a lacuna between 'secura' and 'velint,' not a very probable supposition. Against Baehrens' and Vahlen's restorations, it may also be urged that the *desire* of *seeing* others in danger cannot be given as the cause of 'altior et excelsior etc.,' nor does Lucret. in the famous passage of the second book (1 ff.), which would have to be regarded as Tacitus' model, speak of *desire* but of *satisfaction: Suave* mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis | e terra magnum alterius *spectare* laborem. The passage cited by Vahlen from Sen. de ben. IV 12, 2 abire in partem alteram possim et securus spectare aliena certamina, at best but proves that the thought occurs elsewhere. Finally, Vahlen's and Halm's reading is too rhythmical (—́ —, —́ —, —́ ‖ ⏑ ⏑, —́ ⏑ ⏑, —́ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —́) to be acceptable. The only emendation of the many proposed (p. 50) which seems to me entirely free from objections and in every way satisfactory to the context, is that of John, the remarkable Greek parallelism cited above furnishing an additional argument of considerable weight in its favor.

38. 2 **veterum iudiciorum quae**: i. e. quae forma iudiciorum. *veterum*, though part of the grammatical antecedent, is excluded by the addition of 'nunc.' A systematic search would doubtless reveal numerous instances of an analogous inconcinnity in ancient as well as modern writers. Cf. e. g. Nep. Paus. 3 non enim mores patrios sed etiam cultum vestitumque mutavit (Andresen), Tac. G. 24 nudi iuvenes, quibus (sc. iuvenibus) id ludicrum est Overbeck, *Pompeji* I p. 7 Die verhältnissmässig wenigen Skulpturwerke Pompejis, deren Herculanum eine ungleich grössere Reihe bietet (John) and so similarly below l. 6 where see note. c. 28 18 eiusdem familiae suboles qua is not a case in point. Cf. note ad loc. Another instance occurs in Quint. X 1, 17 certius iudicium quod.

The reading of the MSS. est ita erit (est . . . E tuerit—V est ita [est] erit) is unintelligible, but no plausible emendation has as yet been offered, for 'extiterit' which has met with great favor, violates the consistent usage of Tacitus which does not allow a subj. with 'etsi.' Cf. 36 4. 13 Ag. 5 G. 5 Ann. III 46 V 3 VI 29. 45 XI 35. The same objection applies to 'qua etsi aptiorem statueris' which at the same time involves too violent a change. 'aptior est veritati' misinterprets Secundus' meaning, for, as the following sentence shows, he does not regard the legal procedure of his time as more fitting in the *abstract*, but only from a practical point of view. Perhaps 'existit' (Bennett) or 'extitit' represents the original reading.

3 nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas cogebatur: Cf. Plin. Ep. VI 2, 6 an nos sapientiores maioribus nostris? nos legibus ipsis iustiores, quae *tot horas, tot dies, tot comperendinationes* largiuntur? hebetes illi et supra modum tardi? nos apertius dicimus, celerius intellegimus qui paucioribus clepsydris praecipitamus causas quam diebus explicari solebant? — 'perorare' is simply a strengthened 'orare' and signifies, as often, the formal oration or the 'plaidoyer' proper. Cf. e. g. Cic. de fin. IV 1, 1 (cited to l. 6) Tac. Ann. II 30 certabant cui ius perorandi daretur III 17 cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent Plin. Ep. I 20, 8. As the appropriate place for such speeches was at the close of the evidence, the term by an easy transference came to designate a summing up.

4 liberae comperendinationes erant: Postponements extending over the second or third day. Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 12, 27 statuere non potuisse utrum diem tertium an perendinum . . . dici oporteret. For the form 'comperendinatio,' not met with in pre-Aug. writers, Cicero uses 'comperendinatus' (Verr. II 1, 9, 26). — *Modum . . . sumebat* is simply an amplification of the preceding, but was added to emphasise as strongly as possible the unrestricted freedom of action enjoyed by ancient advocates. This is in direct opposition to Aper's view (c. 19 9 ff.), who had extolled the modern practice which confined the pleader to the immediate point at issue. The technical character of this entire discussion with its learned and concrete illustrations is again, unless we suppose Tac. to have been incredibly careless in the ἠθοποιΐα of his dramatis personae, at variance with the theory that the poet Maternus is the speaker.

'horas' is omitted in most MSS., but written above the line in A, and preceded by the letter s. (i. e. scilicet) in C. This points unmistakably to 'paucissimas horas perorare' or 'paucissimas perorare horas' as the original reading of the archetypon. The latter seems preferable, 'horas' easily dropping out after '-orare.' Dr. E. Thomas suggests (by letter) that 'horas' is an explanatory gloss and that we have here an ellipsis similar to the one discussed in note c. 21 8 Calvi (sc. librum) in Asitium legit, but this interpretation, though ingenious, seems less natural and somewhat hazardous without the support of parallel illustrations. — *dicendi* has no MS. authority, for A, according to Andresen's reëxamination of this codex, also reads 'dicendo.' There can, therefore, be no doubt that '*in* dicendo' is the original. 'in' having dropped out, because of the preceding 'm,' 'dicendo' was changed to 'dicendi' e. g. in the worthless cod. Parisinus and in the oldest printed editions. Cf. c. 7 5 quantulaecunque in dicendo facultatis

Quint. VIII 5, 32 hanc in dicendo voluptatem X 1, 17 potentissima in dicendo ratio Suet. Galb. 3 modica in dicendo facultas and exactly analogous, Cic. de rep. II 1, 1 *modus in dicendo.*

5 **et numerus . . . neque patronorum finiebatur**: In the earlier period, the number of patroni at a trial rarely exceeded four, but toward the close of the Republic, it had risen as high as twelve. Cf. Ascon. Ped. *Argum.* in orat. pro Scauro (18–20 Bait.): defenderunt Scaurum sex patroni, cum ad id tempus (54 B.C.) raro quisquam pluribus quam quattuor uteretur ac post bella civilia ante legem Iuliam ad duodenos patronos est perventum.

6 **finiebatur** = definiebatur. Cf. G. 19 numerum liberorum finire Ann. XIII 38. 49 num. fin. and note c. 1 18. — **primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit**: This was done in the lex Pompeia de vi et ambitu, passed in 52 B.C., when Pompey was consul sine collega, 'corrigendis moribus delectus' (Tac. Ann. III 28). The trial for 'bribery' was limited to four days, three for the deposition of testimony, one for the speeches of counsel, the defendant being allowed three hours, the plaintiff two. Cf. Cic. Brut. 94, 324 lege Pompeia tribus horis ad dicendum datis de fin. IV 1 cum ego te hac nova lege videam eodem die accusatori respondere et tribus horis perorare Cass. Dio. XL 52 χρόνον τε τῷ διώκοντι δύο ὥρας, τῷ δὲ φεύγοντι τρεῖς διδόσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. Cp. Drumann, *Röm. Gesch.* II 351 f. This law was, in the days of the younger Pliny, either no longer in vogue, or, what is more probable, originally applicable only to cases 'de vi et ambitu.' Cf. Ep. II 11, 14 dixi horis quinque. nam XII clepsydris quas spatiosissimas acceperam, sunt additae quattuor IV 9, 9 egeram horis tribus et dimidia, supererat sesquihora. nam cum e lege accusator sex horas, novem reus accepisset, ita diviserat tempora reus inter me et eum . . . ut ego quinque horis, ille reliquis uteretur. That some such restrictions in criminal trials, had existed long before the lex Pompeia, is clear from certain passages in Cic. e. g. Verr. I 1, 11, 32 (70 B.C.) si utar ad dicendum meo legitimo tempore II 1, 9, 25 hic tu fortasse eris diligens, ne quam ego horam de meis legitimis horis remittam nisi omni tempore quod mihi lege concessum est, abusus ero, but they possibly had become a dead letter, when Pompey's law was enacted. In any case, I can see no reason for accusing Tacitus of an error, as Marquardt, *Privatleb.* 771 is disposed to do, for the author is not speaking of the introduction

of the clepsydra. — It may also be observed, that this passage enables us to fix the much disputed date of Cicero's de legibus to within a few months, viz. end of Jan. and beginning of April 52 B.C. Cp. *Berl. Philol. Woch.* No. 31/32 (1892). — *Haec* cannot refer to the entire preceding clause, for the 'numerus patronorum' was not, so far as we know, regulated by the lex Pompeia. Cf. note l. 2.

7 **imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae**: The figure, common in both Greek and Latin, was probably first used by Isocrates. Cf. Suidas s.v. *Ἔφορος : ὁ γοῦν Ἰσοκράτης τὸν μὲν Θεόπομπον ἔφη χαλινοῦ δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἔφορον κέντρου.* Cic. de orat. III 9, 36 quod dicebat Isocrates se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti solere Brut. 56, 204 ad Att. VI 1, 12 Quint. II 8, 11 Plin. Ep. IX 26, 7 laxandos esse eloquentiae frenos Lucian, Harmod. 82 *χαλινόν τινα ἐμβέβληκεν αὐτῷ ἡ φιλοσοφία* In Tac. also Ann. V 3 velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt (sc. Tiberius et Seianus).

8 **omnia in foro,** whereas trials are now conducted within the walls of 'auditoria et tabularia' (c. 39 5) which were originally designed for quite different purposes. — **omnia legibus**: Cf. Aper's remark (c. 19 23) ubique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure et legibus cognoscunt, where see note. — **omnia apud praetores,** for now the Senate and the Emperor have usurped many important judicial functions, formerly belonging to the praetor. On the anaphora, see note c. 36 8.

9 **negotia**: 'cases.' Cf. note c. 3 20. — **exerceri**: exactly equivalent to our technical use of 'try.' Cf. Ann. IV 19 cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita. No other precisely parallel instances are known to me.

10 **causae centumvirales**: The jurisdiction of the Centumviri was always confined to civil suits, which the republican orators could afford to neglect, but when the more important 'iudicia publica' had been relegated to the Senate and the Princeps, the cases that came up before the centumviral court furnished the only opportunity for a display of eloquence. Cf. note c. 7 6.

12 **obruebantur** 'thrown completely into the shade.' Cf. Tac. Ag. 17 Cerialis . . . alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset.

14 **ut . . . liber apud centumviros dictus legatur**: *Legatur* has hitherto always been taken in the sense of 'is now read.' But, apart from the fact that this involves the absurd assumption that such speeches were *necessarily* of too inferior a character to merit

perusal, a supposition sufficiently refuted by the example of Pollio, the *logical consequence* of 'adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum . . . obruebantur,' expressed by the consecutive 'ut' clause, can only be that such speeches *never* existed. The evident meaning of the passage is, therefore, this: 'The splendid rewards which awaited the talented orator in great public trials, rendered him so completely indifferent to cases tried before the Centumviri, that as a natural consequence of this apathy, we *do not read of* the delivery of any speeches of eminent orators before this court, excepting Pollio's speeches for the heirs of Urbinia etc.' For this extremely rare passive use of *legor* with the infinitive, cf. Prop. V 11, 36 in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar Cassiod. Var. IX 3 extr. gryphes aurum iugiter leguntur effodere. It will also be observed that the interpretation just given disposes of the alleged inconsistency which Vahlen (*Prooem. Berl.* 1881 p. 10) and the commentators find in the construction 'ab ipso tamen Pollione,' in place of 'ipsae tamen a Pollione, 'and even Pollio himself (who is throughout the Dialogus counted among the 'magni oratores antiquorum') constitutes only an apparent exception to the practice of Cicero, etc., as his speeches for the heirs of Urbinia were delivered at a time when etc.' On the nom. c. inf. in Tac. see Dr. *Stil* p. 63.

15 **pro heredibus Urbiniae**: The points at issue are known to us from Quintilian who refers to this trial repeatedly: IV 1, 11 VII 2, 4 est et illud . . . coniecturae genus, cum de aliquo homine quaeritur, quis sit, ut est quaesitum contra Urbiniae heredes 'is qui tamquam filius petebat bona, Figulus esset an Sosipater . . . an hic sit ex Urbinia natus Clusinius Figulus' and esp. VII 2, 26 ut in lite Urbiniana petitor dicit, 'Clusinium Figulum filium Urbiniae acie victa, in qua steterat, fugisse, iactatumque casibus variis, retentum etiam a rege tandem in Italiam ac patriam suam Marrucinos venisse atque ibi adgnosci': Pollio contra, 'servisse eum Pisauri dominis duobus, medicinam factitasse, manu missum alienae se familiae venali inmiscuisse, a se rogantem, ut ei serviret, emptum.' This ancient Tichborne trial seems to have been a *cause célèbre* and Pollio's speech was probably excerpted in the collection of Mucianus, whence Tacitus also took the date.

16 **medii Divi Augusti temporibus** i. e. 15/14 B. C. See note c. 17 9. 26.

17 **quies . . . otium . . . tranquillitas**: These synonyms are variously combined in Tacitus e. g. Ag. 6 quiete et otio 21 quieti et

otio 42 quietem et otium 40 tranquillitatem atque otium, but in the later writings, 'otium' or 'quies' is joined to 'pax,' e. g. G. 14 H. II 67 V 10.—G. 40 IV 73 Ann. XI 7. Cf. also Cic. de leg. agr. I 8, 21 summa tranquillitas pacis et otii and esp. Sen. N. Q. I 2, 8 significatur quies acris et otium et tranquillitas.

19 **depacaverat** = pacaverat. Cf. note c. 7 17. The compound is ἅπ. εἰρ. — On 'postquam' with the pluperfect indicative, see note c. 22 8. — The thought here expressed seems to be peculiarly Tacitean. Cf. H. I 1 dum res populi Romani memorabantur, pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere. Cp. Proleg. p. xxxix.

I read 'maxime' with Haase, against 'maxima' or 'maximi' of the MSS. The careful libration in the preceding members (adj. — genit. — subst.) was abandoned, because 'disciplina' introduces a new idea, 'maxime' emphasising its paramount importance among the causes that led to the result here described. Hence also the sing. predicate, agreeing with the last subject. Reading 'maxima,' which is, moreover, not a suitable attribute of 'disciplina,' we should have three evenly balanced subjects joined by et . . . et . . . et with the verb in the sing. — an unparalleled construction. 'Maximi,' which is defended by Vahlen (*Prooem.* 1881) on the basis of Sen. ad Polyb. 6, 5 principis maximi animo subici, is open to the additional objection that it destroys the equilibrium of collocation *without separating* the last member distinctly from those preceding. — 'alia,' found in some MSS., is an interlinear gloss, as shown by the 'transposition variant,' omnia alia — CDV alia omnia — E (omnia with 'alia' written above). Cp. the numerous illustrations of this kind of corruption given in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII p. 444–452. That 'alia' is not necessary is clear from Petron. 4 primum enim sicut omnia spes quoque suas ambitioni donant (cited by Vahlen l. c. p. 9).

39. 1 **ridiculum . . . videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur**: Another instance of the figure ἀντιμεταβολή on which see note c. 33 20. — It may be observed that the host Maternus would not likely apprehend that any utterance of his would be turned into ridicule by his visitors. In the mouth of the over-cautious Secundus, however, such an apologetic qualification is very appropriate.

'Videbitur' for 'videtur' is called for by its antithesis: dicam tamen. If 'ridear' were the correct reading, we should rather expect 'vel ita ut,' for, as John ad loc. well remarks, "selbst ausgelacht zu werden, könne er höchstens sich gefallen lassen, nicht aber beabsichtigen." Andresen, though he retains 'ridear' in his text, clearly translates 'rideatur': "wenn Euch meine *Bemerkung* ein Lächeln entlockt."

3 **paenulas**: The paenula was a tight-fitting cloak (see 'adstricti' and Cic. pro Mil. 20, 54 paenula irretitus) usually worn in rainy weather and on travels. Cf. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 27 paenulis frigoris causa ut senatores uterentur permisit cum id vestimenti genus semper itinerarium aut pluviae fuisset and the references in Mayor, Iuv. V 79, Marquardt, *Privatleb.* p. 170. The absurd inferences which Ernesti, Strodtbeck, Eckstein and others have drawn from this passage may now be safely dismissed without further comment. Secundus simply wishes to stigmatise the want of dignity and propriety which characterised the pleaders of his day, even in their attire.

4 **fabulamur**, 'chat' used derisively in place of 'dicere.' Cf. c. 23 11 apud iudices fabulantes Quint. XI 3, 131 sinistra gestum facientes spatiantur et fabulantur (sc. oratores).

5 **auditoria**: i. e. halls, usually devoted to recitations and the declamations of rhetoricians. See note c. 10 25 and Smith *Dict. Ant.* s. v. — **tabularia**: i. e. the buildings where the public records were kept. Cf. Verg. Georg. II 502 insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit and Smith, s. v. — None of these localities, Secundus says, being originally intended for less worthy or dignified objects, are fit for the exercise of true oratory.

6 **explicantur**, 'are disposed of,' contemptuously for 'aguntur.' Cf. Plin. Ep. VI 2, 6 (cited c. 38 3), where it is used in its ordinary sense. — **nobiles equos . . . probant**: *nobiles* is a standing epithet of the horse. Cf. e. g. Ov. Met. II 690 Sen. de clem. I 24, 2 Iustin. IX 2, 16. Tac. H. I 88 says, insignes equos. — *probant* 'test.' Cf. note c. 28 16. — **cursus et spatia**: 'spacious race-track.' Hendiadys. The same collocation is found e. g. in Plin. Ep. IV 12, 7 laudis suae spatio et cursu . . . laetetur. — **aliquis oratorum campus**: *aliquis* = 'quidam.' So perhaps also G. 46 nec aliud infantibus . . . suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur Cic. pro Arch. 8, 18 poetam . . . *quasi* divino *quodam* inflari . . . sanctos appellat poetas quod *quasi* deorum *aliquo* dono . . . commendati nobis esse videantur. Our passage clearly refutes C. F. W. Müller's distinction (Cic. Lael. XIII 47), followed by R. V. III p. 64 f. note 357, for '*aliquis* campus,' according to him, could only mean some 'oratorical field, no matter which, but certainly a field,' '*quidam* campus' a kind of field, something that resembles a field! See also John ad loc. — The metaphor is very common. Cf. e. g. Cic. de orat. III

19, 70 ex ingenti quodam oratorem immensoque campo in exiguum sane gyrum compellitis 31, 124 tanto tam immensoque campo cum liceat oratori vagari Acad. Prior. 35, 112 campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias et in Stoicorum dumeta compellimus? where Reid cites numerous illustrations from other writers.

8 **liberi et soluti**: This synonymic collocation is very frequent. Cf. e. g. Cic. Verr. II 2, 78, 192 Phil. V 15, 41 de rep. IV 4, 4 Tusc. Disp. I 27, 66 Sall. Cat. 6, 1 Plin. Ep. II 11, 4 VIII 17, 4 Paneg. 80. Not in Quintilian or elsewhere in Tacitus.—**debilitatur ac frangitur** i. e. first weakened and then broken. On this use of 'ac,' see note c. 4 3. The same verbs are often combined. In Cicero always in *inverse* order (on which see note c. 4 3). Cf. pro Flacc. 26, 62 de orat. I 7, 24. 26, 121 ad fam. V 13, 3 Plin. Ep. VIII 16, 3 debilitor et frangor. Cf. also Tac. Ann. III 67 exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat.

9 **ipsam quin immo**: On the anastrophe, cf. note c. 6 7.—**curam et diligentis stili anxietatem**: i. e. the effort involved in the careful stylistic elaboration of a speech. On this post-Aug. use of 'anxietas' and 'anxius,' cf. e. g. Quint. VIII prooem. 29 quaerendi iudicandi, comparandi anxietas, dum discimus adhibenda est Gell. I 3, 12 a Theophrasto pensiculate et enucleate *scripta* sunt . . . sed *anxietate* illa . . . disputationis praetermissa genus ipsum rei tantum *paucis verbis* notavit XV 7, 3 cum librum epistularum Divi Augusti legeremus duceremurque elegantia orationis neque morosa neque anxia. — *Stili*, 'composition.' Cf. e. g. Quint. II 4, 13 neglegens stilus X 1, 2. 7, 4 multus stilus 3, 5 tardus stilus. — The genitive is objective.

10 **contrariam experimur**: i. e. we find that all our pains are useless, go for naught, for continual interruptions prevent us from following out the carefully prepared argument and compel us instead to speak ex tempore. — The passage is in perfect accord with the oratorical characteristics of Secundus as recorded by Quint. X 1, 120 adiecisset . . . ceteris virtutibus . . . ut esset multo magis pugnax et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret 3, 12 mirae facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae. — **interrogat iudex** etc.: Cp. Aper's statement in c. 19 ext. nec expectandum habent oratorem dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se

testantur. — **saepe** . . . **frequenter** belongs to the same category of correlations as modo — modo, saepe — saepe, saepe — modo, modo — interdum, modo — nonnumquam. Cf. Quint. III 8, 4 frequenter — nonnumquam — aliquando Dr. *H. S.* II 92 ff. Kühner II 680, 4 and esp. Woelfflin, *Archiv* II 245 ff. IV 53 ff. 'Was heisst bald — bald ?'

12 **probationibus**: These were of two kinds according to Aristotle, Rhet. I 2 *τῶν δὲ πίστεων, αἱ μὲν ἄτεχνοί εἰσιν, αἱ δ' ἔντεχνοι. ἄτεχνα δὲ λέγω, ὅσα μὴ δι' ἡμῶν πεπόρισται ἀλλὰ προϋπῆρχεν, οἷον μάρτυρες βάσανοι συγγραφαὶ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ; ἔντεχνα δὲ, ὅσα διὰ τῆς μεθόδου καὶ δι' ἡμῶν κατασκευασθῆναι δυνατόν.* So Cic. de orat. II 27, 116 ad *probandum* autem duplex est oratori subiecta materies : una rerum earum, quae non excogitantur ab oratore, sed in re positae ratione tractantur, ut tabulae, *testimonia*, pacta, conventa, quaestiones, leges, senatus consulta . . . reliqua, si quae sunt, quae non reperiuntur ab oratore, sed ad oratorem a causa deferuntur ; altera est quae tota in disputatione et in argumentatione oratoris conlocata est and Quint. V 1, 1 (de probationibus inartificialibus) 7, 1 — 37 (de testibus). — *testibus* is joined to the generic term 'probationibus' by 'et' in accordance with the usage pointed out c. 9 1.

Of the many emendations suggested for the untenable 'patronus' of the MSS., only 'praetor' (Orelli) or 'protinus' (Nolte) seems to me acceptable. 'Inpatiens,' adopted by Halm and Baehrens, is not used absolutely, except a few times in late Latin, e. g. Macrob. Saturn. VII 5 ext. nihil est impatientius imperitia, nor has the word anywhere the accessory meaning of 'haste,' which it ought to have here.

13 **unus** . . . **aut alter**: Cf. note c. 9 20.

14 **clamore plausuque**: The same collocation e. g. Tac. H. III 83 illos clamore et plausu fovebat Cic. de div. I 28, 59 pro Q. Gallio, fragm. 2 Liv. XXXIII 32 tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus. — On the thought, cf. Cic. Brut. 2, 6 cum forum populi Romani, quod fuisset quasi theatrum illius ingeni de orat. II 83, 338 quia maxima quasi oratoris scaena videatur contiones esse, natura ipsa ad ornatius dicendi genus excitemur ; habet enim multitudo vim quandam talem . . . sic orator sine multitudine audiente eloquens esse non possit. Quintilian, though he says (I 2, 9) optimus praeceptor frequentia gaudet ac maiore se theatro dignum putat, apparently does not fully share the opinion of Secundus. Cf. IV 2, 37 quae quidem virtus (sc. ut iudex quae dicentur quam facillime accipiat) neglegitur a plurimis, qui ad clamorem dispositae vel

etiam forte circumfusae multitudinis compositi non ferunt illud intentionis silentium : nec sibi diserti videntur, nisi omnia tumultu et vociferatione concusserint. — **tot pariter ac tam nobiles** etc. : The anaphoric 'cum' clauses analyse the composition of the great audience which faced the orators of the Republic on important occasions. The higher (nobiles) and lower classes (clientelae, tribus), of the city and the representatives of municipalities crowded the forum, and took a personal interest in court trials. John and Andresen strangely contend, that we must supply in thought 'oratores' or 'advocati' after 'nobiles,' the former understanding the large number of patroni present, but as these never exceeded twelve (see note c. 38 5) 'coartarent' would be a ridiculous hyperbole. *nobiles* as a noun in the sense of the higher classes or 'patricians' is exceedingly common in Tac. : G. 25 H. II 38. 92 Ann. I 2 II 11. 56 III 55 XI 23 XIII 16. 18 XIV 53. On substantived *tot*, see note c. 8 25.

17 **tribus**: i. e. the commonalty, the poorer classes. So Plin. N. H. XIX 4, 19, 54 in herbis aliqua sibi nasci tribus negant, caule in tantum saginato, ut pauperis mense capiat Mart. VIII 15, 4 ditant Latias tertia dona tribus Flor. II 6, 25 equitem imitatae tribus. — Observe the symmetry of collocation : clientelae *quoque ac* tribus . . . *etiam* legationes *ac* pars Italiae, each of the two members joined by 'et' being made up of two elements joined by '*ac*'; *quoque* joined to the first member of the first group corresponding to 'etiam' in the first member of the second group. Cf. note c. 17 12 and the passage from the Agricola cited below.

Halm was, therefore, wrong in writing 'tribus *ac*' on the authority of the reading in B.

18 **pars Italiae** etc. : Cf. Tac. Ann. XIII 4 consulum tribunalibus Italia et publicae provinciae adsisterent. — **adsisteret**: The predicate in Tac. often agrees with the nearest subject in the sing., even if a preceding subject is in the plural. Cf. e. g. Ag. 24 solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differt G. 27 sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur Cp. also notes c. 22 20 26 24 and Dr. *H. S.* I 177 *Stil* p. 14 Kühner II 28 ff. R. V. III 26 note 334 Kühnast *Liv. Synt.* p. 67. — **plerique**: Here equivalent to 'plurimi.' See note c. 2 10.

20 **satis constat**: On this common phrase in Tacitus, cf. note c. 16 21. — **C. Cornelium**: Accused 'de maiestate' by P. Cominius

Spoletinus in 65 B.C. (Cic. Brut. 78, 271) for proposing laws, when trib. pleb. (67 B.C.), distasteful to the senatorial party, he was successfully defended by Cicero in two speeches, of which considerable fragments together with the argument of Asconius have come down to us. Cf. Ascon. Ped. p. 50–72 K.-S. and Orelli, Cic. IV 932–939. — **M. Scaurum**: *M. Aemilius Scaurus* aedile 58 B.C. praetor of Sardinia 56, accused 'rerum repetundarum' in 54. He was defended by six 'patroni,' viz. P. Clodius, M. Marcellus, M. Calidius, M. Messalla Niger, Q. Hortensius and Cicero, Cato being the judge. The sensational trial ended in an acquittal. Cicero's speech is only preserved in fragments. Cf. Cic. Fragm. IV 954–965 Ascon. p. 18 ff.

21 **T. Milonem**: Cf. note c. 37 27. — **L. Bestiam**: *L. Calpurnius Bestia*, trib. pleb. 62 B.C. one of the Catilinian conspirators (Sall. Cat. 17), was accused 'de ambitu' in 56 and unsuccessfully defended by Cicero. Cf. Ep. ad Quint. frat. II 3, 6 a. d. III. Id. Feb. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium . . . *maximo conventu*. No fragments of this speech have come down to us. — **P. Vatinium**: Cf. notes c. 21 10 24 35. — **concursu totius civitatis,** equivalent to an abl. abs. 'concurrente tota civitate.' So c. 6 5 concursu . . . hominum Ann. V 10 iuventutis concursu VI 50 multo gratantum concursu XII 47 concursu plurium. The abl. of attendant circumstances is very characteristic of Tacitus. Cp. Dr. *Stil* p. 29 R. V. III 688 note 569. — With the thought, cf. Cic. de opt. gen. 7, 22 ad quod iudicium (sc. Dem. et Aesch.) concursus dicitur e tota Graecia factus esse Brut. 84, 289 necesse fuisse cum Demosthenes dicturus esset, ut concursus audiendi causa ex tota Graecia fierent.

22 **constat . . . defensos ut . . . potuerint**: The perfect subj. in a consecutive clause depending upon a verb of past time, still rare in pre-Aug. Latin, becomes more frequent with Livy and is thereafter esp. common in Tacitus and Suetonius. Draeger, in his *Unters. zum Sprachgebr. der röm. Hist.* Güstrow 1860 p. 5 regarded 'potuerint' as dependant upon 'constat.' In *H. S.* I 268, it is recognised as a legitimate illustration of the above usage, but in *Stil* p. 74 "ut mit dem Conjunctiv des historischen Perfects fehlt im Dialogus und in der Germania," he seems again to revert to his earlier explanation of this passage. Possibly, 'potuerint' is here merely the apodosis of an unreal condition, the suppressed protasis having to be supplied from 'frigidissimos.' "They might have inflamed

orators, were they never so frigid" (quoque = vel, as in c. 6 18 imperitorum quoque oculis exposita. Cp. also Binde p. 38 f.), and this interpretation seems to me, all things considered, to be the more plausible. — **frigidissimos**: 'frigidus' Gk. ψυχρός, though exceedingly common as an epithet of style (see e. g. Περὶ ὕψους 3, 3 f.) is rarely applied to the writers themselves as e. g. Cic. ad Quint. frat. III 3, 3 accusatoribus frigidis utitur Brut. 48, 178 nimis lentus in dicendo et paene frigidus. Cf. also Arist. Ach. 138 *εἰ μὴ κατένιψε χίονι τὴν Θρᾴκην ὅλην . . . ὅτ' ἐνθαδὶ Θέογνις ἠγωνίζετο* Thesm. 848 Plat. Euthyd. 284.

24 **itaque eius modi libri extant** etc.: The evident meaning of this disputed passage is this: Such is the inspiring influence of great trials, such the stimulating effect of intensely interested audiences, that even speakers of mediocre ability will in spite of themselves be impelled to higher efforts, and hence posterity bases its opinion of the accused and its estimation of the accusers almost exclusively upon the speeches delivered on these occasions, however acceptable in themselves other oratorical productions of the same speakers may have been.

The passage seems, therefore, perfectly sound, being virtually little more than a striking, concrete illustration of the truth of the general statements immediately preceding: 'splendor reorum . . . et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant . . . crescit cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii (c. 37 15. 21). Andresen's emendation, though ingenious, is consequently not called for, not to mention that 'legerunt' in place of 'legunt' is sufficient to invalidate it. Cp. also John ad loc.

censeantur, in the sense of 'aestimare' is post-Aug. Cf. e. g. Val. Max. V 3, 3 Tac. Ag. 45 una adhuc victoria Carus Mettius censebatur Plin. Pan. 15 hic te commilitone censetur Sen. Ep. 76, 8. 87, 7 Suet. de gramm. 10 Eratosthenes multiplici variaque doctrina censebatur.

40. 1 **contiones adsiduae**: Cf. c. 36 9 f. leges adsiduae . . . contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris and Cic. pro Cluent. 34, 93 ff. tum in causa nihil erat praeter invidiam . . . contiones cotidianas, seditiose ac populariter concitatas sqq. — **datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi**: *ius* cannot here well have the usual meaning of an official right conferred by authority, for that were an absurd interpretation in view of the rigid restrictions which always prevailed at Rome against '*ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*.' See below. The word must therefore be taken in the sense 'privilege,

opportunity.' The Dictt. do not seem to recognise this signification; it is, however, found e. g. in Tac. Ann. II 30 certabant (sc. accusatores) cui ius perorandi in reum daretur. *vexandi* is best taken in the sense of 'attack,' as in c. 1 20 multum vexata et inrisa vetustate 24 3 copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos Cic. Tusc. Disp. V 9, 29 vexatur Theophrastus et libris et scholis omnium philosophorum de rep. IV 10, 11 quem illa (vetus comoedia) non attigit vel potius vexavit? — The statement seems a repetition in a more exaggerated form of c. 36 10 accusationes potentium reorum. In any case, this utterance, as well as the following, is quite unsuited to Maternus' attitude.

2 **ipsa inimicitiarum gloria**: Cf. c. 36 11 adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae 37 ext. nobilitata discriminibus and esp. H. II 53 ut novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus magni (= magnorum virorum) inimicitiis claresceret (sc. Caecina).

3 **Publio quidem Scipione**: Tacitus probably has especially in mind the celebrated feud between the elder Tiberius Gracchus, Cato and the two Scipios, recorded in Livy. Cf. XXXVIII 54 Morte Africani crevere inimicorum animi, quorum princeps fuit M. Porcius Cato qui vivo quoque eo adlatrare magnitudinem eius solitus erat 57 Gracchum (not Metellus Macedonicus, whom Peter c. 36 11 by a strange slip of memory cites) . . . iurasse sibi inimicitias cum Scipionibus, quae fuissent, manere Gell. VI (VII) 19, 6 pater Tib. atque C. Gracchorum cum P. Scipione Africano inimicus gravis ob plerasque in republica dissensiones esset, iuravit palam in amicitiam inque gratiam se cum P. Africano non redisse Cic. de rep. I 19, 31 obtrectatores autem et invidi Scipionis Val. Max. III 7, 1 IV 2, 3 V 3, 2 Plut. Cat. Mai. 15. — **L. Sulla and Cn. Pompeio**: The history of both of these men furnishes abundant examples of attacks on the part of political opponents.

On the necessity of inserting L. before 'Sulla,' see crit. note c. 18 17.

se . . . abstinerent: *Se abstinere ab aliquo* is extremely rare. Cf. Plaut. Curc. I 1, 37 Cic. Acad. II 17, 55 Sen. Contr. I 2, 9 Ps. Quint. 12, 1 Ps. Sall. in Cic. 3, 9 and perhaps Tac. H. V 4 sue abstinent [MS. sues = sue se?] but apparently not elsewhere in Latin. See Weinhold, *Archiv* VI 512. — **ad incessendos principes viros ut est natura invidiae**: The thought is a commonplace, both in Greek and Latin. Cf. e. g. Eurip. Beller. fragm. 294 Nk.[2] εἰς τἀπίσημα δ' ὁ φθόνος πηδᾶν φιλεῖ Lucret. V 1118 ff. Sall. Iug. 55 post gloriam

invidia sequitur Liv. XLV 35 intacta invidia media sunt; ad summa ferme tendit Ov. Rem. Am. 369 Summa petit livor Vell. Pat. I 9, 6 fortunae comes invidia Sen. Dial. XI 9, 4 edax et inimica semper alienis processibus invidia consectabitur Ep. 74, 4 invidia perniciosum optimis telum Flor. IV 2, 8 Nimia *Pompei* potentia apud otiosos, ut solet, cives movit invidiam Iuv. X 56 ff. quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae | invidiae and Tac. H. I 1 obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur II 20 insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem acribus oculis introspicere Ann. III 10 odium et invidiam apud multos valere. Cp. also Schiller: Es liebt die Welt das Strahlende zu schwärzen und das Erhabene in den Staub zu ziehn.

5 **populi . . . histriones auribus uterentur**: Adverse criticism of public men, on the part of actors or poets, was never tolerated in Rome. Cp. the fate of Naevius (dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae Gell. III 3, 15 cum ob assiduam maledicentiam et probra *in primores civitatis*, de Graecorum more dicta, in vincula Romae coniectus esset) and Caesar's punishment of Laberius (Gell. XVII 14, 2 Macrob. II 3, 10. 6, 6. 7, 4 f. Sen. Contr. VII 3, 9). Cic. de rep. IV 10, 11 f. Quid autem hinc senserint Romani veteres etc. Periclen . . . violari versibus et exagitari in scaena non plus decuit quam si Plautus noster voluisset aut Naevius Publio et Gnaeo Scipioni aut Caecilius M. Catoni male dicere . . . contra duodecim tabulae . . . in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri [sc. fuste feriri] ad fam. III 11, 2 verumtamen maiestas etsi Sulla voluit, ne in quemvis *impune declamari* liceret Tac. Ann. IV 35 non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita. The passages cited from Cic. pro Sest. 57, 122. 58, 123 by Vahlen are irrelevant, as they refer to stage utterances in *praise* of illustrious citizens.

The evidence just presented leaves no doubt in my mind that Tacitus cannot possibly have made the statement conveyed by the words in the text, even supposing with Halm and others that 'et' for 'ut' is a mere scribal slip. 'populi quoque' is also open to grave objections, for it implies the antithesis that the attacks upon public men were originally made either in private or in the senate, and that subsequently 'plurimi diserti' gave them greater efficacy by also incensing the populace against the individuals so assailed. This is, however, nowhere indicated and is rendered improbable by 'contiones adsiduae' preceding. The numerous attempts at emending the admittedly corrupt reading have so far, in my judgment, been unsuccessful.

6 **faces admovebant**: A very common metaphor. Cf. e. g. Cic. de orat. II 51, 205 adhibendae sunt hae dicendi faces III 1, 4 Philippo quasi quasdam verborum faces admovisset de off. II 10, 37 dolorum cum admoventur faces Tusc. Disp. II 25, 61 quasi faces ei doloris admoverentur pro Mil. 35, 98 faces invidiae meae subiciantur Liv. XXXII 38 faces . . . ad plebem in optimates accendendam Quint. I 2, 25 acriores ad studia dicendi faces subdidisse Tac. H. I 24 flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat Maevius II 86 acerrimam bello facem praetulit.

Ch. 40 8–42. *Maternus, in closing the discussion, endeavors to reconcile the opposing parties, represented by Aper on the one hand and by Messalla and Secundus on the other. He freely admits that the peculiar conditions of the Roman Republic were highly conducive to the rise of eloquence, but he reminds his hearers that such oratorical excellence was after all acquired at the expense of political stability and tranquillity. Eloquence, as history attests, has never thriven in law-abiding and peaceful communities; it is the offspring of license and would be as useless in a state where all was peace and virtue, as a physician among a people free from disease. Recall the past we cannot, nor were this a consummation to be wished; it therefore becomes the duty of all to rest content with the good which one's own time undoubtedly offers, and to refrain from belittling that of some other epoch.*

On the necessity of assuming a lacuna after l. 8, see Proleg. pp. lxxv–lxxx.

8 **non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur**: An unmistakable allusion to the words of Secundus in c. 36 4 f. composita et quieta et beata *re publica*, where see note. Cf. also c. 37 30 nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis *temporibus* existit.

Although the organic connection with the preceding has been lost in the lacuna, the parallel passages just cited and the antithesis in 'alumna licentiae' render it all but certain that Tacitus wrote 're publica' here or understood 'res' in that sense (see Dict. and note c. 21 21.) i. e. Eloquence is not the offspring of a 'bene constituta civitas,' but of anarchy.— 'Gaudere' of abstract or inanimate things, though not rare (see note below), is also far less bold, when said of 'res publica,' which is often personified, than of so nondescript a word as 'res.' In c. 37 30, the preceding 'rei publicae' as well as 'temporibus' leaves no doubt as to the meaning of 're.' The archetypon probably read 'r. p.' (see p. 50), the second letter having been accidentally omitted in our MSS.

probitate et modestia: On this collocation, cf. crit. note c. 5 1.

9 **quae . . . gaudeat**: This use of 'gaudeo' is found in poetry, and in prose since Livy. E. g. Verg. Ecl. VI 29 Phoebo gaudet . . . rupes Liv. II 60, 3 praemio gaudent militum animi Quint. IX 4, 111 ante se brevibus gaudet pyrrichio vel choreo (sc. paean) X 7, 16 stilus secreto gaudeat XII 9, 2 oratio gaudebit quidem occasione laetius decurrendi.

10 **alumna licentiae quam stulti libertatem vocitant**: Cf. Plut. de aud. 1 ἀναρχία μὲν γὰρ ἣν ἔνιοι τῶν νέων ἐλευθερίαν ἀπαιδευσίᾳ νομίζουσι.—This alliterative collocation is frequent. Cf. Cic. Acad. Prior. 10, 30 ne maiorem largiar . . . libertatem et licentiam Verr. II 3, 1, 3 licentiam libertatemque vivendi Quint. X 1, 28 nec libertate verborum nec licentia figurarum. For the antithesis cf. Quint. III 8, 48 quae in aliis libertas, in aliis licentia vocatur IV 1, 59 libertas feretur . . . licentiam verbi notari non patitur IX 2, 27 quod idem dictum sit de oratione libera quam Cornificius licentiam vocat and esp. Tac. H. I 4 patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga principem novum II 10 in civitate discordi et ob crebras principum mutationes inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta Ann. XI 7 falso libertatis vocabulum obtendi ab iis qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi nihil spem nisi per discordias habeant IV 35 (cited note c. 40 5).

The Greek parallel no less than 'stulti,' proves that Maternus' remark is an aphorism of general application and not, as Peter strangely contends, made with reference to the 'antiqui oratores' alone. *Vocabant*, the MS. reading, is, therefore, untenable. The only methodical emendation is *vocitant*, the corruption being, as in innumerable similar cases, due to an abbreviation which was subsequently misunderstood or not recognised. Cf. c. 23 5 vocabant — ω vocitant — *Schurzfleisch* vocant — *alii*. 17 28 vocitetis — CDΔ vocetis — ABEV and the variants on p. 2. 5. 24. 26. 42. 48. 49. 51. The frequentative verb is very appropriate in general maxims. 'Vocitare' occurs in Tac. e. g. H. I 13 V 2.

11 **populi incitamentum**: *Incitamentum* of persons (eloquentia here) is found *only* in Tacitus, who is particularly fond of this otherwise extremely rare word. Cf. H. II 23 acerrima seditionum ac discordiae incitamenta, interfectores Galbae . . . miscere cuncta Ann. VI 29 Scaurus . . . damnationem anteiit, hortante . . . uxore, quae incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit and *twelve* other instances in Lex. Tac. The word occurs once in Cicero: pro Arch. 10, 23, in Curt. III 11, 5 IX 5, 4 Plin. Pan. 27 and in the imita-

tor of Tacitus, Amm. Marc. XXI 12, but not in Quintilian. — The phrase evidently alludes to c. 39 23 ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. — **sine obsequio**: On the use of 'sine' with a noun as a substitute for an adjective, see note c. 32 21. — **sine severitate** i. e. without proper dignity, 'gravitas,' such as becomes a Roman orator. Cf. note c. 39 3 quantulum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas.

The MS. reading 'servitute' is absurd. 'veritate,' accepted by Halm and others, is not in conformity with the other epithets here applied to eloquence. 'Severitate' is a very easy and satisfactory emendation and its collocation with 'obsequium' is supported by Cic. ad fam. X 4, 6 omne meum *obsequium* in illum fuit cum multa *severitate*.

12 **contumax adrogans**: Also combined in Cic. Rosc. Com. 15, 44 contumacia et adrogantia ad Att. VI 1, 7 contumaciter, adroganter Quint. VI 1, 14 contumax adrogans (sc. reus) and in Tac. Ann. V 3 adrogantiam oris et contumacem animum incusavit. — With the view here set forth, cf. Brut. 12, 45 nec enim in constituentibus rem publicam nec in bella gerentibus nec in impeditis ac regum dominatione devinctis nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est *comes* otique socia et iam *bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia* de orat. I 4, 14 posteaquam imperio omnium gentium constituto diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis cupidus adulescens non sibi ad dicendum studio omni enitendum putavit 8, 30 haec una res (sc. eloquentia) in omni *libero* populo maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus praecipue semper floruit semperque dominata est II 8, 33 ut usum dicendi omittam qui in omni pacata et libera civitate dominatur Orat. 41, 142 quis umquam dubitavit, quin in re publica nostra primas eloquentia tenuerit semper urbanis pacatis rebus Quint. II 16, 1 ff. The passages from Cicero only apparently contradict the statement of Maternus, for the orator understands by 'pax' and 'otium,' freedom from foreign wars; Maternus, on the other hand, is speaking of internal dissensions as the prerequisite conditions for the development of eloquence, and in this Cicero is substantially of the same opinion as Tacitus. Cf. e. g. de inv. I 1, 1 cum et nostrae reipublicae detrimenta considero et maximarum civitatum veteres animo calamitates colligo, non minimam video per disertissimos homines invectam partem incommodorum de orat. I 9, 38 ego vero si velim et nostrae civitatis exemplis uti et aliarum, plura proferre

possim detrimenta publicis rebus quam adiumenta per homines eloquentissimos importata.

13 **quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium,** etc.: Cf. Cic. Brut. 13, 50 quis enim aut Argivum oratorem aut Corinthium aut Thebanum scit fuisse temporibus illis . . . Lacedaemonium vero usque ad hoc tempus audivi fuisse neminem Vell. Pat. I 18, 2 neque vero hoc magis miratus sum quam neminem Argivum Thebanum Lacedaemonium oratorem . . . existimatum. Quint. II 16, 4 Lacedaemoniorum civitate expulsam (sc. eloquentiam). Thucyd. IV 88 *ἦν οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν.* Athen. XIII 611 A *οὐ προσίενται οὔτε φιλοσοφίαν οὔτε ῥητορικήν* (sc. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*) Schol. Pind. Isthm. V 87 *μακρολόγοι μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἴωνες, σύντομοι δὲ οὐ μόνον Λάκωνες ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι.*

14 **accepimus** sc. fuisse. On this common ellipsis after 'accipio,' in the sense of 'audio,' cf. note c. 12 18. — **civitatum**: Both forms of the genitive plural (-um, -ium) are recognised by the ancients (e.g. Varro L. L. VIII 37, 66). The MSS. of Tacitus are inconsistent. Thus 'civitatum' is found G. 8 H. I 66 II 62 IV 66 Ann. III 43 XV 45; 'civitatium' in H. I 54. 78 IV 75 Ann. III 63 IV 14 XVI 30; in Ag. 27 and 29 the MSS. vary. In other nouns, ending in -as, the MSS. give only -um. Cp. Sirker, *Tacit. Formenl.* p. 14 and note to c. 28 6 (parentum). — **severissima disciplina et severissimae leges**: The laws of Sparta and Crete possessed many points in common and hence they are very often mentioned together. e. g. Plat. Prot. 342 a. Polyb. VI 45 ff. Tac. Ann. III 26. — Similar repetitions are very characteristic of Tacitean style. Cf. e. g. c. 41 9 minimum usus minimumque profectus 25 magnam . . . magnam G. 19 boni mores . . . bonae leges *ibid.* unum corpus unamque vitam H. I 40 magni metus et magnae irae 78 nova iura Cappadociae, nova Africae IV 5 magnae offensae . . . magnae gloriae 57 divo Iulio divoque Augusto Ann. V 4 novas contiones, nova . . . consulta VI 28 par oneri par meatui. On the nom. with inf. cf. c. 38 14; on the attributive position of the predicate, see Proleg. p. cxv.

15 **nec . . . quidem**: See note c. 29 15.

17 **Rhodii quidam**: The most famous were Apollonios *ὁ μαλακός* and Molon, both natives of Alabanda. The latter was Cicero's teacher in Rome and later in Rhodes (78 B. C.). The two are habitually confounded by ancient and modern writers. Cp. the exhaustive treatment of Susemihl, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit. in der Alex. Zeit*, II

488–494. 697. Other less known Rhodian rhetoricians were Artamenes, Aristocles and Philagrios.

18 **omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant**: *Omnes*, as John ad loc. observes, is here equivalent to *οἱ πάντες*, as in G. 11 de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes. So multi = *οἱ πολλοί* in c. 41 16. This, as well as 'ut sic dixerim' (on which see note c. 34 7), shows that we cannot justly, with Woelfflin *Philol.* XXVI 140, regard the phrase as an imitation of the well-known 'non omnia possumus omnes' which Virgil (Ecl. VIII 64) borrowed from Ennius (or Lucilius ?). — On the anaphora, here and again ll. 20 f., see note c. 36 8. — *Posse* in the sense of 'pollere, valere' occurs in Tacitus only here, c. 13 17 tantum . . . possunt 36 15 plus . . . poterat and Ann. VI 9 eo usque potuere.

20 **donec erravit**: i. e. as long as the Roman state, like a ship without a rudder, was being tossed about on a sea of troubles etc. Cf. note c. 10 20 errare mavis. Wendell Phillips, *Toussaint L'Ouverture:* "He no sooner found himself at the helm of state, when the ship *steadied*" etc. — *donec* = quamdiu. See note c. 8 17. — **dissensionibus et discordiis**: Grouped together also in Tac. Ag. 32 nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari and so similarly 'discordiae' and 'seditiones,' e. g. H. I 84 II 23. 86 Ann. VI 3. 16. — The rhetorical accumulation of synonyms serves the purpose of strongly emphasising the anarchical conditions of the period in question.

21 **se . . . confecit**: 'spent itself, sapped its strength.' In this figurative sense, the word seems to be extremely rare. Cf. e. g. Liv. Prooem. 3 festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Not found elsewhere in Tac., nor in Quintilian. — **nulla . . . in foro pax** etc. : With the symmetry in the 'collocatio verborum' (adj. — genit. or an equivalent prepos. phrase — substantive), cp. c. 38 ext. with crit. note. — **nulla in senatu concordia,** alluding to c. 36 11 procerum factiones. — **in iudiciis moderatio**: 'no self-control on the part of orators in the law courts.' Cf. c. 38 5 modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat.— **nulla superiorum reverentia** : i. e. sine obsequio. Cf. c. 40 3 ne a P. quidem Scipione . . . abstinerent. H. IV 80 superbia viri, aequalium quoque, adeo superiorum intolerantis.

23 **nullus magistratuum modus**: i. e. 'No restrictions placed upon the effusiveness of orators on the part of the magistrates.'

Cf. c. 19 ext. 39 10 ff. — **tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam:** 'No doubt, as has been said (viz. c. 37 35 plures tamen bonos [= *valentiores*] proeliatores bella quam pax *ferunt* sqq.) such turbulent times produce a sturdier eloquence, . . . but.' *Sine dubio*, like 'no doubt, sans doute, ohne Zweifel,' points back to some thought *already expressed* (as here) or implied, and it is thus distinguished from 'haud dubie' which is merely a strong asseveration of a new thought. Hence Tacitus *invariably* adds an adversative particle after 'sine dubio,' by way of modification or qualification. Cf. Ag. 45 omnia s. d. . . . superfuere honori tuo, *tamen* Ann. I 6 multa s. d. . . . Augustus . . . questus : *ceterum* 10 pacem s. d. post haec, *verum* cruentam II 51 victa est s. d. lex, *sed* XI 28 subibat s. d. metus . . . *rursus*. So also in Seneca (see the exx. in Kleiber p. 68) and esp. common in Quintilian (cf. Bonnell Lex. s. v.). This consistent usage would be alone sufficient to dispose of Maternus as the speaker in c. 36 ff., for, on that supposition, he would have made a very emphatic statement without the slightest reservation, only to repeat it shortly after for the purpose of neutralising its validity by a very important modification! — *valentiorem eloquentiam:* Cf. Tac. Ann. IV 21 orandi validus.

24 **sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores:** *laetus*, 'satisfactory, pleasing,' is frequently applied to plants. e. g. Verg. G. I 339 laetis operatus in herbis III 494 laetis moriuntur in herbis. Cf. the very similar thought in Eur. Hec. 588 K. *εἰ γῆ μὲν κακὴ | τυχοῦσα καιροῦ θεόθεν εὖ στάχυν φέρει.*

25 **nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges:** i. e. The Roman people would gladly have dispensed with the eloquence of the Gracchi, seeing that it was productive only of pernicious laws. This disparaging criticism of the Gracchan reforms is in perfect accord with the view expressed by Tacitus in a passage of the Annals (III 27), where he even couples the Gracchi with Saturninus as among 'turbatores plebis.' — The peculiarly emphatic position of 'et leges' is paralleled in Tac. Ag. 4 recepta populi Romani consuetudine ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. — *et* = etiam is found in the Dialogus only in two other passages: c. 13 24 fatalis et meus dies c. 21 27 nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. fecerunt enim et carmina. In the Ag. (8 times) G. (16) Hist. (24) Ann. I-VI (26) XI-XVI (19). See

Lex. Tac. s. v. (p. 398 f.). and on its use in other writers, the exhaustive discussion of Anton, *Studien etc.* I p. 26–69, and R. V. III p. 233 note 419.

26 **nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit:** Cicero dearly bought his oratorical reputation by the wretched death he suffered in consequence. Cf. Sen. de remed. fort. 12, 4 H. si muti fuissent, Cicero et Demosthenes et diutius vixissent et lenius obiissent Ps. Quint. Decl. 268 quid ego dicam quantum civitati profuerit eloquentia? sibi nocuit. Summos utriusque partis oratores videamus. Nonne Demosthenem . . . ; nonne Ciceronem in illis . . . rostris poenae suae expositum Iuv. X 118 ff. eloquio sed uterque (sc. Dem. et Cic.) perit orator . . . nec umquam | sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli. Secundus had admitted in c. 37 19 ff. that the superior eloquence of the ancients was but a poor compensation for the anarchical conditions which alone had rendered its growth possible. This is true, rejoins Maternus, but it should also be added, that not even these orators themselves were allowed to enjoy the fruits of their reputation, for they all met with a violent end. See Andresen ad loc.

27 **pensare** = compensare is post-Aug. Cf. e. g. Vell. II 88 praematuram mortem immortali nominis sui pensavit memoria and often. In Tac. in this sense only here. On the simple verb for the compound, cf. note c. 1 18.

Maternus had occupied himself (c. 40) with an examination of the arguments of Secundus, which he had drawn from the political conditions of the Republic (c. 36–37 ext.). Beginning with c. 38, Secundus discussed the constitution of the law-courts. Accordingly Maternus, following the same order of topics, proceeds with a consideration of the statements in this second part of Secundus' speech. This symmetrically elaborated antithesis and the constant polemical allusions to subjects touched upon in c. 38 (see the following notes) are, in my judgment, absolutely inexplicable on the theory that Maternus was the speaker throughout. Cp. Proleg. p. lxxx ff.

41. 1 **quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori** etc. This is in answer to the words of Secundus c. 36 5 ff. horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt, quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas est, where see note, alluding at the same time to c. 38 10 *omnia* in *foro* . . . quod maius *argumentum* est etc. What little of forensic pleading, Maternus replies, still remains to modern orators, for causae centumvirales, as we have just been told, now hold the first place (c. 38 11) and are tried in 'auditoria'

and 'tabularia' (c. 39 5), rather proves, that we have not yet reached an ideal state, though we may admit that a more regulated order of things now prevails.

The emendation 'antiqui . . . fori' is eminently satisfactory, being both easy and admirably suited to the meaning called for by the context. Andresen, following Brotier and Ritter, inserts 'ex' before 'antiquis' and deletes 'forum' or 'horum' of the MSS. Nothing can be more unjustifiable on methodical grounds. Andresen refers in his latest edition to his Emend. p. 134, but nothing more than the mere conjecture itself is there given. Apart from the manifest inferiority of his reading to the one adopted in the text, I have serious doubts, whether 'superest *ex aliquo*' can be supported by parallel passages, nor do I, in any case, understand what is meant by 'what is left of ancient orators'! Maternus is speaking of *conditions*, not of individuals. — 'superest antiquis oratoribus forum,' accepted by some, absurdly implies that, in the speaker's opinion, there were still orators of the old type ('Redner des alten Schlages') remaining, a point refuted by the entire treatise.

2 **emendatae . . . compositae**: The same collocation is found in Sen. Ep. 4, 1 emendato animo et composito.

3 **advocat**: 'to call in as a counsellor in a trial.' This legal term, though common, does not occur elsewhere in Tac. — **nocens aut miser**: Cf. Tac. Ann. I 22 innocentibus et miserrimis. — *nocens* as a subst. also H. I 21; *miser*, H. IV 81 Ann. XI 37.

5 **agitat** = exagitat (note c. 1 18). Cf. c. 4 3 25 32 Ag. 16 quos . . . timor agitabat *ibid.* agitavit Britanniam H. I 5 miles . . . agitatur Ann. III 27 licentia populum agitandi Verg. Georg. II 496 and Luc. Phars. VI 777 discordia agitat.

6 **spoliatam vexatamque**: For the expression, cf. Cic. in Verr. II 3, 52, 122 agros . . . vexatos atque exinanitos . . . populatam vastatamque provinciam Liv. XL 35, 10 provincia spoliaretur. — With the thought cf. Tac. Ag. 19 Iuv. VIII 87–123 esp. 98 f. non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat par | damnorum sociis florentibus et modo victus and, in general, Mayor, Iuv. ll. cc. Marquardt *Staatsv.* II 103, 1 Friedländer I[6] 258 ff. — The entire passage 'quis etc.' is intended to offset the glowing description of Secundus c. 36 19 f., where see notes. — **atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari**: The indicative with expressions like 'melius, satis, longum est,' is the rule; exceptions are, however, occasionally met with. E. g. Rhet. ad Her. IV 26, 36 non igitur satius esset Cic. de sen. 23, 82 nonne multo melius fuisset Sen. de ben. V 25, 3 indicare melius fuisset Tac. H. II 2 haud fuerit (potential) longum

. . . disserere. See also Nipp. Ann. I 42 Dr. *H. S.* I 303. — ***queri*** 'to have no cause for complaint.' So c. 15 ext. verebaris 'have no reason to fear.' Hor. Ep. II 1, 9 ploravere. — With the sentiment, cf. c. 37 19 quae mala sicut non accidere melius est etc. 32 melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari.

7 **quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas** etc.: This idea of a political Utopia was probably suggested by a similar passage in Cic. Hortens., cited by August. de trin. 14, 9 (= vol. IV 983 Or.): si nobis cum ex hac vita emigraverimus in beatorum insulis immortale aevum, ut fabulae ferunt, degere licet *quid opus esset eloquentia cum iudicia nulla fierent* . . . nec iustitia cum esset nihil quod appeteretur (= in qua nemo peccaret). See also c. 12 11 ff. 17 neminem causidicum, note l. 13 and cp. Mandeville's story of the Bees. — According to Dr. *H. S.* I 94 si aliquis (aliquando) occurs in Tacitus only here and H. II 32 etiam si aliquando obumbrentur. Cf., however, c. 9 29 si dignum aliquid elaborare 10 9 si picturam aliquam . . . vidisset 17 20 si . . . fatum aliquod . . . pertraxisset 41 21 si . . . deus aliquis.

8 **supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus**: 'Inter innocentes' is redundant after 'in qua nemo peccaret' but was added for the sake of stylistic libration. Cf. Proleg. p. cxvii. The simile seems to have been a commonplace. Cf. e. g. Plat. Rep. 332 e *μὴ κάμνουσί γε μὴν . . . ἰατρὸς ἄχρηστος* Matthew, 9, 12 *οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσι οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ* Ov. Ep. ex Pont. III 4, 7 firma valent per se, nullumque Machaona quaerunt Sen. de clem. I 2, 1 primum omnium sicut medicinae apud aegros usus, etiam apud sanos honor est, ita clementiam quamvis poena digni invocent, etiam innocentes colunt.

9 **quomodo enim** etc.: *Enim*, as often, implies an ellipsis, on which use see note c. 1 16. 'Of course, no such community exists and therefore orators are a necessary evil, but just as medicine is of little use and makes but little progress among a sturdy race of men, so too do orators achieve but little glory in a state that possesses loyal and law-abiding citizens.'

Particles like 'tamen, autem, enim, etiam' seem to have been peculiarly liable to corruption. Cf. in the Dial. e. g. c. 20 18 25 12 42 6. In the present instance, we find even so remarkable a discrepancy as *inde*— AB and *tamen* — ω. The former is unintelligible, but 'tamen,' though adopted by most editors, seems to me also objectionable. (1) Its meaning is quite unsuited to the context. (2) It is never used, like 'nam' or 'enim,' to

indicate an ellipsis, which must here be supplied in thought; at least, I know of only one instance of an elliptical 'tamen,' viz. Val. Max. II 7, 14 utilissimo quidem exemplo, si tamen acta . . . aestimare permittitur (i. e. ita tamen utilissimo, si) but even this is not quite analogous. For these reasons, I have accepted Heumann's emendation.

minimum . . . minimumque: On the repetition here and below (l. 25), see note c. 40 13. — *que* is epexegetic. Cf. note c. 22 9. — **medentis**: Substantived participles (and adjs.) are far rarer in the masc. sing. than in the plural, and particularly so as objective genit., as e. g. l. 13 (regentis). A third instance of a genit. sing. occurs in this same chapter l. 19 cognoscentis. For the plur. of 'medens' — the sing. is not elsewhere found in Tac. — cf. H. V 6 in usu medentium and Ann. XI 6 pretia medentibus, also Plin. Pan. 22, but not in Quintilian. In general, cp. Dr. *H. S.* I 48 f.

11 **saluberrimis corporibus utuntur**: 'salubris' of the human body, instead of 'sanus, validus' is first used by Sallust e. g. Iug. 17 genus hominum salubri corpore. It never occurs in Cicero, occasionally in Livy (e. g. I 31 salubriora . . . corpora III 8 corpora salubriora esse X 25) and in Tac. H. V 6 corpora hominum salubria Ann. II 33 salubritas corporum, but Ann. II 14 corpus . . . validum. The opposite confusion is sometimes made by careless speakers in English in the use of 'healthy' for 'wholesome.' — *utuntur* is joined to 'corporibus' by a slight zeugma.

13 **in obsequium regentis paratos**: Cf. Suet. Galb. 19 in omne obsequium paratos c. 31 27 in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos H. IV 32 videt Montanum praeferocem ingenio paratumque in novas res. With 'ad,' in Tac. only Ann. III 65 ad servitutem paratos V, 5 paratos ad ultionem, usually with the dative, which is not used by Cicero or Caesar. — *regentis* = erga regentem. Cf. G. 43 erga reges obsequium. Nipperdey regards 'regens,' both here, Ann. IV 33 Tiberio regente and XIII 3 regente eo, as the participle used intransitively. I see no reason, why we should not simply take it in the sense of 'princeps,' which the word has in numerous other passages, especially as this chapter furnishes two other exx. of the sing. part. substantive, 'medentis' above and 'cognoscentis' (l. 19). Sen. de clem. I 19, 1 excogitare nemo quicquam poterit, quod magis decorum regenti sit quam clementia 22, 3 constituit bonos mores civitati princeps . . . verecundiam peccandi facit ipsa clementia regentis Quint. III 8 47 stare iam rem publicam nisi uno regente non posse and Ann. XII 54 contemptu regentium. In

an intransitive sense in Tac. H. II 81 inermes legati regebant. — **quid enim**: Under such circumstances, there will be no need for those privileges and opportunities, the loss of which Secundus had deplored, even if it were possible to grant them in these days.

14 **longis in senatu sententiis** etc.: Cf. c. 36 26 cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere. Maternus is here in virtual agreement with Aper (c. 19), but the latter, unlike Maternus, based his objection against long speeches chiefly on grounds of rhetoric and expediency. — **optimi**, '*οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*' as opposed to multi '*οἱ πολλοί*.'

15 **multis apud populum contionibus**: Cf. c. 36 9 contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris 40 1 contiones adsiduae. — **non imperiti . . . deliberent**, as was the case among the Athenians. Cf. c. 40 18 apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti . . . poterant. 'Imperitus' is a common epithet of the 'plebs.' In Tac. c. 7 16 19 9 H. I 35 II 16 Ann. II 77. — With the thought, cf. also Quint. II 17, 28 imperiti enim iudicant . . . nam si mihi sapientes iudices dentur, sapientium contiones atque omne consilium, nihil invidia valeat, nihil gratia . . . perquam sit exiguus eloquentiae locus. — **sapientissimus et unus**: Cf. c. 36 7 f. moderatore uno carentibus etc. The reference is not necessarily to Vespasian. The view of Maternus coincides with that of Tacitus. Cf. Ann. I 9 non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur IV 33 nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt: delecta ex iis consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius (cf. e. g. Polyb. VI 3, 7 Cic. de rep. I 29, 45 II 23, 41) quam evenire . . . igitur ut olim plebe valida . . . sic converso statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet and note c. 2 2. — Cicero, it may be remarked, would doubtless also have acquiesced in the establishment of the monarchy on similar grounds of expediency, as appears from de nat. deor. I 4, 7 cum . . . is esset rei publicae status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset.

17 **voluntariis accusationibus** etc.: This is in answer to the statement of Secundus in c. 40 1 datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi. *Voluntariis* is used, because during the Empire the initiative in such cases was usually taken by the Senate, at the suggestion of the princeps. Cf. Quint. VI 1, 35 fuit quondam inter haec omnia potentissimum quo L. Murenam Cicero accusantibus

clarissimis viris eripuisse praecipue videtur persuasitque, nihil esse ad praesentem rerum statum utilius quam pridie Kal. Ian. ingredi consulatum. quod genus nostris temporibus totum paene sublatum est, cum omnia curae tutelaeque unius innixa periclitari nullo iudicii exitu possint.

18 **invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus**: 'invidiosus' that which brings 'odium' upon the speaker. Cf. Tac. H. I 33 si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini: id Othoni *invidiosius* et ipsis honestum.

19 **cognoscentis** = iudicis. *Cognoscens* as a noun seems to belong to the language of the law. Cf. Orelli 3151. 3185. In an intransitive sense also c. 19 24 H. IV 42 si cognosceret senatus and similarly Sen. Med. 194 si iudicas, cognosce. Tacitus is fond of legal terms. Cf. e. g. c. 5 13 arguam 16 14 inauditum et indefensum 36 11 adsignatae 41 3 advocat and Schmalz, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 35 (1893). — **obviam periclitantibus eat**: 'obviam ire' used in bonam partem in the sense 'to come to the aid of, to meet an evil for the purpose of remedy or prevention,' seems to be peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. e. g. H. IV 46 cunctos . . . eiusdem imperatoris milites appellans, falso timori obviam iret Ann. IV 6 nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligentia poterat 64 ni Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti XIII 5 Ita specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori. The Lex. Tac. p. 350 strangely classes all these exx. under the head 'sensu inimico'!

20 **in quantum opus est** = utile est, expedit. In this sense 'opus est' is rare. Cf. e. g. Cic. de off. III 11, 49 se habere consilium rei publicae salutare, sed id sciri non opus esse Lael. 14, 51 atque haud sciam, an ne opus sit quidem nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis, with Seyffert's note (p. 352) Hor. Sat. I 9, 27 II 6, 116. — Maternus means to say that his friends exhibit a superior eloquence on the few occasions in which it was still possible to do so. See the parallel passage in c. 36 4 horum quoque oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita . . . re publica tribui fas erat. — **prioribus saeculis**: i. e. the republican period. Cf. c. 1 1 priora saecula opp. to nostra aetas and note c. 19 9. — **ac deus aliquis** etc.: Cf. Hor. Sat. I 1, 15 ff. si quis deus 'en ego' dicat 'iam faciam quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles, mercator; tu consultus modo, rusticus.' This illustration seems to have been first used by Ariston

of Ceos or Bion. Cp. A. Gercke, *Archiv f. Gesch. der Philos.* V p. 209. It is, therefore, not necessary to assume that the Dial. passage is a reminiscence from Horace. See below.

I cannot agree with Baehrens (*Comm. Crit.* p. 98) and John ad loc. that the clauses 'vos . . . essent' and 'deus . . . mutasset' express an alternative, for this would not only require 'et' for the second 'aut,' and 'aut' for the first 'ac,' but also the deletion of 'tempora.' John, moreover, himself admits that the first no less than the second miracle could only be realised by divine intervention. The second clause is, in my judgment, simply a varied reiteration of the preceding, as in c. 38 4 nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas and modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat. The deletion of the entire clause 'deus . . . mutasset' seems to me equally unjustifiable, for, though the Horatian parallel might have been recalled by some ancient reader, it is not sufficiently similar to have suggested a marginal gloss or interpolation in the form in which we find it in our passage. — *vestra*, as its position shows, is quite out of place. It was originally written above the line, being subsequently introduced into the text.

23 **modus et temperamentum**: Cf. Secundus' words in c. 38 7 veluti frenos etc. c. 39 7 est aliquis oratorum campus etc. and l. 23 frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et *incendere* potuerint.

25 **bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur**: It is inconceivable that Tacitus put this advice into the mouth of Maternus, if the same speaker had delivered the eulogy on the superior character of the oratory of the Republic, contained in c. 36 ff. With the thought, cf. Tac. H. I 3 non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit, and Ann. III 55 (cited c. 15 2). — *citra* = sine, cf. c. 27 10. — *quisque* is the antithesis of 'nemo' preceding; 'utrique' would, therefore, have been out of place, even if we take 'alterius' in a strictly definite sense; 'saeculum' as in c. 1 1 is synonymous with 'aetas' and 'tempora.'

42. 1 **cum Messalla**: 'inquit' is omitted as in c. 4 1 25 1 28 1. — **quibus contradicerem**: Messalla the uncompromising 'laudator temporis acti' was not likely to acquiesce in the opportunistic doctrine advocated by Maternus in c. 41. It is to this chapter that 'si qua obscura' alludes.

2 **dies esset exactus**: 'exigere' in these and similar phrases for 'conficere' is poetic and post-Aug. In Tac.: H. I 78 exacto per scelera die Ann. III 16 diem supremum noctemque exegisset Ag. 3 exactae aetatis terminos 38 exacta iam aestate H. IV 84 triennio exacto. With 'consumere' H. IV 43 c. per discordiam dies.

5 **conferemus** here used absolutely, e. g. Plaut. Rud. II 3, 8 omnes sapientes decet conferre Cael. ap. Cic. ad fam. VIII 15, 2 omnia intima conferre discupio Plin. Ep. IV 10, 2 contuli cum peritis iuris. In Tac. perhaps also Ag. 15 agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere.

6 **ego te . . . Messalla . . . criminabimur**: The plural predicate with two distinct subjects in the sing., esp. in *adversative* clauses, is a most striking peculiarity of Tacitean style. It is met with first in Livy (e. g. I 6 Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum . . . capiunt but X 27 *consules*. Fulvio ut ex Falisco, Postumio ut ex Vaticano . . . admoveant . . . scribunt, and also Tac. Ann. XII 1 below, are not quite analogous), and after T. only in very late writers, such as Florus and Vopiscus. Cf. H. II 24 curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere 30 Caecina ut foedum . . . ille ut tumidum . . . irridebant 67 Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae . . . parabant 92 Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant IV 60 obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas . . . distrahebant Ann. I 68 Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere II 53 avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant III 18 Valerius Messalinus . . . Caecina Severus . . . censuissent XI 32 Messalina Lucullianos in hortos, Silius . . . ad munia fori digrediuntur [XII 1 huic Pallas, illi Callistus *fautores* aderant] 14 Izates Adiabeno, mox Acbarus abscedunt 41 Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti sunt 45 multitudinem hostium Pollio, iussa patris Rhadamistus obtendebant XIV 31 regnum per centuriones, domus per saevos . . . vastarentur 53 alter bellorum socius, alter Romae . . . praemia acceperant XV 7 quartam Fusilunanus . . . duodecumam Calavius regebant 50 hic occasio . . . ibi ipsa frequentia . . . exstimulaverant XVI 7 Cassius opibus . . . Silanus claritudine generis praecellebant and perhaps XVI 20 quae cruciatibus . . . ipse, patronus eius nece inmerita luere. Cp. Nipp. Ann. II 42 with Andresen's *Appendix*; Heraeus, H. II 30 Dr. *H. S.* I 174 *Stil* p. 14.

An original 'autem' was not likely to have been corrupted into 'cum'; the adversative particle is quite superfluous and it is omitted in Puteolanus. 'Cum' may possibly represent 'cunctis' or 'omnibus,' the compendium having been misunderstood (see crit. note c. 20 1). But, as an attributive of any kind is here both uncalled for and destructive of the libration of this adversative asyndeton, I prefer to delete 'cum' altogether, which is at least as justifiable and methodical as to change it to 'autem.'

7 **inquit**: On the unusual position, cf. note c. 3 15. Regarding the omission of any mention of Secundus, see Proleg. p. lxxxiii.

8 **cum adrisissent, discessimus**: The commentators have ignored and most translators missed the nicety and significance of the change of persons. The author was throughout a passive listener, his youth preventing him from taking any active part in the discussion. This attitude is with admirable tact maintained to the end, as shown by the use of 'adrisissent' for 'adrisissemus.'—*Discessimus*, however, is a dramatic device intended to mark the formal close of the debate, as 'intravimus' (c. 3 1) had indicated its formal beginning.—For similar closing remarks, cp. Plat. Prot. *καὶ περὶ τούτων δὲ εἰσαῦθις, ὅταν βούλῃ, διέξιμεν· νῦν δ' ὥρα ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τρέπεσθαι . . . ταῦτ' εἰπόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἀπῇμεν.* Cic. de orat. I ext. et, cum exsurgeret, simul adridens, 'neque enim' inquit etc. de nat. deor. III ext. sed quoniam advesperascit, dabis nobis diem aliquem ut contra ista dicamus . . . haec cum essent dicta . . . discessimus.

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HOMER J. EDMISTON.

NOTE. — Passages marked with an *asterisk* (*) are cited for the SUBJECT-MATTER, all others for the LANGUAGE. Incomplete and erroneous quotations are here given in full and corrected. (Gud.)

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W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

NOTE. — *Arabic* numerals, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the *pages* of the *Commentary*, *n.* to *Critical* Notes, *Roman* numerals to the *Prolegomena*.

* Best taken = urbs, oppidum. See the abundant evidence collected on this point by E. Klebs, *Petroniana* in Philol. Suppl. Vol. VI 2 (1894) pp. 692–697 (Gud.).

* Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* I p. 225 note 77 has now determined by a most ingenious combination, that Hyperides was born about 390/89, for the date 400/399 given in his text is a mere misprint, as is clear from W's own argumentation. (Gud.)

* In support of 'praeferunt,' we may adduce Quint. X 1, 113 praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem VI 2, 14. 3, 17 (G.).

* To the exx. of valetudo = 'good health' add another instance from Quint. Prooem. 27 (G.).